

A Companion to Catholicism and Recusancy in Britain and Ireland

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A Companion to Catholicism and Recusancy in Britain and Ireland

From Reformation to Emancipation

Edited by

Robert E. Scully, S.J.

with

Angela Ellis



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Cover illustration: Helena Wintour's badge, Alleluia Chasuble, 1655. Silk, metal and silk embroidery threads, precious and semi-precious jewels, pearls, gold lace. Image by permission of the British Jesuit Province.
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Abbreviations

Abbreviations for Libraries and Archives

ABSI	Archivum Britannicum Societatis Iesu
ARSI	Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu
BL	British Library
Bodleian	Bodleian Library
HL	Huntington Library
NLS	National Library of Scotland
NLW	National Library of Wales
PRO/NA	Public Record Office/National Archives

Abbreviations for Journals

AHR	<i>American Historical Review</i>
AHSI	<i>Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu</i>
BCH	<i>British Catholic History</i>
Bio. Studies	<i>Biographical Studies of English Catholics</i>
CH	<i>Church History</i>
CHR	<i>Catholic Historical Review</i>
EHR	<i>English Historical Review</i>
ELR	<i>English Literary Renaissance</i>
IR	<i>Innes Review</i>
JBS	<i>Journal of British Studies</i>
JEH	<i>Journal of Ecclesiastical History</i>
JJS	<i>Journal of Jesuit Studies</i>
P&P	<i>Past & Present</i>
RH	<i>Recusant History</i>
RQ	<i>Renaissance Quarterly</i>
SCJ	<i>Sixteenth Century Journal</i>
SHR	<i>Scottish Historical Review</i>
WHR	<i>Welsh History Review</i>

Abbreviations for Primary and Other Commonly Used Sources

Alum. Oxon.	Alumni Oxonienses: The Members of the University of Oxford, 1500–1714
Anstruther	<i>The Seminary Priests: A Dictionary of the Secular Clergy of England and Wales, 1558–1850</i>
APC	<i>Acts of the Privy Council of England</i>
ARCR	<i>The Contemporary Printed Literature of the English Counter-Reformation between 1558 and 1640</i> (Allison and Rogers)
Challoner	<i>Memoirs of Missionary Priests as Well Secular as Regular and of Other Catholics of Both Sexes, That Have Suffered Death in England on Religious Accounts from the Year of Our Lord 1577 to 1684</i>
CRS	Catholic Record Society
CSP Dom.	<i>Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series</i>
CSP Foreign	<i>Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series</i>
CSP Ireland	<i>Calendar of State Papers Relating to Ireland</i>
CSP Scotland	<i>Calendar of State Papers Relating to Scotland and Mary, Queen of Scots</i>
CSP Ven.	<i>Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts, Relating to English Affairs, Existing in the Archives and Collection of Venice, and in Other Libraries in Northern Italy</i>
Dodd	<i>The Church History of England from the Year 1500 to the Year 1688</i>
Foley	<i>Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus: Historic Facts Illustrative of the Labours and Sufferings of Its Members in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries</i>
HMC	Historical Manuscript Commission
JHC	<i>Journals of the House of Commons</i>
JHL	<i>Journals of the House of Lords</i>
ODNB	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i>
PCR	<i>Privy Council Registers Preserved in the Public Record Office Reproduced in Facsimile</i>
SP Dom.	<i>State Papers, Domestic Series</i>
SRP	<i>Stuart Royal Proclamations</i>
Tierney's Dodd	<i>Dodd's Church History of England from the Commencement of the Sixteenth Century to the Revolution of 1688</i>
TRP	<i>Tudor Royal Proclamations</i>
Vic. Hist.	Victoria History of the Counties of England

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MAP 1 Europe in the 16th century

SCOTTISH COUNTIES

1. Aberdeen
2. Argyll
3. Ayr
4. Banff
5. Berwick
6. Bute
- 6a. Caithness
7. Clackmannan
8. Cromarty
9. Dumbarton
10. Dumfries
11. Edinburgh
12. Elgin
13. Fife
14. Forfar
15. Haddington
16. Inverness
17. Kincardine
18. Kirkcudbright
19. Lanark
20. Linlithgow
21. Orkneys & Shetlands
22. Peebles
23. Perth
24. Renfrew
25. Ross
26. Roxburgh
27. Selkirk
28. Stirling
29. Sutherland
30. Wigtown

IRISH COUNTIES

1. Antrim
2. Armagh
3. Carlow
4. Cavan
5. Clare
6. Cork
7. Donegal
8. Down
9. Dublin
10. Fermanagh
11. Galway
12. Kerry
13. Kildare
14. Kilkeny
15. King's County
16. Leitrim
17. Limerick
18. Londonderry
19. Longford
20. Louth
21. Mayo
22. Meath
23. Monaghan
24. Queen's County
25. Roscommon
26. Sligo
27. Tipperary
28. Tyrone
29. Waterford
30. Westmeath
31. Wexford
32. Wicklow

WELSH COUNTIES

1. Anglesey
2. Brecknock
3. Cardigan
4. Carmarthen
5. Carnarvon
6. Denbigh
7. Flint
8. Glamorgan
9. Merioneth
10. Montgomery
11. Pembroke
12. Radnor

ENGLISH COUNTIES

1. Bedford
2. Berkshire
3. Buckingham
4. Cambridge
5. Cheshire
6. Cornwall
7. Cumberland
8. Derby
9. Devon
10. Dorset
11. Durham
12. Essex
13. Gloucester
14. Hampshire
15. Hereford
16. Hertford
17. Huntingdon
18. Kent
19. Lancashire
20. Leicester
21. Lincoln
22. Middlesex
23. Monmouth
24. Norfolk
25. Northampton
26. Northumberland
27. Nottingham
28. Oxford
29. Rutland
30. Shropshire
31. Somerset
32. Stafford
33. Suffolk
34. Surrey
35. Sussex
36. Warwick
37. Westmorland
38. Wiltshire
39. Worcester
40. Yorkshire



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MAP 2 British and Irish counties



MAP 3

England, Scotland, and Wales: Major cities and towns



MAP 4 Ireland: Major cities and towns



MAP 5 Northern France and the Netherlands

Introduction

Robert E. Scully, S.J.

The early modern era witnessed a remarkable series of interrelated political, religious, economic, social, and cultural developments that transformed Europe and the wider world in often unforeseen and ambivalent ways.¹ At the heart of many of these changes, both positive and negative, were the stirring and at times explosive range of religious convictions and convulsions that impacted 16th-century Europe with particular force, but which in myriad ways had far wider chronological and geographical reverberations. While the chapters in this volume focus on British and Irish Catholicism from the 16th to the 19th centuries, this introduction will first offer some background and context regarding the broader European Protestant and Catholic Reformations. This will be followed by an overview of the English/British and Irish Reformations, with a concentration on the Catholic Reformations there, including a synopsis of the 19 chapters of *A Companion to Catholicism and Recusancy in Britain and Ireland: From Reformation to Emancipation*.

The traditional historiography on the religious changes of this era termed it the “Reformation,” generally encompassing the Protestant Reformation, and referred to the Catholic side of the story as the “Counter-Reformation.” In terms of the chronology, the focus was on the 16th century, viewing the period from 1517 to ca. 1600 as the Reformation era, while most of the geographic focus has been on Western and Central Europe. Debates about terminology, periodization, and geographical scope have by no means subsided, but some areas of consensus have emerged, always allowing for outliers.

Examining a wide range of religious reformers and movements of the 16th century, Euan Cameron entitled his study *The European Reformation*, thereby acknowledging that this was a continent-wide event, but he focuses almost entirely on the Protestant churches and their impact.² In partial contrast, Carter Lindberg’s study, *The European Reformations*, places more emphasis on the factor of plural reform movements, including “Catholic renewal and the counter-Reformation,” though the latter still receives relatively scant coverage

1 See Hamish Scott (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Early Modern European History, 1350–1750*, 2 vols (Oxford: 2015), which contains more than 50 essays on most of the major themes relating to this expansive topic and historical period; Merry E. Wiesner-Hanks, *Early Modern Europe, 1450–1789*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, Eng.: 2013) is a very fine survey.

2 *The European Reformation*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: 2012).

in comparison to international Protestantism.³ With regard to chronology, both of these works end ca. 1600, which arguably cuts short the discussion of important developments on the Protestant side and, even more so, the Catholic side.

In much sharper contrast, Carlos Eire in his even more voluminous tome, *Reformations: The Early Modern World*, gives roughly equal coverage to both Protestants and Catholics, emphasizing the roots and considerable impact of both major religious denominations and their efforts at religious reform and proselytization. Eire also moves beyond Europe to include Catholic missions in the Americas and Asia, as well as significant developments through the mid-17th century.⁴ In Peter Marshall's edited collection on this era, some common themes, in tandem with Eire and others, encourage us to think in terms of Reformations, as well as to consider the Continental and global impact of religious reform and renewal, especially regarding the "global Counter-Reformation."⁵

One of the themes of the current volume is the avoidance of unnecessary and often unhelpful binaries, including terminology. Thus, there is certainly legitimacy in speaking of a singular, if multivalent, Reformation, as historians Hans Hillerbrand and Scott Hendrix do,⁶ and also in arguing, as does Vincent Everer, that scholars should view this era as unique, the "Reformation age," studying it on its own terms.⁷ At the same time, there may be even more value in emphasizing a model of multiple and interactive "Reformations," which lessens the danger of falling back into the hackneyed and simplistic concepts of a Protestant Reformation versus a Catholic Counter-Reformation. In contrast, speaking of Reformations encompasses a more capacious and accurate understanding of the intersections, continuities, and similarities, as well as the

3 *The European Reformations*, 2nd ed. (Malden, Mass.: 2010).

4 *Reformations: The Early Modern World, 1450–1650* (New Haven: 2016).

5 *The Oxford Illustrated History of the Reformation* (Oxford: 2015). See also Ronnie Po-chia Hsia (ed.), *A Companion to Early Modern Catholic Global Missions* (Leiden: 2018).

6 For Hans J. Hillerbrand, see "Was There a Reformation in the Sixteenth Century?," *Church History* 72 (2003), 525–52, and *The Division of Christendom: Christianity in the Sixteenth Century* (Louisville: 2007). For Scott H. Hendrix, see "Re-Rooting the Faith: The Reformation as Re-Christianization," *Church History* 69 (2000), 558–77, and *Recultivating the Vineyard: The Reformation Agendas of Christianization* (Louisville: 2004).

7 "The Future of Reformation Studies," *Church History and Religious Culture* 97 (2017), 310–21. See also Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Reformation: Europe's House Divided, 1490–1700* (London: 2003).

differences and divisions between – and within – the Protestant and Catholic Reformations over the long term.⁸

While early modern Protestantism continues to be a vigorous area of historical study,⁹ scholarship on early modern Catholicism has expanded even more dramatically in recent decades, emerging fully within the historical mainstream. Scholars no longer examine Catholicism primarily through more traditional and sectarian lenses, but rather as a vibrant and crucial piece of the early modern puzzle.¹⁰ Jaap Geraerts well captures this shift in the title and subtitle of his insightful article: “Early Modern Catholicism and Its Historiography: Innovation, Revitalization, and Integration.” Geraerts highlights several recent trends, including the shift of emphasis from church history (more institutional and hierarchical) to religious history (more popularly-based and culturally oriented), the emergent concepts of identity and memory, and an increasing focus on minority and transnational Catholicism in places such as Britain and the Netherlands.¹¹

A revisionist monograph that further decenters Catholic studies with regard to both its geography and chronology is *Catholic Europe, 1592–1648: Centre and Peripheries*. Tadhg Ó hAnnracháin shifts the traditional focus

8 Touching on some of these trends, see Jeffrey R. Watt (ed.), *The Long Reformation* (Boston: 2006). See also Jan Stievermann and Randall C. Zachman (eds), *Multiple Reformations? The Many Faces and Legacies of the Reformation* (Tübingen: 2018), which explores the pluralism and modernity of the Reformation, employing an ecumenical and comparative approach.

9 See, for example, Ulinka Rublack, *The Oxford Handbook of the Protestant Reformations* (Oxford: 2017).

10 With regard to the historiography and historical context, see John W. O'Malley, *Trent and All That: Renaming Catholicism in the Early Modern Era* (Cambridge, Mass.: 2000); Robert Bireley, S.J., “Early Modern Catholicism as a Response to the Changing World of the Long Sixteenth Century,” *CHR* 95 (2009), 219–39. For a host of examples of some of the more recent scholarship, see Alexandra Bamji, Geert H. Janssen, and Mary Laven (eds), *The Ashgate Research Companion to the Counter-Reformation* (Farnham: 2013). For a valuable study on the instructive topic of Bible reading in the Catholic world, see Wim Francois, “Vernacular Bible Reading in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe: The ‘Catholic’ Position Revisited,” *CHR* 104 (2018), 23–56.

11 “Early Modern Catholicism,” *Church History and Religious Culture* 97 (2017), 381–92. See also Robert Armstrong and Tadhg Ó hAnnracháin (eds), *Insular Christianity: Alternative Models of the Church in Britain and Ireland, c.1570–c.1700* (Manchester: 2013), which explores the evolution of post-Reformation Catholic and Presbyterian religious communities in Britain and Ireland. At the same time, many “traditional” topics, such as French Catholic religious orders, are being explored in new ways; see Barbara B. Diefendorf, *Planting the Cross: Catholic Reform and Renewal in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century France* (New York: 2019).

from the Catholic heartland of southern Europe (Italy, Spain, and Portugal) to the somewhat understudied peripheries, including the “Western Margins” of Britain, Ireland, and the Netherlands. He notes that “the factor linking these three areas is their shared inheritance of state hostility and the existence of a favored non-Catholic church establishment which posed a considerable challenge to the possibilities of survival and growth of Catholicism.”¹² He also argues that, on the peripheries, the timing of Catholic reform was generally later, especially from the 1590s to the 1640s, and that it is crucial to understand how the factors of contingency and adaptation affected the process of Catholic renewal.¹³ It is also important to consider that, while Britain and Ireland were (or were long thought to be) in some ways at the periphery of European Catholicism, missionary efforts placed them in significant ways at the center of global Catholicism.¹⁴ At the same time, missions in Britain and Ireland were not occurring within cultures that were seen as “other,” as was the case concerning much missionary work in the Americas and Asia. The contributors to the current volume will be addressing the above highlighted issues, including the (re)centering of early modern Catholic studies, as well as a wide range of other innovative developments.

The cross-fertilization of historical concepts and trends has certainly influenced British historiography, perhaps in no area as much as religion. Susan Royal, in a historiographical overview, “Early Modern British Religious History: Looking Forward,” notes that the study of the British Reformations has been affected by the “cultural turn,” including the values held by particular

12 *Catholic Europe, 1592–1648: Centre and Peripheries* (Oxford: 2015), 29. Decentering can bring about new insights and frameworks across historical studies. For a worldwide example, see Peter Frankopan, *The Silk Roads: A New History of the World* (New York: 2016), which shifts the center of global history, the crossroads of civilization, eastward from the Mediterranean to Central Asia.

13 ÓhAnnracháin, *Catholic Europe*. See also Benjamin Kaplan et al. (eds), *Catholic Communities in Protestant States: Britain and the Netherlands, c.1570–1720* (Manchester: 2009); and Charles H. Parker, *Faith on the Margins: Catholics and Catholicism in the Dutch Golden Age* (Cambridge, Mass.: 2008).

14 This is perhaps especially true of the Jesuits, who were the first truly global missionary order, with missions from Britain to Brazil to China. See Luke Clossey, *Salvation and Globalization in the Early Jesuit Missions* (New York: 2008), which explores the concept of “Global Salvific Catholicism”; Thomas Banchoff and Jose Casanova (eds), *The Jesuits and Globalization: Historical Legacies and Contemporary Challenges* (Washington, DC: 2016); Alison Forrestal and Sean Alexander Smith (eds), *The Frontiers of Mission: Perspectives on Early Modern Missionary Catholicism* (Leiden: 2016), which examines the missionary challenges of various religious orders.

groups at particular times, as well as the “religious turn.”¹⁵ The latter includes the role and impact of religious martyrs and exiles/refugees, in addition to taking religious language, debates, and rituals more seriously and on their own terms.¹⁶ These, of course, are not entirely new ideas. The long-running standard account was A.G. Dickens’s *The English Reformation*, which contested the view that the Reformation in England was essentially an act of state. Rather, he argued, evangelical reform movements, both in England and on the Continent, interacted during the Henrician and Edwardian regimes, which, first, broke from Rome, and then, under Edward, established Protestantism as the new, reformed religion in England.¹⁷ In other words, Dickens put religion back into the Reformation, but it was decidedly Protestantism as opposed to Catholicism, which he presented in its late-medieval form as widely corrupt and unpopular, and, despite Mary’s efforts in the 1550s, unable to regain the allegiance of the majority of the English people. Thus, in Dickens’s view, the triumphal progression of Protestantism was essentially complete early in Elizabeth’s reign.¹⁸

Make way for the revisionists, who took on Dickens on several major fronts. Among the leading voices, J.J. Scarisbrick, Christopher Haigh, and especially Eamon Duffy have largely rehabilitated late medieval or “traditional” religion in England, demonstrating that despite some difficulties, the church in the late 15th and early 16th centuries was generally robust and popular, having the support of a significant majority of English men and women.¹⁹ As a central

15 “Early Modern British Religious History,” *Church History and Religious Culture* 97 (2017), 346–55. The “religious turn” is also evident in early modern English literary studies, as we will see below. For a cultural history that explores sensory landscapes, see Matthew Milner, *The Senses and the English Reformation* (Burlington: 2011). On a related area of increasing interest, see Susan Broomhall (ed.), *Early Modern Emotions: An Introduction* (London: 2017).

16 See, for example, Amanda Wrenn Allen, *The Eucharistic Debate in Tudor England: Thomas Cranmer, Stephen Gardiner, and the English Reformation* (Lanham: 2019), which demonstrates the importance of theology and its ties to politics. See also Jonathan Willis (ed.), *Sin and Salvation in Reformation England* (Farnham: 2015), which shows how theology can be a useful tool for historians.

17 *The English Reformation*, 2nd ed. (University Park: 1989).

18 For an intriguing and controversial contemporary Catholic account of the English Reformation, which combined impressive historiography with anti-Protestant polemic, see Spencer J. Weinreich (ed. and trans.), *Pedro de Ribadeneyra’s “Ecclesiastical History of the Schism of the Kingdom of England”: A Spanish Jesuit’s History of the English Reformation* (Leiden: 2017).

19 See, in particular, J.J. Scarisbrick, *The Reformation and the English People* (Oxford: 1984); Christopher Haigh (ed.), *The English Reformation Revised* (Cambridge, Eng.: 1987); Haigh, *English Reformations: Religion, Politics, and Society under the Tudors* (Oxford: 1993); Eamon

stance, the revisionists have contested the Dickensian/Whiggish view that the triumph of Protestantism was inevitable and crested on waves of popular support. Rather, they stress the factors of political pressure and contingency. While acknowledging some strong pockets of Protestantism up to the mid-Elizabethan period, the revisionists view the transformation of England into a predominantly Protestant country as largely dependent on the power and ability (or tyranny?) of the Tudors, especially the long-ruling Elizabethan regime, to pressure the populace into giving them due obedience – not only as divinely appointed heads of state but as heads (or governors) of the reformed Church of England as well.²⁰

New interpretations are, of course, the lifeblood of history, and so a number of post-revisionists have built upon but also modified some of the major contentions of revisionism (in other words, revisionism revised). Recognizing the reality of contingency and the political factors in play, post-revisionism stresses the interactions and negotiations that occurred between the political/religious elite and the populace at large, trying to reconcile forces of continuity and change. If Dickens's interpretation was too "bottom-up," the revisionists have perhaps been too "top-down." Rather than a popular groundswell for Protestant reform, or a general population cowed into accepting religious changes imposed from above, this view argues that the active participation of many individuals and agendas, engaged in a dialectic and syncretic process of change, sometimes conciliatory and sometimes confrontational, produced a unique political and religious hybrid: the English Reformation and its off-spring, the Church of England.²¹

The most recent general tome on this era is Peter Marshall's magisterial *Heretics and Believers: A History of the English Reformation*. Combining contributions from a number of the above-highlighted historical "schools," along with

Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, 1400–1580*, 2nd ed. (New Haven: 2005); Duffy, *Fires of Faith: Catholic England under Mary Tudor* (New Haven: 2009). See also Duffy's insightful microhistory of the Reformation in the parishes, *The Voices of Morebath: Reformation and Rebellion in an English Village* (New Haven: 2001), and his broader work regarding ongoing Catholic and Protestant attempts at reform, *Reformation Divided: Catholics, Protestants and the Conversion of England* (London: 2017).

20 For a revisionist study of the later reign – and rule – of the queen, see John Guy, *Elizabeth: The Forgotten Years* (New York: 2016).

21 See, for example, the collection of essays and critiques in Eric Josef Carlson (ed.), *Religion and the English People, 1500–1640: New Voices, New Perspectives* (Kirkville: 1998); Ethan H. Shagan, *Popular Politics and the English Reformation* (Cambridge, Eng.: 2003); Shagan, *The Rule of Moderation: Violence, Religion, and the Politics of Restraint in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, Eng.: 2011).

some of his own perceptive insights, he places religion and religious convictions – both Catholic and Protestant – at the heart of the English Reformation. In some ways, it is a people's history, incorporating numerous examples of men and women who supported, negotiated, or opposed the various religious changes that unfolded across the Tudor century. This process was both an act of state *and* a spiritual movement or, more accurately, a series of intersecting and conflicting movements. Among Marshall's particularly important points, or correctives, is to refute the view of the English Reformation as largely peaceful. Although England did not (at least in the 16th century) experience the full-blown "wars of religion" that occurred in some other parts of Europe, tens of thousands of ordinary people took up banners and intermittently resorted to arms. Collectively, many thousands of them died in battle or execution over many decades, from the Pilgrimage of Grace (1536–37), to the Prayer Book Rebellion (1549), and the Northern Rising (1569). The English *via media* was far more violent than the official version would have it. Marshall also problematizes several of the great paradoxes of the English Reformation, especially the unintended consequence that the attempt to establish a uniform state-church in fact opened a Pandora's box of religious pluralism. Especially ironic, and of particular relevance to the current volume, is the contention that the break with the papacy actually reoriented English Catholicism *more* towards Rome and the international church. It is Marshall's insightful view that "royal policy [turned] Catholics – some Catholics – into *Roman* Catholics. Henry VIII was the creator of English Roman Catholicism just as much as he was the progenitor of 'Anglicanism.'" ²²

As with the broader European Reformation, so too with the English Reformation, the older, disproportionate emphasis on Protestantism has given way to a greater balance of treatment, demonstrating how Catholicism was challenged, reformed, and reinvigorated by the myriad religious changes of the 16th century onward. Historians have generally moved beyond the overly confessionalized lines of the past and have increasingly incorporated Catholicism into the broader narrative of Reformation and post-Reformation English/

22 *Heretics and Believers: A History of the English Reformation* (New Haven: 2017), 225. With regard to the most serious uprising of the Tudor era, see R.W. Hoyle, *The Pilgrimage of Grace and the Politics of the 1530s* (Oxford: 2001). Overlapping in some ways with Marshall, but on a much broader European canvas, see Mark Greengrass, *Christendom Destroyed: Europe, 1517–1648* (New York: 2014); Brad S. Gregory, *The Unintended Reformation: How a Religious Revolution Secularized Society* (Cambridge, Mass.: 2012). On a parallel track, arguing that liberalism and toleration emerged, ironically, not because of, but as a restraint upon, evangelical religion, see James Simpson, *Permanent Revolution: The Reformation and the Illiberal Roots of Liberalism* (Cambridge, Mass.: 2019).

British and Irish history, no longer viewing Catholic studies as a ghetto or intellectual *cul-de-sac*.

The germinal study is John Bossy's *The English Catholic Community, 1570–1850*. Using a largely anthropological and sociological approach (the sociology of religion), Bossy posited the emergence by 1570 of a self-contained and inwardly-oriented body of committed Catholics, who, led by the recusant aristocracy and gentry, mostly retreated from active attempts to influence the national political scene. He also argued that this post-Reformation English Catholic community was distinct from rather than a continuation of its medieval forebear, exhibiting the characteristics of a Nonconformist sect. In other words, the new reality, put starkly, was the death of a church and the birth of a sect. Contrary to the previous orthodoxy, Bossy also contended that the Catholic recusant community experienced a slow but steady growth over the course of several centuries.²³

As with Dickens's *English Reformation*, Bossy's *English Catholic Community* is of fundamental importance, but ongoing historical investigations and newer insights have also shown it to be in some ways problematic and too parochial.²⁴ Most evident in more recent historiography is a consensus that the Catholic community was considerably less isolated and passive, and was, in reality, more outward looking and engaged on the local, national, and international levels. In fact, even within court circles (court culture), Catholicism was evidently more assertive than Bossy believed. In an influential and early response to Bossy, *Charles I and the Popish Plot*, Caroline Hibbard showed how politically active some of the Catholics at the Caroline court were, and how they influenced some significant religious and political developments. This in turn gave rise to anti-Catholic sentiments and fears (justifiable or not) of a “popish plot.” Thus, Hibbard objected to Bossy's arguably naive apolitical stance and criticized his Anglocentrism, an issue that we will examine in some detail below.²⁵

23 *The English Catholic Community, 1570–1850* (London: 1975). See also Bossy's *Christianity in the West, 1400–1700* (Oxford: 1985), a controversial but very influential study that argued that “traditional Christianity” and its “social miracle” was not so much reformed as, in some fundamental ways, deformed by the European Reformations' shift of focus from right social relations to external social discipline.

24 Lucy E.C. Wooding, for example, in *Rethinking Catholicism in Reformation England* (Oxford: 2000) focuses more on the early Reformation and argues that many English Catholics were in sync with reformist impulses of the age. Therefore, she suggests, there was more consensus on a range of religious issues, at least up until the 1560s, than others have contended.

25 Caroline M. Hibbard, *Charles I and the Popish Plot* (Chapel Hill: 1983). See also Michael C. Questier (ed.), *Newsletters from the Caroline Court, 1631–1638: Catholicism and the Politics of the Personal Rule* (Cambridge, Eng.: 2005). Case studies can also be very instructive, as

Another influential monograph is Michael Questier's *Catholicism and Community in Early Modern England*. Contra Bossy's "seigneurialization" and political quietism, Questier refuted the notion of the Catholic community, and specifically the Catholic aristocracy, as largely sectarian and isolated. Rather, English Catholicism/recusancy had the potential to be, and in various times and ways was, a political and cultural force that interacted with the rest of English society. Thus, Questier presented a picture of a self-conscious Catholic community, less divided from the political and social order but experiencing some internal divisions.²⁶ Among other scholars, Lisa McClain, in *Lest We Be Damned*, has shown how English Catholics, whether based on volition or more often on necessity, made their way in a predominantly Protestant society. In the absence of churches and regular access to sacraments and traditional avenues to salvation, many lay men and women engaged in various "negotiations between Catholic orthodoxy and practical necessity." Relying not only on the institutional church, but also on their own conscientious interpretations of belief and practice, many Catholics created new spiritual options as they accommodated to changing circumstances and negotiated their way forward, balancing their personal convictions with their lived experience as a (sometimes persecuted) religious minority.²⁷

Probably the most obvious example of a debt and a response to Bossy's classic study is Gabriel Glickman's *The English Catholic Community, 1688–1745*. A clear difference is Glickman's more concentrated chronology, which focuses on roughly the half century after the Glorious Revolution. He joins most other scholars of post-Reformation England in asserting the active engagement of many Catholics in the political and cultural events of the time, arguing that they were not "pariahs but *participants* within the debates of the kingdom." At the same time, the English Catholic sense of community as well as their

with Anthony Copley, a prominent Catholic poet and writer. See Claire Reid, "Anthony Copley and the Politics of Catholic Loyalty, 1590–1604," *SCJ* 43 (2012), 391–413, which posits that Copley favored a balanced loyalty to both prince and pope that was also proactive and cosmopolitan rather than insular.

26 Michael C. Questier, *Catholicism and Community in Early Modern England: Politics, Aristocratic Patronage and Religion, c.1550–1640* (Cambridge, Eng.: 2006). For a good case study of ongoing Catholic political participation in a predominantly Protestant county, see Jeffrey R. Hankins, "Papists, Power, and Puritans: Catholic Officeholding and the Rise of the 'Puritan Faction' in Early-Seventeenth-Century Essex," *CHR* 95 (2009), 689–717.

27 *Lest We Be Damned: Practical Innovation and Lived Experience among Catholics in Protestant England, 1559–1642* (New York: 2004), 5. See also Marie B. Rowlands (ed.), *English Catholics of Parish and Town, 1558–1778* (London: 1999).

experience of exile combined “to create the origins of an authentic ‘English Catholic Enlightenment.’”²⁸

As further examples of the growing vitality of the field of early modern English/British Catholic studies, several edited collections have significantly broadened our horizons. Ethan Shagan’s *Catholics and the ‘Protestant Nation’* advances the movement out of the earlier historiographical “ghetto” by (re)imagining concepts such as religious politics and religious identity. Thus, while not minimizing the importance of religious differences or polemics, these essays collectively argue that “the English Catholic community was defined as much by its interactions with the rest of English society as by its refusals to engage in such interactions. At the same time, Protestant England, in its political, religious, and social structures, was influenced by or constructed itself in reference to its Catholic population.”²⁹ Like it or not, the religious identity of English Catholics and Protestants was determined in no small part by their interactions with, as well as their (social) distancing from, each other.³⁰

Using a helpful geographic and cartographic metaphor, Lowell Gallagher’s collection, *Redrawing the Map of Early Modern English Catholicism*, cautions against rigidly binary and problematic categories or interpretations, like defining the early modern era in such a way that “early” is associated with Catholicism and “modern” with Protestantism. Stressing that religious borders were often more porous than previously imagined, the essays here examine “the nomadic, experimental, and interstitial character of post-Reformation English Catholicism” through the categories of signposts, poetics, and communities.³¹ As other studies have suggested, including a number of the essays

28 *The English Catholic Community, 1688–1745: Politics, Culture and Ideology* (Woodbridge: 2009), 10 and 18.

29 Ethan Shagan (ed.), *Catholics and the ‘Protestant Nation’: Religious Politics and Identity in Early Modern England* (Manchester: 2005), 18.

30 As another example of the increasing importance of identity in more recent historiography, Timothy Parsons in his study of empires and peoples contends: “The question of identity, what determined who was a subject and who was a citizen, is essential to understanding the true nature of empires, and to their history” (*The Rule of Empires: Those Who Built Them, Those Who Endured Them, and Why They Always Fall* [Oxford: 2010], 15).

31 Lowell Gallagher (ed.), *Redrawing the Map of Early Modern English Catholicism* (Toronto: 2012), 8. For a monograph that problematizes the issue of “modernity” and Catholicism, see Moshe Sluhovskiy, *Becoming a New Self: Practices of Belief in Early Modern Catholicism* (Chicago: 2017), which argues that the development of the modern self was at least as much a Catholic as a Protestant or secular trend. See also J. Michelle Molina, *To Overcome Oneself: The Jesuit Ethic and Spirit of Global Expansion, 1520–1767* (Berkeley: 2013), which makes a similar argument but focuses more specifically on Jesuit spirituality and their spiritual practices in Europe and on overseas missions.

in the current collection, many English as well as Irish, Scottish, and Welsh Catholics were on the move, improvising in various ways, and transforming earlier notions of identity and ritual.

Another collection focuses on three new or renewed areas of interest: *Early Modern English Catholicism: Identity, Memory and Counter-Reformation*. Authors explore both individual and collective identities of what it meant to be English/British and Catholic. Memory is an increasingly rich category of investigation, including the various ways that English Catholics used and “remembered” the past, including debates about continuity versus rupture, and the related issue of antiquarianism. Essays on the Counter-Reformation highlight ways that the English and Continental Catholic communities interacted with and were renewed by each other, especially the former by the latter.³²

One of the most significant and influential shifts in this field of historiography has been the “new British history,” which moves us beyond traditional Anglocentrism and recognizes the distinct histories and cultures as well as the commonalities and interactions among the “three kingdoms” (England, Ireland, and Scotland) and the “four nations,” which also incorporates Wales.³³ In addition to its importance in the study of politics and culture, this “transnational turn” has been of great import to religious history and Reformation studies. In addition to some similarities, the ways that the Reformation unfolded in England, and to a related extent in Wales, were often quite different from how the process of religious transformation and Protestantization occurred in Scotland, and dramatically different from the unique Reformation(s) in Ireland, resulting in the survival and determined resistance of a Catholic majority in that Protestant-ruled land.³⁴

The present collection is an ambitious undertaking, which examines multiple aspects of Catholicism in Britain and Ireland as well as Continental Europe over the course of roughly 300 years, from the early 16th to the early 19th centuries. The 20 authors, who hail from Britain, Ireland, the United States, and South Africa, include a range of established and newer scholars in the field, thereby providing a rich variety of vantage points and insights. Additionally,

32 James E. Kelly and Susan Royal (eds), *Early Modern English Catholicism* (Leiden: 2017). For additional insights on the rich topic of religious identity, see Nadine Lewycky and Adam Morton (eds), *Getting Along? Religious Identities and Confessional Relations in Early Modern England: Essays in Honour of Professor W.J. Sheils* (Farnham: 2012).

33 See, for example, Hugh Kearney, *The British Isles: A History of Four Nations*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, Eng.: 2006). See also Norman Davies, *The Isles: A History* ((New York: 1999), which explores not only the connections among the four countries of the Isles, but also their interconnectedness with the broader currents of European history.

34 For a solid overview, see Felicity Heal, *Reformation in Britain and Ireland* (Oxford: 2003).

contributors were not given unduly restrictive parameters, which has allowed for a welcome diversity of approaches and methodologies. The volume as a whole includes both synchronic and diachronic approaches, though many of the essays focus on the 16th and 17th centuries, when Catholicism was most under assault and, therefore, its survival most in doubt. More specifically, the vital 16th century receives extensive coverage, but many essays also delve into some of the lesser explored religious territory of the 17th century. Moreover, in light of the desire to give a fuller picture of the Catholic community from Reformation to Emancipation, several essays focus on or include important developments in the 18th and early 19th centuries (including chapters 1, 2, 6, 18, and especially chapter 19 on the Catholic Enlightenment).

In line with and expanding upon key historiographical developments, many of the essays explore British/Irish and European dimensions of the topic at hand, in essence (as highlighted above) decentering various aspects of the Catholic Reformation. There is to be sure substantial coverage of England, considering its importance both within the “British” Isles and on the wider European stage. However, in addition to specific chapters on Ireland, Scotland, and Wales, important and intersecting developments in these areas are interwoven into many other chapters. Of equal importance, numerous authors discuss connections to and interactions with Continental Catholic Europe, both in terms of people (exiles, travelers, etc., including laypeople as well as clergy and religious) and objects (books, images, relics, etc.).

Terminology can be, at times, confusing and problematic. It was traditional to refer to post-Reformation British Catholic history as the era of “recusancy.” As a verb, “recuse” means to refuse or reject, and its usage appears to go back to the 14th century. As a noun, however, “recusant” apparently only came into use in the 16th century, and only attained a specifically religious connotation in the Elizabethan era. Moreover, authorities, at least officially, used the term almost exclusively in relation to Catholics (“Popish Recusants”), in a legal/ecclesiastical “sense of persons who refused to attend the Prayer Book services of the Church of England,” as prescribed by the Act of Uniformity of 1559.³⁵ Therefore, strictly speaking, recusancy was as much, if not more, a legal category as a religious one. Historians have come to realize that religious boundaries and identities were often more porous and malleable than categories such as “recusant” suggest. This is also clear in the related area of religious conversion, which has attracted an increasing amount of scholarly attention.³⁶

35 Hugh Bowler (ed.), *Recusant Roll No. 2, 1593–1594*, (CRS) 57 (London: 1965), viii–ix.

36 See, for example, Michael C. Questier, *Conversion, Politics and Religion in England, 1580–1625* (Cambridge, Eng.: 1996); Jeffrey S. Shoulson, *Fictions of Conversion: Jews, Christians,*

Alexandra Walsham's pivotal work on *Church Papists* showed how some individuals attended the established church, at least intermittently, and yet remained Catholic in their fundamental beliefs and practices.³⁷ Therefore, it is more helpful and probably more accurate to speak of a spectrum of Catholic adherence: from strict recusants, to church papists (occasional conformity), to regular worshippers at the established church (that is, outwardly Prayer Book Protestants) who may have privately retained a devotion to certain Catholic rituals and beliefs. Thus, this volume is entitled *Catholicism and Recusancy*, retaining the important and still useful category of "recusancy" but affirming that "Catholicism" encompasses a far more capacious and nuanced understanding of the range and levels of Catholic commitment in early modern England and Wales.³⁸ In Scotland and Ireland, "recusancy" can be rather more problematic since, both *de jure* and *de facto*, Catholics in those kingdoms faced different realities, both in court and in town and country. In Scotland, occasional conformity was more widely accepted and justified, and evidently much more widely practiced, than in England. In Ireland, a continuing Catholic majority presented an almost insurmountable obstacle to enforced

and *Cultures of Change in Early Modern England* (Philadelphia: 2013); Abigail Shinn, *Conversion Narratives in Early Modern England: Tales of Turning* (London: 2018); Simon Ditchfield and Helen Smith (eds), *Conversions: Gender and Religious Change in Early Modern Europe* (Manchester: 2017).

37 *Church Papists: Catholicism, Conformity and Confessional Polemic in Early Modern England* (Woodbridge: 1993). See also Andrew R. Muldoon, "Recusants, Church Papists, and 'Comfortable' Missionaries: Assessing the Post-Reformation English Catholic Community," *CHR* 86 (2000), 242–57.

38 As with the term "Counter-Reformation," "recusancy" is an older and in some ways limited descriptive, but both terms are important parts of more encompassing realities and, therefore, they continue to be historiographically valuable in the wider narrative of early modern Catholicism. See, for example, Bamji et al., *The Ashgate Research Companion to the Counter-Reformation*, and Ginevra Crosignani, Thomas M. McCoog, and Michael Questier (eds), *Recusancy and Conformity in Early Modern England: Manuscript and Printed Sources in Translation* (Toronto: 2010). As a helpful parallel, in her study of early modern French Catholicism, Barbara Diefendorf writes, "France's Catholic revival was the product of both a Counter-Reformation and a Catholic Reformation. ... Anti-Protestantism and Catholic reform were so closely intertwined that it would be futile to try to separate them" (*Planting the Cross*, 151). Those realities were true to differing degrees in Britain and Ireland as well, with the important distinction that, especially in England and Wales, the recusancy and Catholicism of much of the "popish" religious minority were intertwined. The paradoxical result was their separation from, as well as, with some considerable variations, their integration into the wider national community.

conformity. Moreover, neither nation enacted penal laws that were as severe as those that were operable, or at least on the books, in England and Wales.³⁹

Setting the scene in *Catholicism and Recusancy* for the more specialist chapters that follow, William Sheils takes on the yeoman's task of providing a "Historical Overview" of Catholic history (especially in England and Wales) across several centuries, from the Henrician Reformation to Catholic Emancipation (1829). Adopting much of the framework of Bossy's pioneering study of 1975, Sheils shows how subsequent research has both built upon and modified that interpretation. The chapter's first section, covering much of the Tudor and Jacobean periods, focuses principally on Catholics' relations with the state through the study of important lay households and clerical leaders, as well as the role of the English seminaries abroad. The next section, which takes readers up to the Glorious Revolution, while reflecting on the political context, including the issue of Catholic loyalism, also considers the social and cultural contexts as seen through the community's organization, devotional life, and literary production. These include the important role of women, both domestically and through the English convents abroad. The final section, leading to Emancipation, discusses Catholics as a more "settled" community within the national religious life, including the complicating role of Jacobitism, and the Catholic community's emergence as a "church," distinct from but in some sense part of the nation's religious history. Through all of this, Catholics, like Protestants, used history and related antiquarian interests to construct a more coherent (and comforting) view of the past, a past that they tried, with mixed success, to harmonize with their contemporary world and lived experience.⁴⁰

The volume then unfolds in three parts. Part 1, "The Community and Its Place in the National and International Scene," is the longest and covers the widest array of topics. Peter Phillips (in the first of three chapters on clergy and male and female religious) discusses the vital role of the English secular clergy from the enactment of the Elizabethan Settlement up to Emancipation. The seculars were always predominant in numbers over the regular clergy and did much of the challenging work of ministering pastorally and sacramentally to

39 See chap. 12 in the current volume for more on the complex issue of recusancy. For a discussion of how several major early modern European writers tried to come to terms with these issues, especially regarding public versus private life and religiosity, and separation of church and state, see Natasha Constantinidou, *Responses to Religious Division, c.1580–1620: Public and Private, Divine and Temporal* (Leiden: 2017).

40 See, for example, Katherine Van Liere, Simon Ditchfield, and Howard Louthan (eds), *Sacred History: Uses of the Christian Past in the Renaissance World* (Oxford: 2012).

the Catholic laity.⁴¹ In addition to encapsulating the domestic scene, Phillips draws many connections to developments in Catholic Continental Europe, including the seminaries and ways in which Counter-Reformation (Tridentine) spirituality reinvigorated the Catholic clergy and laity.⁴²

Complementing coverage of the Catholic male clergy and religious, Thomas McCoog, S.J., investigates the impact of the Jesuits and other male religious orders in Britain and Ireland. Because the Jesuits were the largest and best organized of the orders on the mission, at least in Britain, they are the principal focus here, but the contributions of the Benedictines, Dominicans, Franciscans, and others are well incorporated into the narrative. In Ireland, by contrast, the Franciscans take center stage as the most influential of the religious orders. In addition to their work and cooperation on the mission, McCoog also discusses rivalries among the various orders, as well as between some of the seculars and regulars. An issue that was of great importance to the Catholic community as a whole – religious identity – caused particular difficulties for many religious, who found it near-impossible to live by the traditional norms of religious life in a missionary and persecuting environment.⁴³

One of the most significant and enriching shifts in recent historiography has been the fuller incorporation of women and gender studies into historical narratives, and this has been a particularly fruitful development in the areas of

41 The Catholic secular clergy did not take formal religious vows and were typically under the authority of a bishop, whereas the regular clergy were members of a religious order, such as the Benedictines or Franciscans, who took the three traditional religious vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience.

42 For the period of the early Reformation, see Peter Marshall, *The Catholic Priesthood and the English Reformation* (Oxford: 1994). See also Godfrey Anstruther, O.P., *The Seminary Priests: A Dictionary of the Secular Clergy of England and Wales, 1558–1850*, 3 vols (Ware: 1969, 1975, and 1976); Dominic Aidan Bellenger, O.S.B. (ed.), *English and Welsh Priests, 1558–1800: A Working List* (Bath: 1984).

43 For in-depth coverage of the Jesuits from 1541 to 1606, see the trilogy of Thomas M. McCoog, S.J., *The Society of Jesus in Ireland, Scotland, and England* (Leiden: 1996, 2012, and 2017). On religious identity, see McCoog, “*And Touching Our Society*”: *Fashioning Jesuit Identity in Elizabethan England* (Toronto: 2013). See also Robert E. Scully, S.J., *Into the Lion’s Den: The Jesuit Mission in Elizabethan England and Wales, 1580–1603* (St Louis: 2011); James E. Kelly and Hannah Thomas (eds), *Jesuit Intellectual and Physical Exchange between England and Mainland Europe, c.1580–1789: “The world is our house”* (Leiden: 2019). With regard to the Benedictines, especially those in exile, see the website *Monks in Motion: The English and Welsh Benedictines in Exile, c.1553–1800*, Durham University, last modified 25 July 2018, <https://www.dur.ac.uk/mim/>. As for Scottish Benedictines, see Thomas McNally, *A Saltire in the German Lands: Scottish Benedictine Monasteries in Germany, 1575–1862* (Aberdeen: 2017).

social, cultural, and religious history and spirituality.⁴⁴ Caroline Bowden has been one of the leading voices bringing to light the extensive network of convents in exile that resulted from the dissolution of the religious houses during the Henrician Reformation.⁴⁵ Here (in the first of two chapters concentrating on Catholic women: religious and laity) she focuses on the numerous English and Irish Catholic women who went abroad in order to live out their religious vocation. Many women played important roles in the founding of convents of Bridgettines, Benedictines, Dominicans, Poor Clares, and others across much of Catholic western Europe. Through their writings, spirituality, and various interactions, many of these nuns were actively engaged and in tune with the crosscurrents of the Catholic Reformation. Moreover, many maintained contacts well beyond their convents, including with families and coreligionists back home. It is important to note that, despite the Council of Trent's mandate regarding the enclosure (cloister) of women religious, convent walls were often far more permeable in the lived experience of many early modern nuns, who significantly impacted the wider Catholic culture, which in turn continued to influence and inspire them.⁴⁶

Despite the important role and status of women religious exiles, they constituted but a small percentage of the female Catholic community. Colleen Seguin adds an important chapter on recusant laywomen (the first of three chapters that focus on the lives of the Catholic laity and lay religious culture). Building upon Bossy's famous claim that early modern English Catholicism, at least into the early 17th century, constituted a virtual "matriarchy,"⁴⁷ and moving beyond coverage of the revered female martyr-saints such as Margaret

44 For an example from 16th-century France, see Suzannah Lipscomb, *The Voices of Nîmes: Women, Sex, and Marriage in Reformation Languedoc* (Oxford: 2019), which examines the lives and active agency of ordinary women.

45 See Caroline Bowden and James E. Kelly (eds), *The English Convents in Exile, 1600–1800: Communities, Culture and Identity* (Farnham: 2013); Claire Walker, *Gender and Politics in Early Modern Europe: English Convents in France and the Low Countries* (New York: 2003). See also the website *Who Were the Nuns? A Prosopographical Study of the English Convents in Exile, 1600–1800*, Queen Mary University of London, accessed 28 March 2019, <https://wwtn.history.qmul.ac.uk/>.

46 See Elizabeth A. Lehfeltdt, *Religious Women in Golden Age Spain: The Permeable Cloister* (Aldershot: 2005); Jenna Lay, *Beyond the Cloister: Catholic Englishwomen and Early Modern Literary Culture* (Philadelphia: 2016); Laurence Lux-Sterritt, *English Benedictine Nuns in Exile in the Seventeenth Century: Living Spirituality* (Manchester: 2017). For an insightful essay on the continuing importance – and seriousness – of the study of early modern nuns and convents, see Elizabeth A. Lehfeltdt, "Why Nuns Aren't Funny," *SCJ* 50 (2019), 69–75.

47 Bossy, *English Catholic Community*, 150–60.

Clitherow and Anne Line, Seguin concentrates on the lives of more ordinary Catholic women. She discusses how they tried to fulfill their traditional religious responsibilities as wives, mothers, and daughters. These included catechizing their children, encouraging marriage to coreligionists, and generally promoting Catholic spirituality and observance in their households, despite the penal laws and, even more challenging for some, tensions with their Protestant husbands.⁴⁸ Moreover, just as convent walls could be permeable, so too was the line between lay and religious life for those women who did not feel called to be cloistered nuns but who desired to live devout and sometimes vowed lives of active service in the world.⁴⁹

In the hierarchical society of early modern England and elsewhere, the nobility and gentry exerted an oversized role, and that heightened influence was certainly evident in the Catholic community as well.⁵⁰ Susan Cogan explores how the social and, to some degree, political status of upper-class Catholics could give them a measure of privileged space within which to practice their religious beliefs. She draws upon the helpful categories of identity, entourages, and social networks, which fostered ties of family and faith, to demonstrate how these individuals and families could, depending on times and circumstances, assist not only each other but also their coreligionists down the social scale.⁵¹ In addition, Cogan analyzes the influence of gender roles, showing how those expectations shaped the everyday experiences of Catholic women and men among the gentry and nobility.

48 As examples of the latter, see Christine Peters, "Religion, Household-State Authority, and the Defense of 'Collapsed Ladies' in Early Jacobean England," *SCJ* 45 (2014), 631–57.

49 See Alison Weber (ed.), *Devout Laywomen in the Early Modern World* (New York: 2016); Jennifer Hillman, "Lay Female Devotional Lives in the Counter Reformation," *Church History and Religious Culture* 97 (2017), 369–80. Perhaps most famously, Mary Ward, in the early 17th century, promoted religious life and service beyond the cloister, though her heroic efforts were ultimately unsuccessful; see Christina Kenworthy-Browne (ed.), *Mary Ward (1585–1645): A Brief Relation – with Autobiographical Fragments and a Selection of Letters* (Woodbridge: 2008).

50 For a good general study, see Felicity Heal and Clive Holmes, *The Gentry in England and Wales, 1500–1700* (Stanford: 1994). See also David Starkey (ed.), *Rivals in Power: Lives and Letters of the Great Tudor Dynasties* (New York: 1990). For an examination of the intersecting and at times conflicting social hierarchies of class and gender, see Susan Dwyer Amussen, *An Ordered Society: Gender and Class in England, 1500–1750* (Oxford: 1989).

51 For a broad-based study of social networks, see Kate Davison, "Early Modern Social Networks: Antecedents, Opportunities, and Challenges," *AHR* 124 (2019), 456–82. A case study with particular relevance to this volume is John Bergin, "Irish Catholics and Their Networks in Eighteenth-Century London," *Eighteenth-Century Life* 39 (2015), 66–102.

We have seen how some male and female religious went into exile in order to live out their desired vocation. However, many lay Catholics also went abroad because of their religious convictions. They joined the thousands of other religious refugees and migrants who scattered across early modern Europe and beyond, not only Catholics and Protestants, but Jews and Muslims as well. In an insightful “alternative history of the Reformation,” Nicholas Terpstra views this mass phenomenon as a central and understudied aspect of this era, even suggesting that we should shift the Reformation’s starting point backward to 1492. He argues that the expulsion of the Jews from Spain was the true beginning of decades if not centuries of a process of “purgation [that] was so central a part of religious reform.”⁵²

There were, of course, voluntary and involuntary religious exiles and migrants. Liesbeth Corens has broadened our perspective on the English Catholic community at home and abroad with a new interpretive (diasporic) model: *Confessional Mobility and English Catholics in Counter-Reformation Europe*, which somewhat shifts the focus from “exile” to “mobility.” She contends that extensive cross-Channel connections created, in effect, a relatively mobile community without borders, facilitated especially through correspondence and travel.⁵³ In that vein, Anne Throckmorton focuses her essay in this volume on English lay Catholics who voluntarily chose to go abroad, including many long-term exiles. In light of the frequent loss of property and reputation that such exiles faced (for example, as alleged traitors), she examines their survival strategies and their attempts to create communities abroad, including college communities, as well as the ways that some tried to influence political events in the mother country. She also explores how the lives of exiles mirrored

52 *Religious Refugees in the Early Modern World: An Alternative History of the Reformation* (New York: 2015), 2. For a particularly relevant case study, which examines both hostile and sympathetic responses to religious exiles, see Katy Gibbons, *English Catholic Exiles in Late Sixteenth-Century Paris* (Woodbridge: 2011). Presenting broader canvases of confessional migration, see Timothy G. Fehler et al. (eds.), *Religious Diaspora in Early Modern Europe: Strategies of Exile* (London: 2014); Yosef Kaplan (ed.), *Early Modern Ethnic and Religious Communities in Exile* (Newcastle: 2017).

53 Corens, *Confessional Mobility* (Oxford: 2019). In addition to the traditional category of exiles, Corens investigates fugitives, educational travelers, pilgrims, intercessors, and record keepers. In all, she contributes to the project of decentering Catholic/Counter-Reformation scholarship by (re)incorporating English Catholics into both English and Continental Catholic history. For an example of a travel and conversion narrative of an Anglo-Irish Protestant who embraced Catholicism, see Brian Mac Cuarta, S.J. (ed.), *Henry Piers’s Continental Travels, 1595–1598* (Cambridge, Eng.: 2018).

in various ways the lot of their coreligionists back home, some of whom may well have endured their own version of “internal exile.”⁵⁴

While many chapters in this collection look beyond England on a wide array of topics, several essays delve in depth into early modern Irish, Scottish, and Welsh Catholicism. John McCafferty addresses the intriguing question of why and how the great majority of the Irish population resisted conforming to the (Protestant) Church of Ireland and the related Protestant Ascendancy.⁵⁵ Rather than a traditional focus on homebound “ecclesiastical politics,” this essay first examines the Irish experience abroad, in the colleges and seminaries, as well as among clergy and laity, and the roles that these played in formulating a post-ethnic Catholic identity for the Gaelic Irish and Old English alike. McCafferty also looks at the lived experiences of the Irish Catholic community at home, including material culture, Tridentine and moral reform, the failed suppression of the religious orders, and the continuing (and elusive) hope of toleration. Instructively, he draws some points of comparison with English and Scottish experiences, for example regarding “recusancy,” since in Ireland the penal legislation was applied quite unevenly and sporadically, especially as compared to England.⁵⁶

Scottish Catholicism has been a generally understudied area, and the current volume addresses that shortfall with two essays that delve into major aspects of Scottish Catholic life, both abroad and at home.⁵⁷ Jane Stevenson first provides an insightful overview of Catholicism in Scotland and then concentrates on its literary culture. Of particular import is the fact that most Scottish Catholic publishing in this period occurred abroad, and, therefore, most of these authors wrote in Latin to reach an international audience. When using the vernacular, however, most wrote in Scots, whereas Scottish Protestants used English, which Stevenson sees as a conscious use of linguistic politics. As for the Scottish Catholic exiles, their corpus included poetry,

54 See, especially with regard to overseas education, Liam Chambers and Thomas O'Connor (eds), *College Communities Abroad: Education, Migration and Catholicism in Early Modern Europe* (Manchester: 2017); Chambers and O'Connor (eds), *Forming Catholic Communities: Irish, Scots and English College Networks in Europe, 1568–1918* (Leiden: 2018).

55 Other chapters in this volume that deal with Irish Catholicism in some depth include chaps. 3, 4, 12, 18, and 19.

56 As examples of significant long-term studies of exiles, as well as the important role of the Franciscans, see Thomas O'Connor (ed.), *The Irish in Europe, 1580–1815* (Dublin: 2001); Edel Bhreathnach, Joseph MacMahon, and John McCafferty (eds), *The Irish Franciscans, 1534–1990* (Dublin: 2009).

57 In addition to chaps. 9 and 10, others that touch on aspects of Scottish Catholicism include chaps. 3, 12, 18, and 19.

romance, drama, history, and works by controversialists and scientists. The second essay, by Peter Davidson and David Walker, discusses three manifestations of Scottish Catholic material culture: architecture, painted rooms, and instructive religious objects and paintings. The authors suggest that the rhetoric of the Reformation in Scotland was so violent that it comes as a surprise that there is anything at all remaining of Stuart-era Catholic culture, which was in no small part a culture of devotion and memory. The buildings discussed include (fortified) houses and chapels, while the objects include books, woodwork, vestments, and paintings. Some of these objects were created in Scotland, while others were produced in exile, including at the several Scots colleges and monasteries abroad.

Even since the advent of the “new British history,” Wales has continued to be somewhat overlooked in many accounts, and this is certainly true with regard to religious history. As a necessary corrective, Hannah Thomas illuminates the breadth and impact of Welsh Catholicism from the 16th to the early 18th centuries.⁵⁸ She examines the pastoral efforts of the secular clergy as well as the Benedictines and the Jesuits, including the latter’s missionary headquarters on the Welsh-English border. Thomas shows how in Wales, as elsewhere, patronage networks were crucial to the ways in which the clergy interacted with and were able to meet many of the spiritual needs of Welsh gentry and other Catholics, including the support of several successive generations of the powerful and wealthy Somerset family.⁵⁹

In Part 2, “Opposition: Within and Without,” two essays discuss wide-ranging difficulties that the British and Irish Catholic communities faced, respectively, internally and externally. Robert Scully, S.J., addresses the debates among Catholics, especially regarding the issue of recusancy, which was a particularly controverted topic in the later 16th and early 17th centuries. Possible positions ranged from strict recusancy, to occasional conformity, to full(er) conformity whereby one was outwardly a Protestant but inwardly (what some called a perjured) Catholic. The official response of church and state was to condemn subterfuge. British and Irish Catholics engaged in a series of written debates, partly influenced by the fact that recusancy was more clearly defined and condemned in England and Wales, as compared to the differing political

58 Additional discussions of Welsh Catholicism are found especially in chaps. 1, 12, 15, and 18.

59 For a comprehensive study of Welsh history and culture, see John Davies, *A History of Wales*, rev. ed. (London: 2007). As an example of the increasing incorporation of Wales and Welsh Catholicism into broader British historical narratives, see Scully, *Into the Lion’s Den: The Jesuit Mission in Elizabethan England and Wales*, esp. chap. 4.

and religious realities operative in Scotland and Ireland. In any event, official Catholic theory (theology), which strongly mandated recusancy, sometimes diverged from pastoral practice, which offered some nuance in dealing with sin and sinner, especially as related to partial conformity versus orthodoxy/recusancy, including the morally complicating factor of conscience.⁶⁰

If the long Reformation was a time of great religious vitality and renewal, there is no denying that it also unleashed waves of religious animosity and intolerance. In Britain and Ireland, anti-Catholicism became embedded in the national consciousness, at least among many sections of the population, with tolerance and intolerance fighting it out across the centuries.⁶¹ Adam Morton addresses this phenomenon, showing how and why anti-Catholicism (“No Popery”) was both a malleable and perduring fact of British life, tracing its ebbs and flows from the 16th to the 19th centuries. It evolved often in contradistinction to a growing sense of “English” or “British” identity, which many Britons increasingly identified with being Protestant.⁶² A particularly valuable insight that Morton offers is that the enduring perception of Catholicism as a dangerous “other” was, ironically, a reflection of its continuing cultural presence and vitality, which was in its own way an unintended and backhanded compliment.⁶³

Part 3, the final section of this collection, centers on the important but, truth be told, hard to define or delimit topic of “Catholic/Recusant Culture,” facets of which are highlighted in some earlier chapters (especially the two chapters on Scotland and the ones on Ireland and Wales). A major contribution to this

60 See, for example, Peter Lake and Michael Questier (eds), *Conformity and Orthodoxy in the English Church, c.1560–1660* (Woodbridge: 2000); Ginevra Crosignani et al., *Recusancy and Conformity in Early Modern England: Manuscript and Printed Sources in Translation*.

61 See, in particular, Alexandra Walsham, *Charitable Hatred: Tolerance and Intolerance in England, 1500–1700* (Manchester: 2006). See also Arthur F. Marotti, *Religious Ideology and Cultural Fantasy: Catholic and Anti-Catholic Discourses in Early Modern England* (Notre Dame: 2005); Marotti (ed.), *Catholicism and Anti-Catholicism in Early Modern English Texts* (New York: 1999). See, more broadly, Benjamin J. Kaplan, *Divided by Faith: Religious Conflict and the Practice of Toleration in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, Mass.: 2007), which problematizes the intersection of religious conflict and toleration, showing how early modern Europeans could be both tolerant and intolerant; Kaplan, *Reformation and the Practice of Toleration: Dutch Religious History in the Early Modern Era* (Leiden: 2019).

62 For the growing importance of Protestantism to national identity, a foundational study is Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707–1837* (London: 1992), which focuses more on political culture; see also Alec Ryrie, *Being Protestant in Reformation Britain* (Oxford: 2013), which focuses on an earlier period and more on religious culture.

63 For a discussion of anti-Catholicism in British America, see Robert Emmett Curran, *Papist Devils: Catholics in British America, 1574–1783* (Washington, DC: 2014).

field, *Catholic Culture in Early Modern England*, understands the term broadly as the whole way of life of a community.⁶⁴ That is essentially the approach taken here, with half a dozen essays on major aspects of early modern Catholic life and culture. While several of these essays focus on English Catholic culture in the 16th and 17th centuries, others range more broadly across place and time. An integral part of the study of early modern religion has been the prominent role of martyrdom across much of Europe – Catholic and Protestant. Although they totaled only a tiny percent of the total population, perhaps 5000 in all, martyrs made a larger-than-life impact in terms of their heroic religious commitment, even unto death.⁶⁵

Anne Dillon has written a major study of martyrdom in the English Catholic context.⁶⁶ Her essay in the current volume both summarizes and further develops a number of insights on this important topic. A particularly salient point is that the interpretation of a death as martyrdom was in some sense socially constructed. One person's martyr was another's pseudomartyr. As examples, the Catholic recusant community declared as "martyrs" those whose death witnessed to the true (Catholic) Church, whereas the Crown and Church of England castigated these same individuals as traitors and heretics, that is, "pseudomartyrs." There were also debates within the Catholic community, for example between Jesuits and seculars, some of whom contested the martyrological credentials of the others' ostensible martyrs and saints. Yet, despite some internal disagreements, martyrs generally helped to strengthen the identity and fortitude of persecuted religious communities. Catholics fostered the cult of martyrdom through relics, images, and martyrologies, thereby uniting the Church Militant with the Church Triumphant.

64 Ronald Corthell et al. (eds), *Catholic Culture in Early Modern England* (Notre Dame: 2007). See also Andrew Hiscock and Helen Wilcox (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Early Modern English Literature and Religion* (Oxford: 2017), a collection of 35 essays on Protestant and Catholic literary and cultural history. For an insightful narrative approach, see Norman Jones, *The English Reformation: Religion and Cultural Adaptation* (Oxford: 2002).

65 The foundational account is Brad S. Gregory, *Salvation at Stake: Christian Martyrdom in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, Mass.: 1999). In Gregory's collective estimate, "In Western Europe, we are talking about perhaps 5000 people altogether" who were executed as religious martyrs. In frightening contrast and telling perspective, "The Nazis on average killed more Jews *each day* in 1941 and 1942 than there were Christians executed for heterodoxy in the entire sixteenth and seventeenth centuries" (Gregory, 6, emphasis in original).

66 *The Construction of Martyrdom in the English Catholic Community, 1535–1603* (Aldershot: 2002). See also Thomas S. Freeman and Thomas F. Mayer (eds), *Martyrs and Martyrdom in England, c.1400–1700* (Rochester: 2007).

In the age of the Renaissance and Reformation, literary culture clearly played a prominent role, affecting and reflecting much of the wider culture. Victor Houlston provides an expansive overview of Catholic recusant literary culture, concentrating on England and Wales (as Jane Stevenson has done as part of chapter 9 on the Scottish Catholic community). According to Houlston, the three most significant modes of production, performance, and reception were the household, prison, and exile. He sees households as catacombs and fortresses of recusant culture; prisons were in vital ways its nerve center; and virtually all recusants had links with relatives and priests in exile. Recent scholarship has emphasized the diversity within this literary culture, including oral-ity, manuscript distribution, the role of both vernacular and Latin texts, and more.⁶⁷ The coverage here centers on the Elizabethan and early Stuart periods and surveys the genres of sacred and devotional texts, martyrology and hagiography, poetry and drama, controversy, history, and conversion narratives, including both earlier English and Continental Catholic authors.

If political alliances sometimes result in strange bedfellows, that is arguably even more true when politics and religion bed together. Gary Jenkins discusses the interplay of Catholic political thought and theology, focusing on the Elizabethan era. He shows how changing circumstances reveal the uncertainties of English Catholics regarding their political commitments and how these related to their theological beliefs. They debated the pros and cons of monarchies and republics but, in both action and print, never confined themselves to one political form or another.⁶⁸

67 Among important contributions, see Alison Shell, *Catholicism, Controversy and the English Literary Imagination, 1558–1660* (Cambridge, Eng.: 1999); Shell, *Oral Culture and Catholicism in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, Eng.: 2007); Marotti, *Religious Ideology and Cultural Fantasy*; Susannah Brietz Monta, *Martyrdom and Literature in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, Eng.: 2005); Christopher Highley, *Catholics Writing the Nation in Early Modern Britain and Ireland* (Oxford: 2008); Ruth Ahnert, *The Rise of Prison Literature in the Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge, Eng.: 2013).

68 See, for example, Peter Holmes, *Resistance and Compromise: The Political Thought of the English Catholics* (Cambridge, Eng.: 1982). For a broader exploration of English political culture, see John F. McDiarmid (ed.), *The Monarchical Republic of Early Modern England: Essays in Response to Patrick Collinson* (Aldershot: 2007), a range of essays pro and con regarding the genuine existence or durability of Collinson's purported Elizabethan monarchical republic, including the latter's nuanced response. Concerning Elizabethan political culture and the contention that Catholic polemic was central to the public sphere, see Peter Lake, *Bad Queen Bess? Libels, Secret Histories, and the Politics of Publicity in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth I* (Oxford: 2016); Lake and Michael Questier, *All Hail to the Archbishop: Confessional Conflict, Toleration, and the Politics of Publicity in Post-Reformation England* (Oxford: 2019).

We have seen how material culture, especially religious material culture, has come to play such an important role in understanding the past, in part, ironically, because especially many Protestants viewed religious objects as potentially dangerous and idolatrous, and therefore subjected them to iconoclasm. At the same time, many such items were portable and enriched the spiritual lives of especially many Catholic individuals and communities, revealing both creative and destructive aspects of, and responses to, religious material culture.⁶⁹ Scholars have devoted an increasing amount of attention to this expansive topic, which also includes religious/sacred space, the landscape, and the senses.⁷⁰ In this collection, as noted above, John McCafferty discusses material culture in chapter 8 as part of his coverage of Catholic Ireland; Peter Davidson and David Walker delve into Scottish Catholic material culture in chapter 10; and Hannah Thomas incorporates this topic into her discussion of Welsh Catholicism in chapter 11. In a wide-ranging study, Janet Graffius, in chapter 17, provides an in-depth look at Catholic material culture, focusing on England, especially during the 16th and 17th centuries, but covering the Catholic communities both there and on the Continent. In fact, many religious objects survived because they were smuggled abroad, though some sacred contraband traveled the other way, into the hands of recusant families and priests back home. These items included books and manuscripts, paintings, relics and reliquaries, vestments, and precious objects in silver, pewter, and alabaster – some of British and some of Continental creation.⁷¹

69 For good overviews, see Maureen C. Miller, "Introduction: Material Culture and Catholic History," *CHR* 101 (2015), 1–17; Miller, "Catholic Material Culture: An Introductory Bibliography," *CHR* 101 (2015), 99–106. On early modern Catholicism, see Silvia Evangelisti, "Material Culture," in *Ashgate Research Companion to the Counter-Reformation*, ed. Bamji et al., 395–416. See also Tamara Hamling and Catherine Richardson, *A Day at Home in Early Modern England: Material Culture and Domestic Life, 1500–1700* (New Haven: 2017).

70 See Will Coster and Andrew Spicer (eds), *Sacred Space in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, Eng.: 2005); Susan Guinn-Chipman, *Religious Space in Reformation England: Contesting the Past* (London: 2013); Alexandra Walsham, *The Reformation of the Landscape: Religion, Identity, and Memory in Early Modern Britain and Ireland* (Oxford: 2011); Eric Nelson and Jonathan Wright (eds), *Layered Landscapes: Early Modern Religious Space across Faiths and Cultures* (London: 2017), which employs a global approach to the topic of sacred space. See also Matthew Milner, *The Senses and the English Reformation* (Burlington: 2011); Jacob M. Baum, *Reformation of the Senses: The Paradox of Religious Belief and Practice in Germany* (Urbana: 2019), both of which posit continuity as much as rupture between Protestants and Catholics in the sensory Reformation.

71 For wide-ranging collections, employing both text and image, see Virginia Chieffo Raguin (ed.), *Catholic Collecting, Catholic Reflection, 1538–1850: Objects as a Measure of Reflection on a Catholic Past and the Construction of Recusant Identity in England and America* (Worcester: 2006); James E. Kelly (ed.), *Treasures of Ushaw College: Durham's Hidden Gem*

Lisa McClain has been an important voice on the subject of the devotional life and lived experience of post-Reformation English Catholics, as is clear from her recent study of gender and lay roles in the church. Her primary aim in that monograph is “to explore the Catholic Church’s long-term, ongoing process of balancing gendered and religious authority.”⁷² That thorny issue was arguably as crucial in the early modern era as it is today. In the current volume, McClain highlights the changes in Catholic devotional life in the three centuries before Emancipation throughout the British Isles. Catholics needed access to priests, places to worship, and opportunities to accrue grace. Therefore, the Catholic community made accommodations to meet these needs, constructing a number of possibly lifesaving “priest holes” and worshipping in hidden chapels, jails, and even barns.⁷³ Such accommodations renegotiated relationships between clergy and laity, often involving a greater degree of lay participation in sacraments and rituals for both lay men and women.

The final chapter, appropriately enough, covers the Catholic Enlightenment in Britain and Ireland, part of a series of European if not global intellectual and cultural movements and programs that influenced many areas, including religious life and culture.⁷⁴ In place of the standard view of a largely secular if not anti-religious Enlightenment, revisionist scholarship has proposed a more encompassing view of a concomitant religious Enlightenment (or Enlightenments), with Protestant, Jewish, and Catholic contributions to the wider culture.⁷⁵ With regard to the latter, Ulrich Lehner in *The Catholic Enlightenment* argues that an array of Catholic thinkers, promoting faith and

(London: 2015). See also Alexandra Walsham (ed.), *Relics and Remains* (Oxford: 2010); and, for the material culture of a major baroque court, Erin Griffey, *On Display: Henrietta Maria and the Materials of Magnificence at the Stuart Court* (New Haven: 2015). On a parallel track, with regard to Protestant material culture, see Walsham, “Domesticating the Reformation: Material Culture, Memory and Confessional Identity in Early Modern England,” *RQ* 69 (2016), 566–616.

72 *Divided Loyalties? Pushing the Boundaries of Gender and Lay Roles in the Catholic Church, 1534–1829* (London: 2018), viii.

73 Among the best-preserved recusant houses, with chapels and numerous priest holes, is Harvington Hall in Worcestershire; see Michael Hodgetts, *Life at Harvington, 1250–2000* (Birmingham: 2002). There was, somewhat ironically, a hidden Catholic chapel and priest hole built in the Elizabethan era at Hever Castle in Kent, the childhood home of Elizabeth’s mother, Anne Boleyn; see Gavin Astor (ed.), *Hever Castle and Gardens: History and Guide* (Hever Castle: 2017). For broader coverage, see Jessie Childs, *God’s Traitors: Terror and Faith in Elizabethan England* (Oxford: 2014).

74 For a sweeping interpretation of the “long 18th century” and its impact, see Ritchie Robertson, *The Enlightenment: The Pursuit of Happiness, 1680–1790* (New York: 2021).

75 See, for example, David Sorkin, *The Religious Enlightenment: Protestants, Jews, and Catholics from London to Vienna* (Princeton: 2008); William J. Bulman and Robert

reason, pushed for reform in church and state, in part building on earlier Tridentine reforms as well as anticipating some of the reforms of Vatican II.⁷⁶

Jonathan Wright, in the closing essay, supports this view of a diverse and transnational Catholic Enlightenment and stresses the dynamic interaction between the Continent and the British Isles. He also argues, however, that regionality is key and that there were obviously important differences and constraints in Britain and Ireland, where Catholicism was still illegal. Therefore, the “Catholic Question” (what some opponents of Emancipation called the “abominable Catholic Question”) continued to loom – for better or worse.⁷⁷ Among Catholic “enlighteners,” in addition to commonalities, there were also tensions between “progressive” and “traditional” visions of reform and the best way forward. Catholic Emancipation in 1829 was in some ways a godsend to the British and Irish Catholic communities, but it was not a panacea.⁷⁸ They had traveled a long and winding road, whether from 1534, 1559, 1605, 1688–89, 1715, or later. Although they had not arrived at the Promised Land, they had at least begun a process of fuller integration into (divergent) British and Irish national life and identity. At the same time, they continued to maintain their own religious identity and commitment to the international Catholic community. In Britain and Ireland, that community had begun once again to take on the trappings of a “church,” but one whose perspective was both national and transnational, and, closely related, both inward and outward looking.

At the conclusion of the introduction to this wide-ranging collection of essays on the Catholic community in early modern Britain, Ireland, and beyond,

G. Ingram (eds), *God in the Enlightenment* (Oxford: 2016), which reflects the global turn in Enlightenment studies and argues for its more direct relationship to the Reformation.

76 Ulrich L. Lehner, *The Catholic Enlightenment: The Forgotten History of a Global Movement* (Oxford: 2016). See also Lehner and Michael Printy (eds), *A Companion to the Catholic Enlightenment in Europe* (Leiden: 2010); Christopher M.S. Johns, *The Visual Culture of Catholic Enlightenment* (University Park: 2015), which argues that this movement was both intellectually open and socially aware.

77 With regard to the Gordon Riots of 1780, an extraordinary outburst of civil disorder and anti-Catholicism, see Ian Haywood and John Seed (eds), *The Gordon Riots: Politics, Culture and Insurrection in Late Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Cambridge, Eng.: 2012).

78 For a moving account of this long struggle, focusing on the half-century leading to Emancipation, see Antonia Fraser, *The King and the Catholics: England, Ireland, and the Fight for Religious Freedom, 1780–1829* (New York: 2018). As Fraser notes, “Since Ireland was all-important in the Catholic Question, it was certainly appropriate that at the end two Irishmen [the Protestant Arthur Wellesley, Duke of Wellington, and the Catholic Daniel O’Connell] should face each other across the religious dueling ground,” though they finally compromised, allowing for a reasonable degree of political/religious reform and toleration to triumph (276).

it is interesting to speculate: Did individuals think of themselves primarily as British Catholics or Irish Catholics, or did they evolve alternate understandings, a new and broader hybrid identity that in some ways transcended the limitations that either church or state may still have tried to impose upon them? In any event, for Catholics in the United Kingdom, the future beckoned – with potential pitfalls to be sure, but, even more so, with the hope if not the reasonable expectation that, having finally attained religious liberty, better days lay ahead. In turn, at this important and expansive juncture in early modern British and Irish Catholic studies, the 19 essays in this collection indicate that exciting days lay ahead. The themes highlighted and explored herein, along with many others, continue to be developed and (re)integrated into a more capacious and balanced narrative, not only of British and Irish history, but of the unity and diversity of the early modern Catholic world, as well as the broader currents of European and global history.

Historical Overview, ca. 1530–1829

William J. Sheils

The Act of Supremacy and the executions which followed in 1535 have long been taken as the starting point of England's post-Reformation Catholic history, and from its very beginnings, those, such as Nicholas Sander, who set out to record that history in the reign of Elizabeth I took that starting point as axiomatic. Like all origin stories, however, problems lay behind this one. First there was the polemical point about continuity; in an age when novelty was to be disparaged and claims to antiquity extolled, the question of religious continuity was central to all sides in the confessional argument, and in those debates history was critical, whether in establishing institutional continuity or in tracing the transmission of the Gospel through generations by true believers outside the framework of the institutional church. So, as well as identifying the legislation of the 1530s as marking the defining break between England and the Catholic Church, Sander and his fellow 16th-century historians were claiming that those who objected to the Henrician legislation were the true representatives of the Church established under the primacy of Peter in the Gospels, against the arguments of Protestant writers like John Bale, who viewed the events of the 1530s as the restoration of true Christianity in England from a corrupt and anti-Christian body, the medieval papacy.¹ From the very beginning, the historical argument about the origins of post-Reformation Catholicism in England was a polemical one, initially between Protestant and Catholic, but later, as we shall see, one that was fought among English Catholics themselves, and it continues to be so.

The Henrician legislation was, of course, a major watershed in the history of English religion, but beyond the significant assault on monastic life and privileges, and official condemnation of the more public manifestations of devotion to the saints and their shrines, the Henrician changes left much of the theology and liturgical life of the Church undisturbed. Moreover, the

¹ Brad Gregory, "Situating Early Modern English Catholicism," in James E. Kelly and Susan Royal (eds), *Early Modern English Catholicism: Identity, Memory and Counter-Reformation* (Leiden: 2017), 17–27; William Sheils, "Protestants and the Meanings of Church History, 1540–1662," in Anthony Milton (ed.), *The Oxford History of Anglicanism*, vol. 1: *Reformation and Identity, c.1520–1662* (Oxford: 2017), 297–304.

Church's formal international response to the challenge of Protestantism did not get underway properly until the first meeting of the Council of Trent in 1545, and, although key doctrinal statements were promulgated in 1551, its final decrees were not published until 1564.² In these years of uncertainty we might well ask what those who went to their deaths in opposition to Henry's policies thought they were dying for and, by extension, what was the character of English Catholicism among that wider penumbra of religious conservatives in the years between 1535 and 1570?

1 Traditional Religion? Catholics, 1535 to ca. 1570

For some of those executed during Henry's reign, such as More, Fisher, and the Carthusians, the issue was clear enough: their refusal to accept the Royal Supremacy and therefore, by implication, their support for papal authority, brought them to the scaffold. But for others, such as the leaders of the rebellion known as the Pilgrimage of Grace, Robert Aske and the abbots of Jervaulx and Fountains, it was their defiant response to the dissolution of the smaller monasteries, itself an act under the Supremacy, which led to their executions. This was clearly associated with the assault on the institutions of traditional religion, but the extent to which these rebels identified themselves specifically with papal claims remains a matter of debate.³ Even among those who were executed in these years, therefore, the defense of papal authority was not always the prime motive for their actions; moreover, accepting the Royal Supremacy did not appear to be a problem for many, such as Bishops Stephen Gardiner and Cuthbert Tunstall, who later emerged as champions of the restored Catholicism of Mary's reign.⁴ Indeed, during the 1540s, these leading conservatives successfully rolled back some of the more evangelical legislation of the 1530s following the Act of Six Articles of 1539. English Catholicism survived the Henrician years, albeit with some difficulty, and regained the initiative in the 1540s, but this was to change at the accession of Edward VI. The new

2 John W. O'Malley, *Trent: What Happened at the Council* (Cambridge, MA: 2013).

3 Peter Marshall, "Is the Pope Catholic? Henry VIII and the Semantics of Schism," in Ethan Shagan (ed.), *Catholics and the 'Protestant nation': Religious Politics and Identity in Early Modern England* (Manchester: 2005), 22–48; Richard Hoyle, *The Pilgrimage of Grace and the Politics of the 1530s* (Oxford: 2001), 411–21.

4 Eamon Duffy, *Fires of Faith: Catholic England under Mary Tudor* (New Haven, CT: 2009), 40–42; William Sheils, "From Reformation to Restoration, 1539–1660," in David Brown (ed.) *Durham Cathedral: History, Fabric and Culture* (New Haven, CT: 2015), 81–84.

regime was avowedly Protestant and legislation followed: changing theology, on the eucharist and on purgatory; worship, with the use of English in the liturgy; and ecclesiology, in the introduction of married priests, all in a clearly Protestant direction. The legislation led to resignations by some clergy, and rebellion among some lay and clerical conservatives, most notably over the imposition of the new Prayer Book in 1549, and leaders of the late Henrician church, such as Bishops Gardiner and Tunstall, found themselves removed or temporarily suspended from office. The brevity of Edward's reign makes it difficult to assess both the extent and the depth of this conservative opposition, as the accession of Mary in 1553 restored the English church to communion with Rome, and with a Rome which had, two years earlier, formalized its disagreements with the Protestant Reformers in the first doctrinal statements from the Council of Trent.⁵

By 1555 the boundary between Catholic and Protestant was more clearly delineated by both sides, and the equivocations and uncertainties of the previous 20 years were no longer tenable. The Marian regime was vigorously Catholic and, while most priests remained in their parishes, faced with the revived Catholicism of the regime, a significant minority resigned their livings to serve gathered congregations of Protestants, while about 600 laymen and women with some, mostly younger, Protestant clergy chose to go into exile.⁶ Much of the leadership of the Marian church was in the hands of men who had served the Henrician church or who had been at the universities in those years, and so the argument for continuity made sense. The revived Catholicism of Mary's reign, both its darker side, in the burnings, and its better side, in pastoral and ecclesiastical reform, was driven by these men, but while the restoration of Catholicism held these men together, differences of emphasis emerged. Cardinal Pole, brought back from Rome to lead the English church, remained circumspect about his fellow bishops who had served under Henry, and a generation of younger, able scholars supported by him engaged with the new initiatives from Trent. Where precisely these men would have taken the Marian church cannot be known, as the death of Mary and the accession of Elizabeth brought the Catholic revival to an abrupt halt. What we can be confident of, however, is that the conservatism of the Henrician churchmanship

5 Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Tudor Church Militant: Edward VI and the Protestant Reformation* (London: 1999), 96 and 157–212; Duffy, *Fires of Faith*, 34–56 and 80.

6 Christina Garret, *The Marian Exiles: A Study in the Origins of English Puritanism* (Cambridge, Eng.: 1938).

would have been left behind, to be absorbed within a revived Catholicism inspired by the Council of Trent.⁷

With the resignation of all the Marian bishops bar one in 1558, the leadership of English Catholicism was removed as the deprived episcopate eked out their days in prison or under house arrest.⁸ Many parish priests also resigned their livings, some of them continuing to serve conservative households and clandestine congregations, but most remained in post and in many parishes the character of parochial worship, notwithstanding the use of English, remained tolerable, for the time being at least, to many laypeople who considered themselves Catholic in the sense of having a loyalty to an international Christendom and to traditional religious forms. Among Catholics these were in the majority at this time, but a significant number of younger scholars moved into exile in the early years of Elizabeth's reign, principally at the University of Louvain.⁹ From there they began a public literary campaign against the new regime, inspired by the Continental Catholic reforms which some of them had begun to introduce into England under Mary. They combined this internationalism with a strong emphasis on their native religious tradition; among their output was an edition of the Latin works of Thomas More produced in 1564, to accompany the edition of his English works which had been published by the Marian regime in 1557, and an English translation of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, published in 1565.¹⁰

In England, during the first decade and a half of Elizabeth's reign Catholicism was sustained largely through the activities of those parish clergy who had resigned their livings in the years following 1558, though there were many examples of conservative clergy who also remained in post in the new church. The most famous of these was Richard Trickhay of Morebath in Devon, whose devoted ministry to his parishioners throughout the half century of upheaval

7 Duffy, *Fires of Faith*, 29–56, 147–54, and 200–02; Duffy, “Rome and Catholicity in mid Tudor England,” in his *Saints, Sacrilege and Sedition: Religion and Conflict in the Tudor Reformations* (London: 2012), 195–210; Christopher Highley, *Catholics Writing the Nation in Early Modern Britain and Ireland* (Oxford: 2008), 25–47.

8 George E. Phillips, *The Extinction of the Ancient Hierarchy: An account of the death in prison of the eleven bishops honoured at Rome amongst the martyrs of the Elizabethan persecution* (London: 1905) prints many documents related to these.

9 Alexandra Walsham, *Church Papists: Catholicism, Conformity and Confessional Polemic in Early Modern England* (Woodbridge: 1993), 1–22; Peter Marshall, *Heretics and Believers: A History of the English Reformation* (New Haven, CT: 2017), 466–70.

10 Highley, *Catholics Writing the Nation*, 24–26 and 37–38.

has been memorably recovered by Eamon Duffy.¹¹ More influential perhaps was a man like John Woodward; formerly a fellow of Merton College, Oxford, he held a canonry at Gloucester Cathedral, and parochial livings in Essex and Kent as well as a chaplaincy to Lord Petre. Woodward was effectively a conformist Catholic or “church papist” until 1566, when he resigned all his posts except his chaplaincy before going into exile during the following decade.¹² The boundary between conformity and Catholicism in these years was, for many, both flexible and fluid: uncertainty over the permanence of the religious settlement (or of the regime) and continuing negotiations with the papacy meant that many traditionalists opted to lie low and wait for a better future rather than force confrontation with the regime. This was not a heroic stance and, as we shall see, was fiercely criticized by contemporaries at the time and by later Catholic historians, but it did reflect a reasoned response to the circumstances of the day and undoubtedly preserved Catholic practices and devotion in many parts of England throughout these years. It was not, however, a long-term answer, as the generation of clergy with canonically legitimate orders would eventually die out; still, the importance of these “Marian priests” to the survival of English and Welsh Catholicism should not be underestimated.¹³ The position of both priests and laity, however, was complicated by the events of 1569–70. An abortive rising in the North, ostensibly in defense of Catholicism (celebration of Mass was briefly restored at Durham Cathedral) but incorporating other political and social grievances, and the promulgation of the papal bull *Regnans in excelsis*, excommunicating Elizabeth I the following year, made compromise more difficult for Catholics and established an enduring link between Catholicism and disloyalty in the minds of the regime, which, by now, was more confident of its support among the political establishment.¹⁴

By contrast, at end of the 1560s traditional religion retained a strong hold among the population in many parts of the country: in 1564 on the Welsh borders Bishop Sandys of Worcester complained of the popish priests who, supported by the gentry, perverted “the simple and blaspheme the truth;” in Lancashire, where large numbers of priests resigned after 1558, they continued

11 Christopher Haigh, “From Monopoly to Minority: Catholicism in Early Modern England,” *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, fifth series, 31 (1981), 229–47; Eamon Duffy, *Voices of Morebath: Reformation and Rebellion in an English Village* (New Haven CT: 2003).

12 J.C.H. Aveling, *The Handle and the Axe: The Catholic Recusants in England from the Reformation to Emancipation* (London: 1976), 41.

13 Christopher Haigh, “Catholicism in Early Modern England: Bossy and Beyond,” *Historical Journal* 45 (2002), 481–94.

14 Norman Jones, *The Birth of the Elizabethan Age: England in the 1560s* (Oxford: 1993), 80–86.

to serve the laity of the region in considerable numbers; and in parishes throughout Yorkshire traditional customs such as the tolling of bells at funerals were recorded, as was the survival of festive devotions such as the cycle of Mystery Plays in the larger towns; even in London, the resort of Protestant émigrés fleeing Catholic persecution on the Continent, the bishop, Edmund Grindal, himself a refugee in Mary's reign, reported that "papists do marvelously increase, both in number and in obstinately withdrawing of themselves from the Church."¹⁵ Nor was this religion dependent solely on the priesthood or the gentry; a circle of Catholics in York, centered on the home of a Cambridge-educated physician, Thomas Vavasour, retained its connection with the established church for much of the 1560s, but expressed a faith which reflected a continuity, not just of tradition, but with that age of orthodox reform under Henry VIII which had welcomed Erasmus and nurtured humanists like Colet and More. Catholicism in the 1560s was widespread but difficult to define: often expressed by a devotion to traditional forms, it was also something more in many cases, expressing a rejection of the Elizabethan church in the case of those who were deprived, resigned, or went into exile; in a few instances it drew strength from the Catholic humanism of Henry's reign, especially among the scholarly exiles; and in one or two instances, as with the aristocratic nuns of Syon Abbey or the less wealthy monks of the Benedictine house at Monk Bretton, attempts were made by the survivors of the Dissolution to retain the community life and memory of their institutions.¹⁶ All these strands were to influence future developments, but the landscape in which that future was to emerge was changed radically by the events of 1569–70.

2 Recusancy and Mission, 1570–1688

The Northern Rebellion and the papal bull of 1570, combined with the arrival in England in 1568 of Elizabeth's cousin and potential heir, the fugitive and Catholic Mary, Queen of Scots, created a sharpening of divisions between

15 Michael A Mullett, *Catholics in Britain and Ireland, 1558–1829* (Basingstoke: 1998), 9; J.S. Purvis, *Tudor Parish Documents of the Diocese of York* (Cambridge, Eng.: 1948), 142–80.

16 J.C.H. Aveling, *Catholic Recusancy in the City of York, 1558–1791* (CRS Monograph series) 2 (1970), 35–46 and 65–70; Claire Walker, "Continuity and Isolation: The Bridgettines of Syon in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," in E.A. Jones and Alexandra Walsham (eds), *Syon Abbey and its Books: Reading, Writing and Religion c.1400–1700* (Woodbridge: 2010), 155–60; Claire Cross and Noreen Vickers, *Monks, Friars and Nuns in Sixteenth-Century Yorkshire* (Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Record series) 150 (1995), 9.

religious conservatives and the Protestant regime, which were not alleviated by the abortive Ridolfi Plot in 1571 to place Mary on the throne.¹⁷ These political developments were accompanied by an understanding among the exiles that the situation in England could not be left to drift, and that steps were required to establish an institution which would train clergy to sustain the faith in England as the Marian priests presently at work in England declined in numbers. Accordingly, in 1568 a college was established for this purpose at Douai in the Spanish Netherlands by William Allen, one of the Oxford dons who had refused the Oath of Supremacy. The early students at the college did not share Allen's Marian background, but were formed by their experience of the Elizabethan Settlement and influenced by the Tridentine revival at the recently established university at Douai, founded by Philip II. Their views were more radical than Allen's original purpose and the college soon came to be associated not so much with sustaining the faith as with reconversion, by developing a missionary culture. This was reinforced when the English College at Rome, established in 1576 as an academic house of studies, was convulsed by student revolt partly instigated by rivalry between the English and the Welsh students over its leadership and, in 1579, it was placed under the control of the Jesuits with a specific order for students to serve in England if required.¹⁸

From the arrival of the first seminary priests in 1574, English Catholicism was both energized and complicated by these men and their uncompromising opposition to the English church. The position of the church papists, who remained the most numerous of Catholics throughout Elizabeth's reign, perhaps by as much as three to one, was increasingly challenged by the foreign-trained priests who saw recusancy, that is, separation from any contact with the established church, as the true mark of a Catholic.¹⁹ The more rigorous stance of the priests was responded to by the government with increasingly severe legislation against Catholics, especially after the disastrous invasion of Ireland instigated by Nicholas Sander in 1579, and the Jesuit mission of Robert Persons and Edmund Campion in 1580–81. Prior to 1575 those executed by the regime had been involved in public acts of rebellion, but during the 1570s legislation was passed making it an offence to carry from the Continent sacramentals,

17 John Guy, *'My Heart is My Own': The Life of Mary Queen of Scots* (London: 2004), 460–70.

18 John Bossy, *The English Catholic Community, 1570–1850* (London: 1975), 12–15 and 25–26; Eamon Duffy, "Founding Father: William, Cardinal Allen," in his *Reformation Divided: Catholics, Protestants and the Conversion of England* (London: 2017), 132–67; Jason Nice, *Sacred History and National Identity: Comparisons Between Early Modern Wales and Brittany* (London: 2009), 136–51.

19 Walsham, *Church Papists*, 85–99.

such as *Agnus Dei*. Under this legislation the seminary priest Cuthbert Mayne, serving as a domestic chaplain in Cornwall, was arrested and became the first to be executed, at Truro on 29 November 1577.²⁰

Government legislation tightened further following the Campion/Persons mission and the arrest and execution of Campion, as well as in response to the plots, real and imagined, which were drawn to the person of Mary, Queen of Scots, prior to her execution in February 1587. An Act of 1571 made the import of papal bulls or instruments, or acting under their authority, high treason. In 1581 the fine for nonattendance at church was increased to £20 a month, and those aiding and abetting priests to celebrate Mass were liable to imprisonment and heavy fines. Parliament went further in 1585, when being a priest was made a capital offence, as was harboring them, whilst anyone sending a child abroad for education was required to get a license.²¹ By the end of that year the number of priests active on the mission had grown to almost a hundred, of which 27 had been executed, and a few others had died in prison, as well as some lay supporters.²² The level of activity at home and the fear of Spanish intentions abroad hardened the regime's position well into the 1590s, by which time fear of a Spanish invasion had receded, in practice if not in its rhetorical force. An Act of 1593 against "popish recusants," the first formal use of that term, addressed the laity in particular, restricting recusants to within five miles of their residence upon pain of forfeiture of their estates, and requiring their names to be enrolled in the Exchequer. International events, in both mainland Europe and in Ireland, where rebellion festered into the 1590s, also impacted the Catholic community, causing divisions between pro-Spanish activists and less interventionist laity, which were furthered by rivalries between the Jesuits and secular clergy on the mission. In the last decade of Elizabeth's reign these internal divisions became more pronounced as uncertainty over the succession raised expectations on both sides. The death of Cardinal Allen in 1594 raised the question of leadership among English Catholics, and the Jesuits seized their opportunity by securing from Pope Clement VIII in 1598 the novel title of archpriest for George Blackwell, a secular, who was required to work with the Jesuits. A group of clergy appealed to Rome, thereafter being known as "Appellants," and in 1602 Blackwell's commission was altered to exclude the Jesuits and make him answerable directly to Rome. The Appellants also

20 Gerard Kilroy, *Edmund Campion: A Scholarly Life* (Farnham: 2015), 126–30 and 179–348.

21 Michael Questier, *Dynastic Politics and the British Reformations, 1558–1630* (Oxford: 2019), 124–203. For the legislation, see Geoffrey R. Elton, *The Tudor Constitution* (Cambridge, Eng.: 1965), 410–31.

22 Richard Challoner, *Memoirs of Missionary Priests*, ed. J.H. Pollen (London: 1924), xix–xx.

represented the “loyalist” strain in English Catholicism, by far the dominant one in terms of numbers, and in 1603 a group of them put their name to a Protestation of Loyalty to the queen.²³

The death of Elizabeth in 1603 and the accession of James I, son of Mary, Queen of Scots, raised the hopes of Catholics seeking to find an accommodation within the state. Initially these hopes seemed justified, but, under pressure from the Council, James rapidly drew back from his offers and the resulting disappointment led to the disaster of the Gunpowder Plot of 1605, which revived all those deep-rooted fears about Catholic plotting and disloyalty.²⁴ The response of the government was to issue an Oath of Allegiance in 1607 to all Catholics, numbering perhaps 200,000, of whom 40,000 were recusants, requiring them to abjure the papacy’s right to depose rulers. This proved divisive among English Catholics, laity and clergy alike, though the archpriest Blackwell felt able to take it.²⁵ The parliamentary legislation against Catholics continued to be enforced vigorously, but James’s reign appeared to see an advance by those politically less activist Catholics, and a lessening of Jesuit influence. The replacement of the archpriest in 1623 by a vicar apostolic exercising quasi-episcopal powers at the head of a chapter of secular priests seemed to support this, but the high-handed actions of Richard Smith, the second vicar apostolic, early in Charles I’s reign alienated many leading gentry Catholics, resulting in his removal to France in 1631.²⁶ The Jesuits seized their opportunity to reclaim their position as leaders of the English mission, aided by divisions within the Chapter following Smith’s departure and the absence of any successor. As Charles’s relations with Parliament deteriorated, some leading English Catholics were able to cast themselves as the true loyalists and, at the outbreak of war in 1642, many Catholic families were quick to take up arms in support of the Crown, and to encourage their tenants to follow them.²⁷ Events in Ireland once again compromised the position of English Catholics, and in the heightened tensions following the violent Irish rebellion of 1641,

23 Bossy, *English Catholic Community*, 36–48.

24 Antonia Fraser, *The Gunpowder Plot: Terror and Faith in 1605* (London: 1996); Questier, *Dynastic Politics*, 300–20.

25 Johann P. Sommerville, “Papalist Political Thought and the Controversy over the Jacobean Oath of Allegiance,” in Shagan (ed.), *Catholics and the Protestant nation*, 162–84; Michael C. Questier, “Loyalty, Religion and State Power in Early Modern England: English Romanism and the Jacobean Oath of Allegiance,” *Historical Journal* 40 (1997), 311–29.

26 Bossy, *English Catholic Community*, 54–59.

27 William Sheils, “English Catholics at War and Peace,” in Christopher Durston and Judith Maltby (eds), *Religion in Revolutionary England* (Manchester: 2006), 138–42.

11 priests were executed.²⁸ Charles's parliamentary opponents exploited this, linking royalism with popery and dubbing his northern regiments the "popish army of the north parts." There was some truth in this: almost two-thirds of royalist commanders in Lancashire were Catholic, and two-fifths in Northumberland, whilst of the Lancashire gentry killed during the war, 71 per cent were Catholic.²⁹ In southern counties, notwithstanding dramatic exploits by Catholics such as Lady Arundell at the siege of Wardour Castle in Wiltshire, the majority of Catholic landowners, especially among the lesser gentry, remained neutral, even in counties like Worcestershire, where the greater gentry were strongly royalist.

During the Commonwealth many Catholic landowners suffered sequestration and confiscation of their estates for their active support of the king during the Civil Wars, but there were also opportunities in these years. Church attendance was not enforced to the same degree as before, partly because local administrative structures had been disrupted, but also because of the Cromwellian regime's disposition to toleration. Indeed, some of the clerical leadership proposed a scheme in which, in return for an affirmation of allegiance to the government, Catholics would be allowed to establish six bishoprics along the model of the Gallican church and at arm's length from Rome. This did not get off the ground, but its proposer, Henry Holden, was also influential in political thought, and his protégé, Thomas White, alias Blacklo, produced in his *The Grounds of Obedience and Government* (1655) a model of a secular state in which Catholics and other religious groups could exercise their religion so long as they did not threaten the stability of government.³⁰

The Restoration of 1660 brought these discussions to an end, but Catholics had high hopes of Charles II, who had spent his years of exile in Catholic France and declared his intention to favor a broad and inclusive religious settlement in the Declaration of Breda of 1660, and who, they hoped, would recompense them for their loyalty to the Crown. They were to be disappointed. Whatever his wishes, Charles was thwarted by the Parliament returned in 1662, which was determined to reassert the authority of the Anglican Church and did so over the next few years in a series of measures against both Catholics and Nonconformists.³¹ During these years the leadership of the Catholics remained

28 Joseph Cope, *England and the 1641 Irish Rebellion* (Woodbridge: 2009), esp. 76–88.

29 Andrew Hopper, "The Popish Army of the North: Anti-Catholicism and Parliamentary Allegiance in Civil War Yorkshire, 1642–6," *RH* 25 (2001), 12–28.

30 Sheils, "English Catholics at War and Peace," 147–51; Bossy, *English Catholic Community*, 62–67.

31 John Miller, *Popery and Politics in England, 1660–1688* (Cambridge, Eng.: 1973), 96–107.

in the hands of the secular clergy through the Chapter, whose secretary was John Sergeant. He was a follower of Blacklo and had been secretary throughout the Interregnum, but his link to the republic undermined his position and he resigned in 1667 under pressure from the Dominican Philip Howard, chaplain to the queen, Catherine of Braganza. Charles's attempts to offer toleration through Declarations of Indulgence were resisted by Parliament and, under the Test Act of 1673, the recusancy laws were reintroduced. The number of Catholics remained stable in these years at around 60,000 if recusancy was the measure, but the upheavals of the early 17th century had seen a decline in the number of church papists, most of whom either moved into the established church or became recusants. Although there was a prominent political representation of noble Catholics in Court circles, in the provinces support among the larger landowning gentry had reduced somewhat so that the community, in the 1670s, was less prosperous than previously, though the gentry continued to play a prominent role as supporters and patrons of the 600 or so priests active on the mission, as well as providing new recruits either from their families or those of their tenants and servants.³²

Suspicion of Charles's religious loyalties and the known Catholicism of his brother and heir, James, Duke of York, meant that the question of "popery" was at the center of political life in these years, as reflected in Andrew Marvell's *Account of the Growth of Popery and Arbitrary Government in England* (1677). Anti-Catholic sentiment erupted violently in 1678 with the so-called Popish Plot, during which 17 priests and seven laymen were executed. Particular venom was directed against the Jesuits, nine of whom were executed, with a further 12 dying in prison: the order was always associated with the "political" arm of Catholicism and the focus on them suggests that it was this aspect, defined as "popery" rather than Catholicism more broadly understood, which aroused the opposition of the more radical Protestants.³³ Attempts were made by Parliament to exclude James from the succession, but on the death of Charles in 1685, he became king. This proved not to be the triumph which some of his coreligionists had hoped for.

James's accession was met by two rebellions, quickly put down, but in other respects the reign started well for Catholics. Liturgical life was restored in the chapel royal, and other chapels were established in the provinces; the episcopal authority of the vicar apostolic, John Leyburn, was recognized and there was a massive response to his tour in 1687, with large numbers coming

32 Bossy, *English Catholic Community*, 67–69, table 1 at 415, and figure 1 at 422; Aveling, *Handle and Axe*, 180–204.

33 Miller, *Popery and Politics*, 148–51 and 154–68; J.P. Kenyon, *The Popish Plot* (London: 1972).

forward for confirmation; new associations of secular clergy were established in the provinces, as in Staffordshire, to add to those which had been formed under Charles II; and links with exile religious communities and Continental Catholicism were strengthened. But James's determination to use his dispensing power in pursuit of placing Catholics in key positions, and his support for the Jesuits, reinforced the fears and prejudices of the ruling classes and undermined these advances. The trial of the seven bishops who asked James to reconsider his religious policies, and the birth of a male heir in spring 1688, gave traction to those opposing the king, so that in June 1688 a group of notables invited his son-in-law, William of Orange, to invade England at the head of an army. The arrival of William's army rekindled popular anti-Catholicism; the newly refurbished chapel in Birmingham was burnt down by a mob in the autumn, and several other attacks on Catholic chapels and priests' residences took place; by late autumn William was in control of the government and James, escaping prison, fled to France in December.³⁴

The accession of William and Mary resulted in an Act of Toleration, from which Catholics were excluded, and the eclipse of "popery" as a political creed, though it was still a useful label for its opponents. When Catholicism assumed a political stance in the next half century it crystalized not around the papacy but around the persons of the Stuart pretenders, acquiring the sobriquet "Jacobitism."

3 Adaptation and Emancipation, 1688–1829

Despite being excluded from public life and being prevented from the public worship of their faith under the terms of the Glorious Revolution, the years following 1688 began to see a revival in both Catholic organization and numbers. The years following 1660 had been characterized by stagnation, with the community numbering just short of 60,000 served by about 650 priests, a drop from the 700 and more estimated for the earlier 17th century. Furthermore, most of these priests were closely linked to gentry households and fewer were employed on roving missions among the people. After 1688, however, the organization of the mission was under the authority of four vicars-general, exercising episcopal authority over four districts: the North, covering the counties north of the Humber and the Dee; the West, incorporating the Marches, Wales, and the south-west counties of England; the Midland, covering the

34 Miller, *Popery and Politics*, 229–62; Aveling, *Handle and Axe*, 222–37.

midland counties, the Chilterns, and Norfolk; and London, which included Suffolk and the Home Counties. Under their leadership in the decades following 1689 some semblance of diocesan priestly organization developed through the Associations and Brotherhoods of seculars formed in some counties and regions. In addition to the seculars, there were about 130 Jesuits organized into 14 districts with a provincial based in London, about 50 Benedictines, and smaller numbers of Franciscans and Dominicans active at this time. In the 1690s of the 650 or so priests on the mission, about two-thirds were secular and one-third from the religious orders, over half of these being Jesuits. These years also saw the return of female religious to England with the establishment of a convent in York in 1686 by the Institute of the Blessed Virgin Mary, founded by the Yorkshirewoman Mary Ward in about 1609 to provide schooling for the daughters of Catholic families, which had established communities throughout Europe.³⁵

Such reorganization of clerical life would revive Catholicism in England and Wales, but, for the moment, the gentry continued to play an essential role in the mission, not only in supporting priests whilst on the mission but also in providing their sons for the mission: over 40 per cent of the students at Douai between 1690 and 1740 were the sons of gentry.³⁶ At home their houses were the centers of the mission. The Yate family of Harvington in Staffordshire had a chapel furnished in full baroque taste according to an inventory of 1696, and they also housed a library which grew to over 1700 volumes, as well as subsequently providing almshouses and apprenticeships for their poorer coreligionists. The diary of Thomas Tyldesley of Myerscough in Lancashire reveals the life of a Catholic gentleman: interspersed with standard rural pastimes are references to regular Mass attendance, periodic confession and vespers, as well as sermons, and regular keeping of Lent and fast days. A cultural Jacobite who died on the eve of the 1715 rebellion, Tyldesley maintained a wide circle of Catholic and Protestant friendships. In Monmouthshire in the Welsh Marches Catholic numbers recovered after a fall in the 1690s, centered on the Jesuit mission at Cwm and the Powell family home at Pethir, which provided the base for the Western District vicariate. In 1773 there were 475 recusants recorded in the county, which remained the stronghold of Welsh Catholicism, sending many priests to the mission throughout the period.³⁷ In North Yorkshire the

35 Brian Hemphill, *The Early Vicars Apostolic, 1685–1750* (London: 1954), 17–26; Bossy, *English Catholic Community*, 212–16, map 6 at 416–17, table 2 at 419; Mullett, *Catholics in Britain and Ireland*, 80–81; Aveling, *Catholic Recusancy in York*, 103–05.

36 Bossy, *English Catholic Community*, table 1 at 415.

37 Mullett, *Catholics in Britain and Ireland*, 30–31, 84–85, and 98–100.

Catholic gentry had declined in numbers from 90 in 1670 to 65 by 1691, but they remained a close-knit community interrelated through marriage and sent many of their daughters to the English convents on the Continent: Mary and Dorothy Witham joined Canonesses at Paris in 1700 and 1702; Bridget and Mary Meynell the Canonesses at Cambrai in 1689 and 1693; Barbara and Mary Crathorne the community at Louvain in 1700 and 1701; a daughter of Francis Tunstall of Wycliffe joined the Carmelites at Hoogstraaten; and a niece of the Busbys of Yarm the Dominicans at Brussels in 1700.³⁸ This brings us to the links between English Catholics and the Continent, well established through the seminaries, schools, and convents, and given a renewed energy by the presence of exiles at the Jacobite court at Saint-Germain-en-Laye, where 1000 British names appeared in the parish register between 1692 and 1713, and by another substantial group of exiles around the English Benedictine abbey of Lamspring near Hildesheim in Lower Saxony.³⁹

Contact with the Continent had been essential to English and Welsh Catholics from the very start of the Reformation, offering safety for refugees from the 1540s, scholarly support to students and academics from the 1560s at the universities and the great Jesuit school at St Omer, bases for the seminaries founded at Douai, Rome, and in Spain from the late 1560s, and homes for the exiled religious communities, both male and female, established from the 1590s onwards. Most of these were to be found in the Spanish Netherlands and in France, but communities of exiles were also found in Spain, Portugal, the lower Rhineland, and, of course, in Rome. Notwithstanding the significant support given to many of these ventures by the French and Spanish Crowns from time to time, and less so by the papacy, these institutions needed funding, and English Catholics invested considerable sums in their support. The accounts of the Benedictine convent at Brussels from 1599 to 1736 reveal the significant sums given by Catholic families when their daughters entered the community, while several laypeople held funds in trust for the community throughout the 17th and 18th centuries. By then the system was well established and agents were working on behalf of the convents; from the 1720s the Catholic lawyer Mannock Strickland, whose family held lands in Westmorland and North Yorkshire, acted on behalf of four houses: the Benedictines at Dunkirk and Brussels, the Dominicans at Brussels, and the Augustinian Canonesses at Louvain. Nor was the traffic one way; during the Interregnum, Mary Knatchbull,

38 J.C.H. Aveling, *Northern Catholics: The Catholic Recusants of the North Riding, 1558–1790* (London: 1966), 351–52.

39 Gabriel Glickman, *The English Catholic Community, 1688–1745: Politics, Culture and Ideology* (Woodbridge: 2009), 70–76 and 259–60.

abbess of the Benedictine convent at Ghent, had provided a repository for funds and a source of information exchange for the royal court in exile during negotiations at the time of the Restoration.⁴⁰ All this activity required a regular and busy exchange between English Catholics and the Continent throughout the period, which was not only essential for practical matters such as finance but also had religious and cultural consequences.⁴¹

The embassy chapels had brought Tridentine liturgical practice to London from the late 16th century, and the Catholicism of the Stuart queens had established Continental religious practice within the royal court, so that it was a source of both suspicion and wonder among many of the Protestant establishment; in 1700 the elderly Samuel Pepys, writing to a nephew visiting Rome, insisted that he attend a papal audience and send him back a full report.⁴² Add to this the regular traffic of English Catholics to and from the Continent, and the presence of the Stuart courts in exile during the Interregnum and after 1688, and it is clear that English Catholicism was much more than an inward-looking household religion, albeit that it often flourished in the domestic environment. We have already noted the baroque character of the chapel at Harvington Hall, and surviving recusant liturgical vestments and equipment reveal a religious culture aware of contemporary practice elsewhere.⁴³ For private and domestic devotion, St Francis de Sales's *Introduction to the Devout Life* showed how Catholics could negotiate the confessional and the civic world in a Protestant society, while the more homely devotional handbooks of John Gother offered similar lessons to the families of Catholic tradesmen and yeomen. The underlying principle was one of accommodation, but, for the first half of the 18th century, behind that lay the shadow of Jacobitism.⁴⁴

40 Caroline Bowden (ed.) *English Convents in Exile, 1600–1800*, 6 vols (London: 2012), vol. 1, xi–xxxiv; vol. 4 (ed. James E. Kelly), 67–101; Richard G. Williams (ed.), *Mannock Strickland, 1683–1744: Agent to English Convents in Flanders. Letters and Accounts from Exile* (CRS) 86 (2016), xxiii–xxv and xxxiii–lxxii.

41 Claire Walker, "Prayer, Patronage and Political Conspiracy: English Nuns and the Restoration," *Historical Journal* 43 (2000), 1–23; James E. Kelly, *English Convents in Catholic Europe, c.1600–1800* (Oxford: 2020), 163–78.

42 Jessica Bell, "The Three Marys: The Virgin; Marie de Médicis; and Henrietta Maria," in Erin Griffey (ed.), *Henrietta Maria: Piety, Politics and Patronage* (Aldershot: 2008), 89–114; Miller, *Papery and Politics*, 124–34 and 230–35; J.R. Tanner (ed.), *The Private Correspondence of Samuel Pepys, 1679–1703*, 2 vols (London: 1926), vol. 1, xxvi–vii, 270, 310, and 324–26.

43 Glickman, *English Catholic Community*, 91–120; Michael Hodgetts, "The Yates of Harvington, 1631–1696," *RH* 22 (1994), 152–81.

44 Eamon Duffy, "Richard Challoner 1691–1781: A Memoir," in Duffy (ed.), *Challoner and his Church* (London: 1981), 1–3; Bossy, *English Catholic Community*, 131–32 and 171–72; Mary Hardy, "The Seventeenth-century English and Scottish Reception of Francis de Sales' *An Introduction to a Devout Life*," *BCH* 33 (2016), 228–46.

Following his defeat at the battle of the Boyne in 1690, James set up court in France where his followers sought to internationalize the Jacobite cause as part of a crusade to restore a Europe-wide Christendom. These arguments fell on deaf ears among the European Catholic monarchs, engaged in wars among themselves, nor did it gain much purchase with the papacy. By the early 1700s it was clear to most leading exiles that the idea of an international crusade was not going to rally support for the Jacobite cause in Europe, and indeed was proving problematic to those Catholics at home trying to come to terms with the realities of the Revolution. James died in 1701 leaving a young son, also James, as the Stuart claimant. The death of Queen Anne and the arrival on the throne of the Protestant elector of Hanover as George I revived Jacobite hopes, and in 1715 a rising in Scotland hoped to harness Tory dissatisfaction with George's Whig policies. They had some small success in Northumberland, but an attempt to raise the Catholics of Lancashire was foiled and by mid-November the rebellion, led by James, was at an end. Its chief effect was to strengthen the anti-Catholicism of the Whig establishment by reviving the fear of foreign interference in what was, following the Act of Union in 1707, British politics, and an abortive attempt at an invasion of Scotland in 1719 did little to diminish Protestant fears.

Within the Catholic community, divisions arose over the question of a new oath of allegiance to the Hanoverian regime mooted by one of the vicars apostolic, Bishop John Stonor, until it was abandoned in 1719. The removal of the Jacobite court to Rome in 1718 further exacerbated divisions within the community, it being viewed as a move to advance further Jesuit influence over policy and threatening the position of those who sought to find an accommodation with the new regime. Lay Catholics still lay under suspicion of Jacobite sympathies and a levy of £100,000 was imposed in 1722 on Catholic estates, though this was resisted by many of the gentry opponents of Walpole's administration and its enforcement in the provinces was variable.⁴⁵ The most recent analysis of anti-Catholicism in this period suggests that, despite periodic Jacobite "scares," the position of Catholics in these years eased, a fact which no doubt explained in part the reluctance of almost all English Catholics to participate in the '45 which, for all its romantic legacy, was a largely Scottish rebellion with indifferent French support, whose military successes were short-lived. Its brutal suppression by forces led by the royal duke of Cumberland contributed to

45 Paul K. Monod, *Jacobitism and the English People, 1688–1788* (Cambridge, Eng.: 1989), 317–40; Eamon Duffy, "‘Englishmen in vaine’: Roman Catholic Allegiance to George I," in S. Mews (ed.), *Religion and National Identity* (Studies in Church History) 18 (Oxford: 1982), 345–66.

its romantic image but, in practical terms, the '45 marked the end of Catholic military intervention in British politics.⁴⁶

There were plenty of examples of leniency towards Catholics in the years up to 1745. Indeed, the king, brought up in the skeptical environment of the Electress Sophia's court, was tolerant of religious difference, and was friends with the Howards, dukes of Norfolk, giving household positions to members of the family and its wider kin. In the East Riding of Yorkshire the wealthy landowner Cuthbert Constable of Burton Constable combined a strong commitment to his religion through scholarly publication and the support of priests, with an active political role on behalf of the Whig interest, securing the votes of his tenants in the 1741 election, and exerting influence on the civic politics of Hull. Despite his religious loyalties, Constable enjoyed the confidence of his Protestant neighbors, but his fellow Catholic gentleman, Nicholas Blundell of Little Crosby in Cheshire, thought it expedient to withdraw to France for a while following the '15. In Warwickshire the magistrates showed a marked reluctance to pursue indictments against their Catholic neighbors, and in the adjacent county of Gloucestershire priests enjoyed considerable freedom in their ministry, distributing catechisms to their flock unhindered. Among the farming communities of North Yorkshire, the numerous Catholics in the moorland chapelry of Egton enjoyed mutually beneficial social and economic relations with their Protestant peers, and popular shrines such as that run by the Jesuits at Holywell in North Wales were well attended and became as much an object of fascination as a religious threat to Protestant onlookers. Defoe considered Durham to be a "town full of Roman Catholics" and he remarked on the sober and quiet way they went to church, likening them to dissenters attending their meeting houses. In London the numerous Catholic chapels were considered respectable enough to be listed by him among the public buildings of the capital.⁴⁷

That said, popular anti-Catholicism did not lie far below the surface, and nowhere more so than in London, where growing Irish immigration sparked off anti-Catholic riots in the mid-1730s, and where, in 1735, the Nonconformist clergy of the city held a series of lectures warning against "the growth of popery." Much of this anti-Catholicism was combined with xenophobia; French actors

46 Colin Haydon, *Anti-Catholicism in Eighteenth-century England c. 1714–80: A Political and Social Study* (Manchester: 1993), 124.

47 Mullett, *Catholics in Britain and Ireland*, 85 and 96–97; Aveling, *Handle and Axe*, esp. 286; Carys Brown, "Catholic Politics and Creating Trust in Eighteenth-century England," *BCH* 33 (2017), 622–44; William Sheils, "Catholics and their Neighbours in a Rural Community: Egton Chapelry 1590–1780," *Northern History* 34 (1998), 117–43.

were attacked in the street in 1738, and the chapel of the Sardinian Embassy was raided by a mob who assaulted some attenders at Mass. Persecution of Protestants in France and in the Habsburg lands acted as a catalyst to such attitudes, but they also drew strength from the continuing engagement of gentry Catholic families with the Continent. Priests were still trained on the Continent and many gentry families had daughters among the exile convent communities. One such was Anne Throckmorton (d. 1734), abbess of the Canonesses in Paris who, earlier in the century, had taken in hand her wayward brother George. Educated by the Oratorians just outside Paris and sent on the Grand Tour, George soon became bored with the life of a rural squire in England and returned to Paris, pursuing a life of sport and gaming in the capital. A near fatal riding accident resulted in a spiritual conversion under the guidance of his sister before his untimely death, aged 35, three years later in 1705. His reputation for holiness brought out great numbers of the poor of Paris at his funeral, and his embalmed heart was placed in a cavity in the wall of the convent where his sister and two nieces were nuns. A *Life* was published in 1706 by his friend Thomas Witham, a secular priest under suspicion for Jansenist sympathies. Throckmortons heart was marked by a memorial stone paid for by the family in 1712, and later generations of Throckmorton's, male and female, continued to travel to Paris for their education or to join the religious communities there. George's nephew Robert succeeded to the baronetcy in 1721, holding it until his death in 1791. A country squire who built a lavish Palladian villa at Buckland to the west of Oxford, he was a pronounced Europhile who travelled widely in France and Italy, acquiring and commissioning works of art for his English houses. Robert educated his sons at Douai before sending them on the Grand Tour, where they were to reside in Rome to learn civil law, Italian, and "poetry, fencing and dancing." By the second half of the century, however, the European leanings of gentry Catholics such as the Throckmortons had been severed both from Jacobite associations and suspicion of dealings with foreign Catholic powers; although they tended to marry within the Catholic community, most gentry Catholics lived comfortably among their non-Catholic peers, even if suspicions lingered in the popular mind.⁴⁸

These suspicions were largely unfounded. The clerical leadership of the community in these years was cautious, conservative, and still dominated by the landowning classes: Bishop John Stonor, vicar apostolic of the Midland

48 Haydon, *Anti-Catholicism*, 128–29; Geoffrey Scott, "The Throckmortons at Home and Abroad, 1680–1800," in Peter Marshall and Geoffrey Scott (eds.), *Catholic Gentry in English Society: The Throckmortons of Coughton from Reformation to Emancipation* (Farnham: 2009), 180–211.

District from 1716 until 1756, was an Oxfordshire squire who lived mostly on the family estates at Heythrop and Stonor Park, hunting and shooting with his Protestant peers, improving his landed estates, and hobnobbing with the aristocracy, combining these activities with a genuine pastoral concern for his clergy and their congregations. Even more aristocratic was the vicar apostolic of the London District, Benjamin Petre, a member of a junior branch of the Petre family, Lords Petre of Ingatestone Hall in Essex: more pious than Stonor he lacked his colleague's pastoral gifts and retired to Essex in order to follow a private devotional life, living in various Petre houses and leaving the administration of his district to suffragans. Neither of these men were likely to radicalize the Catholic community or threaten the *status quo*.⁴⁹ One of Petre's suffragans, however, was Richard Challoner, appointed vicar-general in 1737. Challoner had been a strong advocate of papal authority against the Jansenists, and had engaged in public controversy with English Protestants, as well as serving a mission among the London poor since 1730. Challoner was ordained bishop and appointed co-adjutor with right of succession in 1741. He immediately set about a visitation of his district, which incorporated the capital and the Home Counties, with an estimated Catholic population of about 25,000, served by 90 priests. Like his fellow bishops, Challoner was theologically conservative, but was active pastorally and energetic administratively, as well as producing important devotional and historical works for his coreligionists. *The Garden of the Soul*, published in 1740, a conventional work showing Catholics how to pray the Mass and other devotions, became the "devotional backbone" of English Catholics for a century, going through many editions; but even more important perhaps, was his catechetical work, culminating in his *Abridgement of Christian Doctrine* (1770), and his encouragement of the clergy of all districts to provide catechisms and classes for their younger charges. Historically, his *Memoirs of Missionary Priests* (1741–42) provided a Catholic alternative to the prevailing Foxean Protestant national martyrology, and the *Memorial of British Piety* (1761) offered a national past to his coreligionists.⁵⁰

By the time of his death in 1781, English Catholicism had undergone some significant changes; if Challoner's historical works belonged in the libraries of the clergy and the gentry, his devotional and catechetical works were directed

49 Hemphill, *The Early Vicars Apostolic*, 54–58, 63–66, and 69–77.

50 Duffy, "Richard Challoner," 1–19; Richard Luckett, "Bishop Challoner: The Devotional Writer," 71–89; Sheridan Gilley, "Challoner as Controversialist," 90–111, all in Duffy (ed.), *Challoner and his Church*. A new study of Challoner's *Memoirs of Missionary Priests* is shortly to be published by Michael Questier. I am grateful to Professor Questier for access to his work.

to a new audience of tradespeople and farmers. Although the gentry presence within the community remained strong, especially in political terms, tradespeople and farmers were increasing in numbers; they were joined by a new plebeian group, those Irish laborers, often migratory and temporary residents, who were employed building the canals, turnpike roads, and docks needed for the burgeoning economy.⁵¹ Nevertheless, the country estate often continued to provide the home for the mission; when Lord Arundell built the Palladian mansion of Wardour Castle in Sussex between 1770 and 1776, he incorporated a chapel large enough to accommodate the biggest Catholic congregation outside of London, which also became famous for its elaborate and rich liturgical life. This recalled the household Catholicism of earlier generations, but changes were afoot. At Sefton near Liverpool, the Molyneux family had long provided chaplains for the Catholics of the area, and even after 1769, when the heir renounced his Catholicism, the family continued to provide the income for the Jesuits at Gilmoor chapel and established a fund for maintaining a resident missionary in the surrounding parishes. It was from this rural base provided by the local squire that the Jesuit mission to the rapidly expanding industrial city of Liverpool operated towards the end of the century. Even where the gentry continued to fund the mission, signs of their declining influence can be found, especially in northern towns like Wigan and Leeds. At Wigan, where the Catholics numbered over 1000 or about 10 per cent of the population in 1783, the community was regarded with a degree of contempt by John Barrow, a secular priest based at nearby Cloughton chapel, supported by the Brockholes family. The Wigan Catholics were more independent than Barrow wished and, led by their middle-class members, including a cotton manufacturer, a land surveyor, and a canal agent, they eventually led a congregational revolt against their Jesuit priests for control of their chapel. At Leeds the Catholic community had long been supported by the dukes of Norfolk at Roundhay, but in 1776 a new Mass center was established jointly by Lord Stourton and a Leeds merchant, John Wade. A decade later the mission was moved into the industrial heart of the city at the initiative of a cotton spinner, John Holdforth, and gentry influence on the community disappeared.⁵²

These changes did not only take place in the North. In Staffordshire, a county with a strong tradition of rural Catholicism, industrial development in the mid-18th century saw many of these Catholics moving to growing centers of the metal trades, such as Wolverhampton, where the gentry Gifford family was

51 Marie B. Rowlands, "1767 – The New People," in Rowlands (ed.), *Catholics of Parish and Town, 1558–1778* (CRS, Monograph series) 5 (1999), 286–351.

52 Mullett, *Catholics of Britain and Ireland*, 140–46.

influential. In 1767 there were 265 Catholics in the town, almost half of whom had arrived within the previous ten years. A generation later Wolverhampton had become the central mission in the Black Country from which other missions set up by prosperous manufacturers, like those at Walsall and West Bromwich, developed, and from the 1760s a school at Sedgeley Park prepared the sons of manufacturing families either for entry to the Continental seminaries or for apprenticeships in the pottery and metal industries, after which many of them provided the leadership of urban congregations in the provinces.⁵³

The greatest change, however, was in the capital. London Catholicism cut across all classes, headed by the embassy chapels, which attracted those aristocrats with London town houses; its 20,000 Catholics in 1730 also included a strong bourgeois element of professionals, merchants, and tradesmen, as well as some on the fringes of the artistic and theatrical life of the city. Later in the century the proletarian presence, always strong, increased further, especially among the weaving communities around Spitalfields and the City, and in the dockland areas where large numbers of Irish were employed; by 1780 over 4000 of them were worshipping in Wapping alone. They were not the only foreign immigrants drawn to the city: both German and Italian workers augmented its Catholic population. Challoner as bishop organized the clergy to minister to the congregations throughout London, establishing weekly conferences of the clergy to discuss pastoral matters, requiring them to follow a daily round of meditative prayer and to attend an annual retreat. In their dealings with their congregations they were to minister freely to the poor, catechize the young, hear confessions regularly, and preach at all services where there was a congregation in attendance. Authoritarian by nature, Challoner led by example; travelling widely throughout his district to preach and conduct confirmations, he also produced accessible devotional writings for his flock, and he vigorously asserted his episcopal rights over the religious orders and the clergy of the embassy chapels working within his jurisdiction, securing papal ratification of his powers in 1753.⁵⁴

By the later 18th century, English Catholics had moved beyond the country house and their traditional strongholds and were represented in all sectors of society and in most parts of the country, especially so in the capital, and by this date most of them had regular access to the sacraments. Most babies were baptized within a week of birth, children made their first Communion in their early teens, Communion was carried to the sick, regular confirmations were

53 Rowlands, "1767," 338–43; Aveling, *Handle and Axe*, 295.

54 Rowlands, "1767," 301–07; Bossy, *English Catholic Community*, 310–12; Duffy, "Richard Challoner," 13–25.

held by the bishops, and the Easter Communion became the major event in congregational worship, with numbers and names noted by many of the clergy. Catholics, their chapels, and their priests were familiar features in the landscape by now and largely accepted by their non-Catholic neighbors, though still technically outside the law. The authorities were usually very lenient when the law was invoked against Catholics, but their ubiquity, particularly in London where immigrants were prominent, remained a cause of some concern. In 1767 a census of Catholics was ordered by Parliament, producing a figure of 69,376, slightly larger than that produced by a survey conducted by the vicars apostolic six years later; but this second listing probably excluded children and may have been a deliberate underestimation by the bishops in the face of government unease: the figure of 20,000 given for London, suggesting no increase from the number recorded in 1730, was certainly too small.⁵⁵

In 1778 the government passed a Catholic Relief Act which, in return for an oath of loyalty to the Crown, enabled lay Catholics to inherit land; as for the clergy, the statutes prosecuting priests were removed and they were legally permitted to run schools. The passing of the act brought a reaction from the Protestant Association of London, which led a protest to Parliament which, in turn, degenerated into violence over the following week. Between 2 and 8 June 1780 the mob, estimated at about 50,000, attacked the homes of prominent London Catholics, sacked the Sardinian and Bavarian embassy chapels, laid siege to some of the London prisons, freeing their inmates, and ransacked the neighborhood of Moorfields, where many of London's poorer Catholics lived. Bishop Challoner, now in his eighties, was forced to leave his house and flee the mob. The government took firm action against the rioters, charging the leader of the Association, Lord George Gordon, with treason: Gordon was acquitted but over 50 of the rioters were executed. The suddenness of the riots was a reminder of the volatility of popular anti-Catholicism and, though chiefly confined to London, other places, such as Bath, had buildings with Catholic associations attacked at this time.⁵⁶

Meanwhile a group of Catholic clergy, responding in part to Catholic Enlightenment values on the Continent and reacting against the authoritarian

55 These are discussed extensively by Marie Rowlands in her *Catholics of Parish and Town*, 261–352. See also Bossy, *English Catholic Community*, map 3 at 408–09. The 1773 returns are published in J.H. White, “Vicars Apostolic Returns of 1773,” *RH* 9 (1968), 206–14.

56 Nigel Abercrombie, “The First Relief Act,” in Duffy (ed.), *Challoner and his Church*, 174–93; Ian Haywood and John Seed (eds), *The Gordon Riots: Politics, Culture and Insurrection in Late Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Cambridge, Eng.: 2012), “Introduction,” 2–7; Haydon, *Anti-Catholicism*, 202–44.

clericalism of Challoner and his fellow bishops, had been meeting in the Midland and the London Districts and, supported by like-minded aristocrats, they published a manifesto in 1780, written by Joseph Berington, in which English Catholicism was uncoupled from "popery" and arguments in favor of a vernacular Mass and married priests were set out. The emphasis on loyalism in this document appealed to the government, even if its radicalism did not, and the importance of that loyalism was underlined by extraneous international events. The American War of Independence had brought a British dimension to the question of English Catholicism; with increasing numbers of Irish and Scots Catholics serving in the army their loyalty to the Crown could not be challenged.⁵⁷ The outbreak of the French Revolution and its attack on the Church increased the fears of radicalism and irreligion in government circles, which further eased the position of Catholics and, in 1791, a further Relief Act was passed placing Catholics on much the same footing as Nonconformists. The practice of their religion was allowed, places of worship were permitted as long as they were licensed at quarter sessions and did not hold locked or secret meetings, Catholics could enter the legal profession, and Catholic children could be educated in Catholic schools.⁵⁸ This legislation accelerated those developments already noted: increasing independence of the clergy from their gentry patrons, encouraging greater confidence among the middling classes in founding chapels, schools, and charitable funds for their poorer coreligionists, and a strengthening of administrative structures within the church.

Welcome as it was, the Relief Act nevertheless revealed some divisions within the Catholic community. The Berington pamphlet had also suggested that the bishops should be elected by the missionary clergy rather than be appointed by Rome, and that they should administer the mission through clerical synods and lay committees. The liberal followers of Berington's agenda formed their meetings into the Cisalpine Club, producing an English Mass book and a history of papal power on Gibbonian lines. The conservative leadership of the mission was outraged at this challenge to its authority, and the fears aroused by the revolution in France strengthened its hand.⁵⁹ During the 1790s almost all the exile religious houses on the Continent had returned to England, fleeing the revolutionary armies, and the mission had also been augmented by French émigré priests escaping the revolution. These priests were invited

57 Eamon Duffy, "Ecclesiastical Democracy Detected, 1, 1773–82," *RH* 10 (1969), 193–209; Mullett, *Catholics in Britain and Ireland*, 148–49.

58 Bernard Ward, *The Dawn of the Catholic Revival in England, 1781–1803*, 3 vols (London: 1909), 1:297–312.

59 Duffy, "Ecclesiastical Democracy Detected, 2," *RH* 10 (1969), 309–31.

to England by the government, which provided them with pensions and provided houses for them in London, in county towns in the Home Counties, and at Barwick in Yorkshire. They revived the mission in places like Whitby and Reading, where Catholic numbers and worship had been struggling, by building chapels, restoring liturgical life, and recruiting congregations. They were particularly effective in garrison towns like Woolwich, Dover, and Portsmouth, where chaplains were urgently needed to minister to those enlisted; in 1796 an observer noted 200 Irish soldiers at Mass in Portsea. Some of these French priests shared the liberal values of the Cisalpine Club, as did some members of the returning religious orders, but the vicars apostolic publicly censured Berington and removed his rights to act in the mission, forcing him to retire to the Throckmorton house at Buckland, celebrating Mass privately for the family. Similar actions, with similar consequences, were taken against another liberal, Samuel Wilkes, and some of his lay supporters in Bath were excommunicated. Other liberal priests, such as the 13 in Staffordshire known as “The Stafford Squadron,” were forced to retract their views publicly in the face of episcopal censure. By 1800 the bishops had regained control of the church.⁶⁰

In the early 1800s schools were established by the returning religious orders, and the exile schools and colleges were re-founded on English soil; even the Jesuit order, suppressed by the pope since 1773, struggled on and moved its college to Stonyhurst in Lancashire. For the first time since the Reformation it was now possible to study for the priesthood in England, at Oscott in the Midlands and Crook in Durham. For the laity, schools were established in many towns and were to provide the foundation for the future growth of English Catholicism, but, in response to the needs of industrialization, most growth in the years up to Emancipation was to come from a different direction, Ireland. The Act of Union of 1801 brought 8 million Irish, the vast majority of them Catholic, into the British State, and the potential political consequences of their presence complicated the debate about emancipation, creating a vocal, largely Conservative opposition to the idea. We have already seen how numerous the Irish were in London, but in the growing industrial towns of the North their presence was unprecedented. In the industrial towns of Lancashire – Manchester, Liverpool, Preston, and Wigan – Catholicism had always been strong, with an estimate of about 8800 in 1790. By 1834 the congregations numbered 51,000, three-fifths of whom were Irish, with a considerable additional number of Irish poor also recorded as being baptized but not

60 Dominic Aidan Bellenger, *The French Exiled Clergy in the British Isles after 1789* (Bath: 1986), 11–83; Marshall and Scott, *Catholic Gentry*, 215–16; Aveling, *Handle and Axe*, 333–35.

appearing in further church records. Irish Catholics were also important in the industrial towns of the West Riding of Yorkshire, such as Halifax and Bradford, where Catholicism had had relatively little impact before. It was in such places that the new manufacturing elites, like John Hardman in Birmingham and the Gillow family of Lancaster, educated in the newly founded schools, assumed leadership of congregations serving an often poor and immigrant community. The first three decades of the 19th century witnessed a shift in the Catholic community, demographically, socially, and geographically. The community now contained more poorer families, a significant number of them recently arrived immigrants, mostly resident in the growing industrial centers, especially in the North.⁶¹

The leadership of the church in these years fell to John Milner, who dominated Catholic political and ecclesiastical life in the years up to Emancipation in 1829. The son of a tailor, educated at Sedgeley Park and a seminarian at Douai, Milner returned to England to work in London under Challoner before being appointed to the mission at Winchester where, between 1780 and 1803, he built a new Mass house and published works vigorously defending the position of the bishops against the Cisalpine clergy. Eventually appointed vicar apostolic of the Midland District in 1803, he moved his headquarters to Wolverhampton, both an implicit acknowledgment of the importance of the new industrial towns and a good vantage point from which to oversee the liberal Staffordshire clergy. Milner acknowledged the new demands of the mission; employing Irish priests to help in the industrial centers, he worked hard on building and extending chapels in these communities, and even supported the re-instatement of the Jesuits. But he was also an authoritarian, defending episcopal powers against any interference from the laity or the religious orders, and looking to Rome, which he visited often, and the papacy as the ultimate foundation of his faith and the source of his authority. Milner died in 1826 before Emancipation was granted, but his was the dominant figure in the discussions with the Tory government which ultimately granted civil liberties to a community which, over the previous half-century, had more than doubled in size and been transformed in its membership.⁶²

61 Bossy, *English Catholic Community*, tables at 423–27.

62 Bossy, *English Catholic Community*, 334–37 and 383–87. *ODNB*, Champ, Judith F., “Milner, John,” <https://doi.org.libproxy.york.ac.uk/10.1093/ref.odnb/18791>, accessed on 10 June, 2021.

4 The Catholic Past

Most of the issues set out in the introduction above will be discussed at greater length in the chapters which follow, but, as has been suggested above, the Catholic past was from the very beginning a source of contention, not only between Catholics and their Protestant opponents, but also among Catholics themselves. Debate remains to this day, and perhaps this is the place to rehearse some of those arguments as they appeared between the Break with Rome and the Act of Emancipation.⁶³

A number of those, like Bishops Tunstall and Gardiner, who found themselves with leading roles in the restored Marian church, had served under Henry following the break with Rome, and so the status of the Henrician church was itself potentially contestable. Cardinal Pole, the returning archbishop of Canterbury, had not served in that church and, under his leadership, supported by younger Oxford scholars, a historical enterprise was begun which emphasized the role of those who had opposed Henry's Reformation and suffered for their opposition. Central to this was the figure of Thomas More. William Roper, More's son-in-law, assembled materials for a biography, completed by Nicholas Harpsfield in 1557 before the official publication of More's *Complete English Works*, which also incorporated his letters written from prison. More's status as a martyr was central to both works, making martyrdom a distinctive mark of the Catholic past. Harpsfield's biography, however, remained unpublished, perhaps unsurprisingly in the context of the burnings of heretics which were taking place at the time, for More had himself been active in persecution of heretics in his day. Following More's execution, members of his family and his circle went into exile at Louvain, and it was to there that several of the Marian Oxford intellectuals went after the accession of Elizabeth, and it was there that they published an edition of More's Latin works in 1564. In this emphasis on martyrdom, opposition, and exile, the alternative history, that represented by those priests who resigned their posts but remained in England to serve their congregations, was largely ignored.⁶⁴

Exile scholarship sought to stress continuity with the past of the Church, producing a translation of Bede's *History* for example, but for most exiles the events of the 1530s were depicted as a complete fracture of the English church

63 The best introduction to this subject is Eamon Duffy, "From Sander to Lingard: Recusant Readings of the Reformation," in his *Reformation Divided*, 287–324. What follows is heavily dependent on this essay.

64 Duffy, *Fires of Faith*, 179–87; Anne Dillon, *The Construction of Martyrdom in the English Catholic Community, 1535–1603* (Farnham: 2002), 1–18 and 63–68.

from its own past and from Christendom, as the title of Nicholas Sander's work, *De origine et progressu schismatici Anglicani*, made plain. Sander never finished the text, but left notes for its completion before setting off to participate in the Irish rebellion of 1579, and the book was published in Cologne in 1585. By Sander's account there was no possibility of dealing with a heretical regime.⁶⁵ This historical position was later associated with the Jesuits and was given its fullest expression in Robert Persons's reply to John Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, his *A Treatise of Three Conversions*, published in 1603–4, in which he linked the history of Christianity in England, from the time of Augustine to the present, to the role of the papacy, depicting the Tridentine reforms as the third conversion which returned the English church to its true and traditional status. This was the account which dominated public discourse, but by 1603, in the context of the Appellant Controversy, an alternative history had emerged which restored the contribution of the Marian and secular clergy to the story. William Watson, writing in 1601, had declared that “for the first ten years of her Majesty's [Elizabeth's] reign, the state of Catholics in England was tolerable,” and blamed the polarized histories of Sander and Persons, along with the Jesuits' association with the Spanish Crown, for undermining relations between Catholics and the regime.⁶⁶

In contrast to the earlier focus on Thomas More, these clerically-inspired versions of the Catholic past largely ignored the role of the laity in sustaining the Catholic community, but they nevertheless set the template for future historical writing. During the 17th century a few modest collective biographical accounts of martyred priests were published, but it was not until the 18th century that new histories were undertaken. The first of these, and the most notable, was by Charles Dodd, alias Hugh Tootill, a seminary priest who served a Lancashire congregation before returning to Douai to undertake research in the archives. Back in England he served the mission based at the Throckmorton house at Harvington and, while there, he published his *Church History of England from 1500 to 1688* in three volumes between 1737 and 1742. This was based on manuscript sources, was financed by Robert Throckmorton, Cuthbert Constable, and the duke of Norfolk, as well as two vicars apostolic, and restored the laity to the history, which was written largely from the perspective of the secular clergy. Printed at Wolverhampton, but bearing a Brussels imprint, it was expensive

65 Christopher Highley, “‘A Pestilent and Seditious Book’: Nicholas Sander's *Schismatici Anglicani* and Catholic Histories of the Reformation,” *Huntington Library Quarterly* 68 (2005), 151–71.

66 Victor Houlston, *Catholic Resistance in Elizabethan England: Robert Persons's Jesuit Polemic* (Farnham: 2007), 96–108; Dillon, *Construction of Martyrdom*, 323–69.

and therefore not widely distributed, but it did speak to the scholarly interests of the Catholic gentry and to their suspicions of the temporal claims of the papacy. It offered them, and like-minded clergy, a Gallican view of a national Catholic church linked to its Anglo-Saxon past, which was not to the taste of a hierarchy committed to Rome.⁶⁷ Its scholarly attributes were eclipsed in the public domain by the more conventional martyrological work of Bishop Richard Challoner, whose *Memoirs of Missionary Priests* (1741–42) chronicled the lives of those priests executed in England between 1577 and 1681, as well as noticing those laymen and women executed for harboring them. Challoner's work was as much devotional as historical, but it portrayed a conservative message of a church built upon the suffering of its priests at the hands of a hostile, heretical government.⁶⁸

However, Dodd's account continued to appeal to some in the community, and towards the end of the century Joseph Berington once again voiced lay suspicions of papal claims in his *The State and Behaviour of English Catholics from the Reformation to the Year 1780*, inveighing against clerical ambitions and describing the religious orders as parasites on the body politic. In this view, English Catholicism, properly understood, was a non-dogmatic religion which had been best preserved in this country through the benevolent support and wise counsel of the gentry. Berington was himself a chaplain at a gentry mission and had travelled widely with his patron, Miles Stapleton, among the gentry missions of the country. Liberal Catholics found much to support in Berington's analysis, but the response of the hierarchy was fierce; his book was removed from the library at Douai, and he was forced from his public ministry. In 1801 John Milner, his chief opponent and soon to be vicar apostolic of the Midland region, published a history of Winchester, where he served the mission, in which he stressed the importance of the papacy in securing the rights of the English church from the time of Augustine, and he carried this argument further in his *Supplementary Memoirs of English Catholics* (1820). This was a response to Charles Butler's *Historical Memoirs Respecting the English, Irish and Scottish Catholics from the Reformation to the Present Time* (1819), which placed the Cisalpine tradition in a British context. Milner dominated English Catholic politics in the early decades of the 19th century, but the alternative tradition of Berington and Butler proved tenacious.⁶⁹

67 Duffy, "Recusant Readings," 277–79.

68 See the forthcoming study by Michael C. Questier, *Catholics and Treason: Religion and the Politics of Memory in England, c.1558–1987*, Introduction.

69 Duffy, "Recusant Readings," 306–08.

John Lingard, the greatest Catholic historian of the time with a reputation both among Protestants and European scholars, who had his own quarrels with the hierarchy, refused academic preferment in the seminaries, choosing instead to serve the rural mission of Hornby in north Lancashire. It was from there that, between 1819 and 1830, he wrote his eight volume *History of England*. This account transcended the arguments between both historical traditions by acknowledging the importance of loyalty as well as suffering to the durability of English Catholicism. Lingard's undoubted scholarship and his skepticism about papal claims also commended his *History* to Protestant readers, and his characterization of the Henrician Reformation as an essentially institutional and political rather than a religious reform was to have profound effect upon the subsequent historiography of the period more generally.⁷⁰ Lingard's work marks the high point of Catholic historical scholarship prior to Emancipation, and his *History* was revised and enlarged in the decades following, as was that of Dodd.⁷¹ Argument about the Catholic past continued, however, and the martyrological tradition was revived in the writings of the Jesuit John Morris in the later 19th century as the cause of the Henrician and early Elizabethan martyrs was in process at Rome.⁷² Debate has not ceased as new sources have been explored, and the essays that follow, expressing the current state of knowledge and research, contribute to that ongoing discussion.

70 Edwin Jones, *John Lingard and the Pursuit of Historical Truth* (Brighton: 2001).

71 John Vidmar O.P., *English Catholic Historians and the English Reformation, 1585–1954* (Brighton: 2005), 78–86; Duffy, "Recusant Readings," 308–20.

72 Lucy Underwood, "English Catholic Martyrs," in Gareth Atkins (ed.), *Making and Remaking Saints in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Manchester: 2016), 144–60.

PART 1

*The Community and Its Place in the
National and International Scene*



The English Secular Clergy, 1559–1829

Peter Phillips

Following on from the Elizabethan settlement of religion in 1559 the English Catholic community had to contend not only with serious persecution from the Elizabethan regime but with a long internal debate about what form the future Catholic community should take. The Jesuits and their allies, such as William (later Cardinal) Allen, stressed the evangelical fervor of the missionary ideal and rejected any hint of compromise with a Protestant regime; many seculars increasingly looked to an English Catholic community which could negotiate with the regime, and under bishops in ordinary, could consider itself to possess a certain independence from Rome. Although it is important to tell of this long, drawn out struggle within the Catholic community, it is equally important not to get it out of proportion. There were but 14 Jesuits working in England in 1598, and a large number of seculars.¹ For every political manipulator like the Jesuit Robert Persons, there were many more like his fellow Jesuits Campion and Southwell who notably stayed clear of all political agenda. The majority of clergy were untouched by these “stirs,” working quietly away at the salvation of souls in the regions in which they lived.

The debate lasted throughout Elizabeth’s long reign, and well into the Stuart period, coming to some sort of conclusion only with the Civil Wars and Restoration. John Bossy, associating himself with the evangelical missionary view of Robert Persons, suggests somewhat brusquely that “the history of Elizabethan Catholicism is a progress from inertia to inertia in three generations.”² Yet it could well be argued against this position that the patient efforts of the occasional conformists and church papists did more to ensure the survival of Catholicism than the high-risk policy of the missionaries. In many ways this argument runs parallel to the debate within the Church of England itself: a struggle between extremists and search for the middle ground of conformity.³ By the end of the 16th century some hoped that a settlement like the Edict of

¹ Philip Hughes, *Rome and the Counter-Reformation in England* (London: 1942), 288.

² John Bossy, “The Character of Elizabethan Catholicism,” *P&P* 21 (1962), 57.

³ Stefania Tutino puts it succinctly: “Persons did not want freedom of conscience for the English Catholics; he wanted a Catholic England.” Stefania Tutino, *Thomas White and the Blackloists: Between Politics and Theology during the English Civil War* (Aldershot: 2008), 2.

Nantes (1598), which appeared to concede the possibility of toleration between two religions in one state, might not be altogether impossible in England, allowing minority status for English Catholics in an Anglican state. Neither Elizabeth, nor James, was prepared to accept anything of the sort. English Catholics had further to contend with the changing policies of the popes and tensions between the Holy Office and the newly founded Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith.⁴ It is also impossible to understand the situation in England without setting it in the context of wider European politics, especially the continuing strife between France and Spain.

Recent scholarship has been much more generous in recognizing the strength and vibrancy of Marian Catholicism, its contribution both to the Counter-Reformation, and to the survival of Catholicism in England and Wales.⁵ It represented not a nostalgic yearning for “the bare ruined choirs” of medieval Christianity, but was imbued with a sense of the changing times. In his legatine synod of 1555, Cardinal Pole, developing the rich humanism of the English reformist Catholic tradition overlooked by Bossy,⁶ looked towards re-establishing Catholicism on a firm foundation in England and Wales. Duffy’s survey of English Catholic devotional material concludes with a discussion of George Flinton’s *Manual of Prayers*, first published in 1583, and subsequently revised. While offering a new form of devotion, this prayer book reveals a marked sense of continuity with the devotions of medieval England, its specifically English additions being “generated or translated no later than the 1520s or 1530.”⁷

4 Propaganda Fide was founded as a cardinalitial commission during the pontificate of Gregory XIII (1572–85), but established as a pontifical department by Gregory XV in 1622. Msgr Francesco Ingoli was its influential secretary from 1622 to 1649. In 1622, Propaganda placed England under the nuncio at Brussels; the Secretariat of State continued to regard England as subject to the nuncio at Paris, for, at the request of Cardinal Allen, Gregory XIII had placed England under his care in 1582, and this was confirmed by the Holy Office by a decree of 1615, before the erection of Propaganda Fide.

5 Eamon Duffy, *Fires of Faith: Catholic England under Mary Tudor* (New Haven: 2009); see esp. 188–207. Christopher Haigh gives some indication of the considerable number of Marian priests at work in England and Wales during the early decades of Elizabeth’s reign in “The Continuity of Catholicism in the English Reformation,” *P&P* 93 (November, 1981), 37–69, reprinted in Haigh, *The English Reformation Revised* (Cambridge: 1987), 176–208.

6 See, for example, the important works of Jan T. Rhodes (*Private Devotion in England on the Eve of the Reformation* [unpublished PhD thesis, University of Durham, 1974]), and Lucy Wooding (*From Humanists to Heretics: English Catholic Theology and Ideology 1533–1570*, [unpublished Fellowship Dissertation, Magdalen College, Oxford, 1992]).

7 Eamon Duffy, *Reformation Divided* (London: 2017), 203–25; see esp. 217–23, passage cited, 222. Wooding similarly concludes her discussion of Marian writings: “Mary had no need of foreign influences to help her restore the Church. English Catholicism had evolved its own

Divisions amongst the Catholic clergy were becoming evident, allowing a considerable overlap between strict recusancy and occasional conformity.⁸ Viscount Montague's chaplain, Alban Langdale, could claim with some justice in 1580 that in "many parishes in E[ngland] ther be where neither the curate nor the parishioners are open professors of P[rotestantism] nor knowen P[rotestants] but dissemblinge [C]atholickes."⁹ Occasional conformity and church papism made a considerable contribution to the gradual transformation of Marian Catholicism into the later Catholic community. As Eamon Duffy has movingly shown, even for the clergy

their conformity was not always ignoble. Christopher Trychay of Exmore conformed and conformed again, but he was no vicar of Bray. Reading his church book it is hard to see what else such a man in such a time could have done. For him religion was above all local and peculiar, "rooted in one dear perpetual place," his piety centred on this parish, this church, these people. It was not a matter of mere fear ... for a man like Trychay there was nowhere to be except with the people he had baptized, shriven, married and buried for two generations ... While Sir Christopher Trychay was priest of Morebath Protestantism would be long in making headway, and when it did it would be tempered, transformed.¹⁰

For many, clergy and laity alike, all that could be done was to wait and see what would happen. Tudor religious policy had seen many changes in the last 30 years and could change again. Elizabeth's reign, certainly at the beginning, was precarious: some looked to her conversion, or perhaps a marriage; illness and death might strike; others remembered that the heir presumptive to her throne was her Catholic cousin, Mary, Queen of Scots. There was a deep-seated loyalty amongst many English Catholics, more marked as Elizabeth's reign lengthened; that English Catholics would rebel against their queen, as both popes and Jesuits hoped, was increasingly unlikely.

vigorous response to the task of Catholic restoration." (*From Humanists to Heretics*, part 3, 32) and suggests that the writings of the English Catholic exiles in Louvain "attained new heights of theological learning and spiritual intensity ... which give some idea of what the Marian Church might have attained had not Mary died in 1558." (*ibid.*, part 4, 1).

8 Alexandra Walsham, *Church Papists* (Woodbridge: 1993), 52.

9 Cited in Walsham, *Church Papists*, 52.

10 Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars* (New Haven: 1992), 592. Duffy went on to explore the life and work of Christopher Trachay in his fine study, *The Voices of Morebath* (New Haven: 2001).

Many of the Marian clergy overlooked attendance at local parish Sunday worship by members of the Catholic population; others, such as Laurence Vaux (1519–85) of Lancashire¹¹ and the young layman William Allen,¹² supported Pius v's injunction of 1566 forbidding this. In 1568, Allen went on to found a college at Douai where the English exiles could gather and study, preparing themselves for better times. Soon this college began specifically to train priests to return to England, which it did, with a brief exile in Reims from 1578 to 1593, owing to political unrest in the Spanish Netherlands, for another two hundred years. It was during the period in Reims that the group of English exiles, led by the scholar Gregory Martin, finished their great translation of the Latin Vulgate New Testament into English (1582), with its important doctrinal annotations.¹³ Their return to Douai, under presidents Richard Barret (1588–99) and Thomas Worthington (1599–1613), was marked by a period of financial crisis¹⁴ and a dramatic increase of Jesuit influence at the college, causing considerable tension. It was only with Matthew Kellison (president from 1613 to 1641), who was determined to restore the fortunes of the English College, that, in 1619, the final vestiges of Jesuit influence introduced by Allen were removed. Other colleges followed, all under the direction of the Society of Jesus.¹⁵

A further sign of the strength of the Marian Church can be found in the fact that, apart from Bishop Kitchen of Llandaff, the bishops all refused to accept the new regime: 13 died in prison, whereas two managed to escape: Bishop Scott of Chester died in Louvain 1564, and Bishop Goldwell of St Asaph, after an abortive attempt to return to England in 1580, died in Rome during 1585.¹⁶

11 Vaux had been Warden of Manchester Collegiate Church under Mary. See Robert Livesey, *Laurence Vaux: The Last Catholic Warden of the Manchester Collegiate Church 1519–1585* (Wigan: 2007); J.A. Hilton, *The Historiography of Laurence Vaux* (Wigan: 2015); Christopher Haigh, *Reformation and Resistance in Tudor Lancashire* (Cambridge: 1975), 249–53.

12 William Allen had been principal of St Mary's Hall, Oxford. Soon after Elizabeth's accession, he joined the group of English Catholic scholars who settled in Louvain, but returned to Lancashire in 1564 working hard to encourage many to resist the pressures of conforming. Allen, in danger of arrest, returned to the Continent in 1565 and settled first at Malines where he was ordained. For Allen, see Michael E. Williams, "William Allen: The Sixteenth Century Spanish Connection," *RH* 22, 2 (1994), 123–40; Eamon Duffy, "William Cardinal Allen 1532–1594," *RH* 22, 3 (1995), 265–90 (revised and expanded version, *Reformation Divided*, 132–67).

13 Translation of the Old Testament into English followed in 1610.

14 Peter Guilday, *The English Catholic Refugees on the Continent, 1558–1795*, vol. 1, (London: 1914), 107.

15 Rome (1579); Valladolid (1589); Seville (1592); Madrid (1610).

16 See G.E. Phillips, *The Extinction of the Ancient Hierarchy* (London: 1905).

The Lower House of Convocation came out strongly in support of the bishops, and in favor of Catholic doctrine in February 1559, acknowledging itself to be loyal “to the apostle Peter, and to his lawful successors in the apostolic see, there having been given, as Vicars of Christ, the supreme power of pasturing the church militant of Christ.”¹⁷ The imprisonment of the bishops left the Catholic community leaderless. Although during the following decades various schemes were drawn up to appoint English bishops, nothing came of them. While the popes of the period injudiciously continued to collude in plans for a military invasion of Britain, the English Catholics were left without effective ecclesiastical government. It was their greatest tragedy. Allen’s poignant description of the state of the secular clergy in 1577 was to remain the case for several decades:

Our catholic church or the relics and seed therof in England hath no form of external commonwealth, no one that governeth the rest, no discipline or censures neither to drive the priests nor people into order, no man subject to his fellow, no way to call disorders to account, no common conference, no sovereignty nor subjection; but every one, living severally and secretly by himself, and often far away from any fellows, is ruled only by his own skill and conscience; which even among the Apostles had bred disturbance if by sundry meetings, counsels and conferences it had not been looked unto ...¹⁸

J.C.H. Aveling does offer some evidence of an emerging structure in North Yorkshire: by 1593 John Mush, a later leader amongst the Appellants, was establishing “irregular mission circuits with safe resting-places for priests,”¹⁹ and this must have gone on with greater or lesser success elsewhere.

T.F. Knox in his edition of *The Letters and Memorials of William Cardinal Allen* suggests that there is little evidence to suggest that Allen was drawn into the politics surrounding the enterprise of England before 1582,²⁰ but after this date there is no doubt that both Persons and Allen were prime movers of the Spanish strategy, provoking many secular priests to dissociate themselves from the party, sowing seeds of further dissension. Sixtus v, at the prompting

17 Philip Hughes, *Rome and the Counter-Reformation in England* (London: 1942), 139; the whole text of the protest is given on pages 138–39.

18 T.F. Knox, *The First and Second Diaries of the English College, Douay* (London: 1878), xlvi.

19 J.C.H. Aveling, *Northern Catholics* (London: 1966), 158–59.

20 T.F. Knox, *The Letters and Memorials of William Cardinal Allen (1532–1594)* (London: 1882), xxxii.

of Philip II, created Allen cardinal in 1587, in preparation for a full invasion. Allen, basing himself on Pole's legatine mission, made careful plans for the restoration of the English church, differing from Pole mainly in his desire to combine his political and religious roles by taking on the roles of both Lord Chancellor and Archbishop of Canterbury in the hoped-for restoration.

Although serious damage was done to the cause of the Catholic community in England by the Rising of the Northern Earls in 1569, followed by the ill-judged promulgation of Pius V's 1570 bull *Regnans in Excelsis*, excommunicating Queen Elizabeth and releasing her subjects from their allegiance, and by the scatterbrained Ridolfi Plot of the ensuing year, there was something of a resurgence of Catholicism in the 1570s. The situation in Lancashire was probably not typical of the country as a whole, but Christopher Haigh shows that there were 56 Catholic priests working in the county between 1568 and 1571, whereas the established church could muster only 79 clergy in 1565, and many of these inclined towards Rome.²¹ The arrival of the first priests from Douai in 1574 began to supplement the work of the Marian clergy, and by 1580 100 priests had come over from the college.²² T.F. Knox suggests that by 1596 as many as 300 seminary priests had arrived in England and that there were still between 40 and 50 Marian priests at work.²³

With the execution of Mary, Queen of Scots in 1587, and the failure of the Armada in 1588, the enterprise of England was no more. The election of Clement VIII in 1592 marked the beginning of a new age in Europe. Cardinal Allen died in Rome in 1594. Four years later there was peace between Spain and France, and by the end of that same year Philip II was dead. Many seculars turned away from the Spanish connection and contented themselves with thoughts of the accession to the throne of England of James VI of Scotland.

Tensions between the seculars and Jesuits came to a head in 1595 with a row between the clerical prisoners at Wisbech Castle, near Ely. The Jesuit

21 Haigh, *Reformation and Resistance*, 249; see also 254–59. Haigh speculates that “it is just possible that Lancashire was not an exception, merely an extreme case of what existed elsewhere. A sizable, if largely undetected recusant population.” *Reformation and Resistance*, 267.

22 McGrath, *Papists and Puritans*, 111.

23 Knox, *First and Second Diaries*, lxi–xii. McGrath and Rowe qualify this picture somewhat, arguing in a careful analysis of Anstruther's *Seminary Priests*, vol. 1, that there were probably never more than 150 seminary priests at work on the English mission during any one year, and from 1583 to 1585 under 130; for the 22 years, there were under 120. This suggested to the authors that the Marian priests contributed rather more to the mission than is usually recognized. Patrick McGrath and Joy Rowe, “Anstruther Analysed: The Elizabethan Seminary Priests,” *RH* 18, 1 (1986), 1–13.

William Weston complained about laxity among the prisoners and a serious split occurred: 18 priests and the one layman amongst them put themselves under the authority of Weston; the remaining 14 priests gathered around Christopher Bagshaw²⁴ and Thomas Bluet.²⁵ The strangely irrational violence generated by this dispute suggests deep-seated anxiety and tensions amongst the prisoners.²⁶

News of this strange episode resonated across the country and amongst the Catholic exiles: there was renewed trouble in the College in Rome, eventually brought to an end with the appointment of Persons himself as rector in 1597. The leaderless seculars seemed to resent the high profile given to the well-organized Jesuits.²⁷ Serious tensions between the seculars and regulars, Benedictine as well as Jesuit, remained a central and troubling feature of the whole recusant period, and beyond. Early legislation inclined towards supporting the independence of the regulars; the issue was partially settled by Benedict XIV's bull *Apostolicum Ministerium* of May 1753, which supported the vicars apostolic over the regulars,²⁸ but was not finally ended until Manning's careful negotiating of the bull *Romanos Pontifices* as late as 1881.

Persons added his voice to the pleas for English bishops in 1597 by petitioning the pope to appoint two English bishops, each with a staff of archpriests. For some reason he either changed his mind, or met with opposition to the plan, and, in March 1598, the cardinal protector appointed a single archpriest, George Blackwell, supported by 12 assistants, to look after affairs in England.²⁹ This proved disastrous. The seculars thought him to be under the sway of

24 Principal of Gloucester Hall, Oxford, under Mary, and ordained to the priesthood at Reims in 1583. He was a contemporary, and firm critic, of Robert Persons at Balliol.

25 A former Protestant minister, he went to Douai and was ordained there in 1578; arrested in England the same year, he was at Wisbech from 1580 until 1601.

26 See P. Reynold (ed.), *The Wisbech Stirs* (London: 1958); see also Thomas Ridgedell, "The Archpriest Controversy: The Conservative Appellants against the Progressive Jesuits," *BCH* 33, 4 (2017), 561–83 [this article, written after my own essay, offers an excellent survey of the issues involved]. Philip Caraman, S.J., in his study of Henry Garnet offers a rather different interpretation of the Appellants, portraying them as a very small group of disaffected troublemakers: Caraman, *Henry Garnet 1555–1606 and the Gunpowder Plot* (London: 1964), 250–301 and 342–43.

27 Philip Hughes gives the total of secular priests martyred in the reign of Elizabeth as 111, four of them being Marian priests; 126 priests in all were martyred, including 11 Jesuits. Hughes, *Rome and the Counter-Reformation in England* (London: 1942), 240–41.

28 See Geoffrey Holt, "Bishop Challoner and the Jesuits," in Eamon Duffy, *Challoner and his Church* (London: 1981), 138–42.

29 Thomas M. McCoog, S.J., "Recognizing the Archpriest: Seeking Clarification or Fomenting Schism?," *BCH* 32, 4 (2015), 473–91.

Persons and the Jesuits, betraying pro-Spanish inclinations; Blackwell made things worse by antagonizing many of the secular clergy. Blackwell's opponents among the clergy appointed William Bishop and Robert Charnock to take the case, supported by 31 signatories, to Rome. This appeal proved a fiasco: the pope was absent from Rome, the two Appellants lodged in the English College, whose rector – Persons, of course – had them put under house arrest and then expelled from the city. The pope then confirmed Blackwell's appointment as archpriest. The latter eventually suspended two of his most outspoken opponents, John Mush and John Colleton, accusing them of heresy, and, when the Theology Faculty in Paris gave a judgement in their support, went on to argue that this judgement was prejudicial to the Holy See, and forbade anyone to write in its support.

A further appeal to Rome was drawn up at Wisbech in November 1600, signed by 33 priests, and dispatched to Rome. Other disgruntled seculars even negotiated with the government: William Watson denounced the Jesuits to the attorney general in April 1559, and in early 1601 Thomas Bluet was in touch with Bishop Bancroft of London, who, in order to cause further dissension amongst the English Catholics, was happy to lend his support to the appeal, and colluded in the sending of a group of seculars, including Thomas Bluet and Christopher Bagshaw, to Rome. By this time Rome had already responded, rebuking Blackwell for his intemperance and calling for charity amongst the English Catholic clergy. In England a fierce pamphlet war between the two parties ensued.³⁰

Nevertheless, a second group of Appellants, with the support of the French government, which objected to Jesuit support for a Spanish candidate to succeed Elizabeth, continued to Rome where, after considerable negotiation, they persuaded the Holy Office to issue a decree of 20 July 1602 in their support.³¹ Blackwell's powers were limited: he was forbidden from consulting with the Jesuits; and he was forced to appoint three of the Appellants as assistants as soon as vacancies existed. While the pope indicated his disapproval of the Appellant connivance with Bishop Bancroft, the Appellants tried, with French support, to negotiate a compromise with the English government. The latter continued its attempts to split the Catholics by issuing a Proclamation in November 1602, inviting them to take an oath disowning the deposing power of the pope which, the government hoped, would isolate the extremists. Thirteen priests out of some 400 were prepared to comply, expressing their fealty to

30 See Gladys Jenkins, "The Archpriest Controversy and the Printers 1601–1603," *The Library*, 5th series, 2, 180ff.

31 John Bossy, "Henri IV, the Appellants and the Jesuits," *RH* 8, 2 (1965), 80–122.

Elizabeth, but carefully adding a protestation of their loyalty to Catholic teaching and to Rome.³² The French, in turn, had come to see the Appellants' efforts as unrealistic and leading merely into a *cul de sac*;³³ the French policy was now to persuade Appellants and Jesuits to come to terms. This was the situation at the death of Elizabeth in March 1603.

An increase of recusancy followed the death of Elizabeth in response to promises of possible toleration on the part of James. Such hopes proved vain and, after the Powder Plot of 1605, as far away as ever. A new oath of 1606, riddled with ambiguity, sought to divide the Catholics once more. Many felt they could take it safely. The Archpriest Blackwell, after first protesting against the oath, but after imprisonment in 1607 and under extreme pressure from the English authorities, agreed to take it. Rome intervened and the oath was banned: Blackwell was deposed by Pope Paul v, who replaced him with George Birkhead, like Blackwell, an associate of the Jesuits, but rather more distanced from them than his predecessor had been. Birkhead strove to bring some order to clerical life in England and Wales, but little was achieved by the time of his death in 1614.³⁴ Fifteen months later a third archpriest was appointed: William Harrison, who had been Blackwell's agent in the Roman curia.

Representations for the appointment of a bishop were being made to Rome throughout this period. On Harrison's death in 1621, the situation in England had changed: James, from 1619, was negotiating a Spanish marriage for his son, and became more friendly to the Catholic cause; the ensuing period of toleration for Catholics lasted until after Charles I married Henrietta Maria of France, just after his accession to the throne in 1625, though a parliamentary backlash resulted in the persecution of Catholics in the autumn of that year. The new pope, Gregory xv, decided it appropriate to appoint a bishop for England, Scotland, and Wales. William Bishop, long an advocate of the Appellants, was consecrated bishop of Chalcedon;³⁵ he had worked in England, but latterly had been based in Paris, where he took a doctorate at the Sorbonne, and was a member of the group of English scholars which formed the Collège d'Arras.³⁶

32 The signatories included William Bishop and Robert Charnock as well as Roger Cadwallader and Robert Drury, who were to become martyrs in the reign of James I.

33 Bossy, "Henri IV, the Appellants and the Jesuits," 91.

34 See M. Questier, *Newsletters from the Archpresbyterate of George Birkhead* (The Camden Society, 5th series, vol. 12, 1998).

35 For Bishop, see W. Brown Petterson, "William Bishop as Roman Catholic Theologian and Polemicist," *RH* 28, 2 (2006), 209–24; Michael Questier, *Catholicism and Community in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: 2006), 400–14.

36 Initially founded in 1611 by a group of secular priests (William Bishop, Matthew Kellison, Richard Smith, and Anthony Champney) as a center for higher studies amongst the

Bishop arrived in England in July 1623. He worked indefatigably, confirming first 400 at Cowdray and then 2000 during September and October 1623. He negotiated with the regulars and started to organize the seculars into twelve districts, setting up a Chapter of clergy. Within five months of his arrival in England, however, he was dead, seemingly worn out by his labors.³⁷

Rome appointed Richard Smith in his stead in January 1625.³⁸ He, too, was a member of the Collège d'Arras in Paris, having earlier received a doctorate from Valladolid; he had also acted as tutor to Richelieu when bishop of Luçon, and remained close to him, owing his appointment as bishop to the cardinal in the hopes that Smith might draw English Catholics away from their traditional dependence on Spain.³⁹ Smith landed in England in the first weeks of the reign of Charles I, only to be caught up months later in the serious persecution which broke out before the end of the year. In spite of such persecution there were far fewer executions of Catholics in the major part of the reign of Charles I than previously: James I had 23 Catholics executed, including 13 secular priests; from 1625 to 1640 only three Catholics were executed, none of them seculars.⁴⁰

It was a time of relative security for Catholics in England. Smith embarked on a two-year visitation of the country, discovering the state of the Catholic community at large and confirming many. He also wished to control the number of priests arriving in Britain. Routes from the seminaries in Europe inevitably concentrated priests in London and the South East; the largest numbers of English Catholics were to be found in the North. There were too many priests for too few missions, and unseemly rivalries for better placements were undermining the clerical community. Smith reorganized the Chapter, now consisting of 36 members, chaired by the dean. These included the vicars general of the seven districts into which England and Wales were divided; the 19 archdeacons who looked after sub-districts; and ten other secular priests, elected as canons.⁴¹ The Chapter employed an agent to represent it in Rome.

English secular clergy, the community moved into the Collège d'Arras in 1613. Later it became the College of St Gregory. See Anthony F. Allison, "The Origins of St. Gregory's, Paris," *RH* 21, 1 (1992), 11–25.

37 See Hughes, *Rome and the Counter-Reformation*, 322–28.

38 See Hughes, *Rome and the Counter-Reformation*, 239–407.

39 See A.F. Allison, "Richard Smith, Richelieu and the French Marriage: The Political Context of Smith's Appointment as Bishop for England in 1624," *RH* 7, 4 (1964), 148–211.

40 Martin Havran, *The Catholics in Caroline England* (Oxford: 1962), 111.

41 See J. Anthony Williams, *Catholic Recusancy in Wiltshire 1660–1791* (London: 1968), appendix A, 241–42.

Smith also wished better to control finances, threatening that various local trust funds, including alms offered to the regulars, should be redistributed among the poorer missions. As Bossy remarks, this threatened the very security of such funds: "The law which would keep English missionary funds safe was English, not Roman; and it would do this, if at all, only by means of the most complicated trusteeship arrangements which would ensure that their purpose was not visible to the naked eye."⁴² Smith had been given authority by Rome "freely [to] exercise whatever faculties ordinaries use, enjoy and exercise in their dioceses."⁴³ This led to a series of disputes which brought his effective ministry to an end.⁴⁴

The first was with the gentry, already worried about their trust funds. As an ordinary, Smith was entitled to set up an ecclesiastical tribunal to attest probate and other matters, but this could trespass on the role of the civil authorities, and some of the gentry thought such actions would lead to the charge of *praemunire* and increase the likelihood of persecution. Although Smith gave them the promise that he would act sensibly, he refused to surrender any of his powers. The publication of the Benedictine president Rudesind Barlow's *Mandatum* in 1628, arguing that Smith's jurisdiction was limited to the internal forum only, added strength to the gentry case, and their concern was passed on to the Privy Council. Two royal proclamations were issued against him in December 1628 and March 1629, and, although Charles I did not propose to act on them, Smith was forced into hiding, taking refuge in the French Embassy.⁴⁵

There was a second issue. By a Tridentine decree of 1563,⁴⁶ regular clergy had to seek the approbation of the local ordinary to hear confessions in a diocese, and without this, such confessions were invalid. Some of the Benedictines and Jesuits interpreted Smith's insistence on approbation as a covert means for the bishop to undermine their independence and gain undue authority over them. Smith also wished to have the Jesuit sodality of the Immaculate Conception suspended, arguing that it had become a divisive force amongst English Catholics. The Holy Office responded to these criticisms in December 1627 stating that the regulars were not to be pushed into the necessity of asking

42 John Bossy, *The English Catholic Community, 1570–1850* (London: 1975), 56; see also 55–56 and 244–49.

43 Hughes, *Rome and the Counter-Reformation*, 335.

44 These are carefully explored in A.F. Allison, "A Question of Jurisdiction: Richard Smith, Bishop of Chalcedon, and the Catholic Laity, 1625–1631," *RH* 16, 2 (1982), 111–45.

45 Hughes, *Rome and the Counter-Reformation*, 370.

46 This decree had been relaxed for a time by Pius V but restored in 1570 by the bull *Romani Pontificis Providentia*. See Hughes, *Rome and the Counter-Reformation*, 348–49.

permission to hear confessions, but that they must do so in order to administer baptism, marriage, and extreme unction, at the same time asking the bishop not to style himself ordinary. This solved nothing, and the ensuing pamphlet battle merely exacerbated matters; French theologians, including the Jansenist abbé de St Cyran, came to the support of Smith. Eamon Duffy points to the important parallels in the ways Rome dealt with the English and the Dutch churches, as well as the contacts between the two churches during this period; and in 1628 the Dutch vicar apostolic Philip Rovenius was to issue words of comfort to Smith regarding his dealings with the regulars.⁴⁷

In 1631, 86 prominent laymen sent to Rome a protest against Smith's jurisdiction as an ordinary, the *Protestatio Declaratoria*.⁴⁸ In Rome it is clear that Smith had the support of Francesco Ingoli and Propaganda, but that the regulars had the ear of the Holy Office, and it was the strength of the latter which lay behind Urban VIII's brief, *Britannia*, of May 1631, a complete exoneration of Smith's opponents. Smith had his supporters, but many suggest that it was his own authoritarian stance and tactlessness which brought him to ruin, setting many of the laity against him;⁴⁹ Bossy neatly, though a little uncharitably, characterizes him as a "doctrinaire hierocrat,"⁵⁰ sacrificing pastoral concern to squabbles about preserving his power of jurisdiction, but Bossy's dismissal of Smith seems unfair. Considered in isolation, Smith might indeed appear an autocrat, but he can be correctly understood only within the wider European context of rigorist Tridentine reform: Smith was merely seeking to put into practice St Charles Borromeo's insistence on episcopal authority, which included the sidelining of regular clergy in favor of the diocesan priests, as well as a strengthening of the penitential discipline of the confessional.

This vision of reform goes a long way to show what Smith was about. Duffy makes clear his genuine pastoral concern, which reveals itself in the highly compressed *Monita Quaedam utilia pro Sacerdotibus Seminaristis ... quando primum veniunt in Angliam* of 1647.⁵¹ After the seemingly unjust condemnation from Rome, Smith left England in August 1631, and settled in Paris, where he lived until his death in 1655, as pensioner of Richelieu (until Richelieu's

47 Eamon Duffy, "The English Secular Clergy and the Counter Reformation," *JEH* 34 (1983), 214–30 (revised and expanded version in *Reformation Divided*, 226–47). See also T.A. Birrell, "English Catholics without a Bishop," *RH* 4 (1958), 142–78; Benjamin Kaplan, Bob Moore, Henk Van Nierop, and Judith Pollmann (eds), *Britain and the Netherlands c.1570–1720* (Manchester: 2009).

48 Havran, *Catholics in Caroline England*, 87.

49 J.C.H. Aveling, *The Handle and the Axe* (London: 1976), 120.

50 Bossy, *English Catholic Community*, 50.

51 See Duffy, "The English Secular Clergy and the Counter Reformation," 222–26.

death in 1642) and acting as chaplain to the English Augustinian convent there. In England, the care of the church was supervised by the Chapter, now a self-perpetuating body, tacitly, but not officially, recognized by Rome.⁵² This body met from time to time, but often had little power of control over the local clergy, especially in the earlier period; towards the end of its rule it attempted to exert tighter control over the movements of clergy, and better discipline amongst them.⁵³

The defeat of Smith was certainly an indication of the gentry's domination of the clergy. The first half of the 17th century had seen a large increase in Jesuit and Benedictine missionaries,⁵⁴ as well as seculars, and smaller numbers of other religious, almost all settling down under the protection of the local Catholic gentry, and taking for granted their position as a minority group now separated from the Anglican establishment. Christopher Haigh comments with some perspicacity: "perhaps it was always likely that the attempt to practice Counter-Reformation piety in conditions of proscription would lead the missionaries into the arms of the gentry, and that the Catholic minority would become a seigneurially structured minority."⁵⁵ Many gentry houses supported two chaplains: one for the family itself, and one to minister to the surrounding tenants.⁵⁶ Perhaps, distracted by the high-profile, and popular, Jesuit autobiographies,⁵⁷ historians have paid too much attention to the role of the landed gentry: to a certain extent the balance in favor of plebeian Catholics is restored by the important collection of studies edited by Marie Rowlands, *English Catholics of Parish and Town 1558–1778*.⁵⁸

J.C.H. Aveling records 17 gentry chaplaincies in the North Riding of Yorkshire during the second half of the 17th century, but also 14 independent missions.⁵⁹

52 For the activities of the Chapter see Philip Hughes, "The Return of the Episcopate to England," *Clergy Review* (September 1935), 195–204.

53 J. Anthony Williams offers a sketch of the year-to-year workings of the Chapter in *Catholic Recusancy in Wiltshire*, 96–104.

54 The English Benedictine Congregation in 1619; the English Province of the Society of Jesus was set up in 1623.

55 Christopher Haigh, "From Monopoly to Minority: Catholicism in Early Modern England," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th Series, 31 (1981), 129–47, passage cited, 147.

56 See, for example, J.C.H. Aveling, *The Catholic Recusants of the West Riding of Yorkshire* (Leeds: 1963), 241.

57 Philip Caraman (ed.), *John Gerard: The Autobiography of an Elizabethan* (London: 1951), later reprinted as *The Autobiography of a Hunted Priest* (London: 1959); Caraman, *William Weston: The Autobiography of an Elizabethan* (London: 1955); Evelyn Waugh, *Edmund Campion* (London: 1925), based on the finely researched study by Richard Simpson, *Edmund Campion* (London: 1867).

58 Marie B. Rowlands, *English Catholics of Parish and Town 1558–1778* (London: 1999).

59 Aveling, *Northern Catholics*, 345–51.

The 87-year-old John Lockwood, who had been ministering quietly in the county for 44 years, and Nicholas Postgate, working for 49 years amongst the poor Catholics on the Yorkshire moors, are good examples. Postgate kept a careful record of his missionary activity, recording that "he had baptized 595 children, married 226 couples, buried 719 and 'in all, increased the Church of God by 2400 souls.'"⁶⁰ Both were executed at York: Lockwood in 1642; Postgate in 1679. There are similar cases amongst secular priests working elsewhere, especially in Lancashire,⁶¹ and in London.⁶² Many of the more settled, gentry chaplains rather looked down on such priests, considering them, rather unfairly, to be subject to laxity and irregular behavior.

From the end of the 16th, and onwards into the 17th century, the secular priests began to come together in clergy brotherhoods, to give themselves some local support, banding together to contribute to a common purse for the maintenance of the sick. These groups, which met fairly regularly, provided some sort of organization and communication among local clergy. Christopher Bagshaw, John Mush, and John Colleton proposed a confraternity of secular priests as early as 1596 centered on Lancashire and London, but it was hard to sustain.⁶³ Such local initiatives developed into the more formal Clergy Funds which were established during the 17th century. The Chapter, developing an initiative of Richard Smith's, concerned itself about the welfare of the clergy, setting up a fund in 1660, pledging each of them to donate £200 to the common purse. Other funds followed: the Yorkshire Clergy Fund (1660); the Lancashire and Westmoreland Fund (1672);⁶⁴ the Staffordshire Common Funds (1676);⁶⁵ the Lancashire Infirm Secular Clergy Fund (1681, but probably earlier); and the Hampshire Hog (1683).⁶⁶

60 Aveling, *Northern Catholics*, 348.

61 See B.G. Blackwood, "Plebeian Catholics in the 1640s and 1650s," *RH* 18, 1 (1986), 42–58. Blackwood estimated that 68 per cent of Lancashire Catholics in 1715 belonged to the lower orders, and concluded: "it was, moreover, still essentially seigniorial in terms of gentry influence, thought there were a fair number of *large* plebeian Catholic communities not dependent on the gentry." Blackwood, "Lancashire Catholics, Protestants and Jacobites during the 1715 Rebellion," *RH* 22, 3 (1994), 41–59, passage cited, 49.

62 See, Havran, *Catholics in Caroline England*, 78–79.

63 See Brian Foley, "Secular Clergy Common Funds: The First Attempt to Form One," *Clergy Review* (February 1968), 114–25.

64 This contained 37 brethren in 1681–82, 30 in 1694; see John Kirk, *Biographies of English Catholics*, ed. John Hungerford Pollen and Edwin Burton (London: 1909), 259–60.

65 See Marie Rowlands, "The Staffordshire Clergy," *RH* 9, 5 (1968), 223–26.

66 See David Kirkwood, *A History of the Society of Yorkshire Brethren*, Leeds Diocesan Archives, Occasional Publication, No. 2 [1990]; Rowlands, "Staffordshire Clergy," 223–26; Michael Greenslade, "The Association of Staffordshire Clergy, 1686," *Staffordshire Catholic History* 11 (1962), 13–18.

With the recall of Parliament in 1640, and an end to the settled period of “the king’s peace,” came a Protestant backlash against Charles I’s leniency to Catholics: between 1641 and 1646, 20 priests were executed. During the Civil Wars, with increasing tensions between Independents and Puritans during the concluding stages of the first Civil War, the secular priest Henry Holden put forward a proposal for toleration of Catholics which would allow them a number of bishops in response to the offer of an oath of allegiance to the state. Holden was a protégé of Thomas White (alias Blacklo) under whose influence he had come while the latter was teaching philosophy at Douai and later, with the Catholic diplomat Sir Kenelm Digby, became part of that group known as Blackloists.

Thomas White,⁶⁷ the grandson of the Elizabethan lawyer Edmund Plowden, was president of the English College in Lisbon from 1630 to 1633. White, a contentious figure, was an original thinker in the multiple fields of natural sciences, theology, and politics: for Philip Hughes he was “one of the rare original theologians of his race.”⁶⁸ Though small, the Lisbon college produced some of the most significant secular priest voices of the age, most having close links to St Gregory’s in Paris. It had been founded in 1622, its first students sent from Douai in 1628 to complete their studies there. Douai had, in 1619, during the presidency of Matthew Kellison, after friction between the college and the Jesuits, cut the final vestiges of Jesuit influence introduced by Allen; the schoolboys were no longer sent to the local Jesuit school but educated in-house, changing the character of the college. Lisbon remained the only English secular college to have had no links with the Jesuits.

As Stefania Tutino warns, the Blackloists had differing aims and “it is probably not very useful to talk about the English Catholics as a coherent and homogeneous group;”⁶⁹ but they certainly had things in common. Holden, categorized by Allison as “an English Gallican,”⁷⁰ saw the problems of the English Catholic community as “part of a larger question involving the whole structure of the Roman Church.”⁷¹ He looked towards an English Catholic Church whose authority lay primarily not with the pope, but with the local bishops,

67 For White, see the important study by Sefania Tutino, *Thomas White and the Blackloists*, of which I have made use. See also Simon Johnson, *The English College at Lisbon: From Reformation to Toleration*, vol. 1 (Downside: 2014).

68 Philip Hughes, “The Return of the Episcopate to England,” *Clergy Review* (September 1935), 195.

69 Tutino, *Thomas White and the Blackloists*, 62.

70 Anthony F. Allison, “An English Gallican: Henry Holden 1596/7–1662, Part I (to 1648),” *RH* 22, 3 (1995), 319–49. Sadly, Allison died before completing Part II of this study.

71 Tutino, *Thomas White and the Blackloists*, 56–59.

and which could claim a certain independence from the court of Rome. White, an associate of the Paris circle of Marin Mersenne, to which the philosopher Thomas Hobbes also had connections, was more concerned with politics, seeking to work towards a more comprehensive theory of the relations between religion and politics. Both were determined to promote the prospering of the true Church under whatever regime it might exist. White and Holden were appointed members of the Chapter by Bishop Smith in 1638 and became firm opponents of the bishop's more conservative policy; they were both supporters of the Chapter as a more active and independent body.

The Blackloist political theory came together in White's *The Grounds of Obedience and Government* published during the Protectorate in 1655. In this White upheld a view of government by consent of the people borne out by the epigraph to the book: "*salus populi suprema lex.*"⁷² White also upheld the right of resistance to bad government, a theory which was able to justify the execution of Charles I. White and Holden held significant power in the Chapter but they were opposed by another faction led by George Leyburn, himself an alumnus of the Paris house, and, as a young man, closely linked to Richard Smith. As president of Douai (1652–70), Leyburn turned against the influence of the Paris house, becoming an outspoken critic of the Blackloists, and what he felt to be their surrender to the related movements of Gallicanism and Jansenism.

White and other Chaptermen, not wanting a public confrontation, tried to calm the disagreement. The pragmatists amongst the Roman authorities were at this time equally disinclined to condemn the Blackloists, considering that the group might afford a possible opening to Lord Protector Cromwell himself, to whom they had contact. Rome condemned some of White's theological texts between 1657 and 1658, and, with the Restoration in 1660, White lost both his political patrons and any support he might have had left in Rome: the Inquisition condemned his *opera omnia* in 1661, the Holy See wishing "to give a strong signal of support to the King."⁷³

White ceased to be of influence on the international scene but in England John Sergeant, one of his students at Lisbon, and secretary to the Chapter from 1655, attempted for a time to champion his views. Bossy is correct in suggesting his leadership was misguided, and that the disarray which ensued hindered the clergy's ministry to the community.⁷⁴ Sergeant, too, was accused of unorthodox, even rationalist, views and was replaced as secretary to the Chapter by

⁷² Tutino, *Thomas White and the Blackloists*, 68.

⁷³ Tutino, *Thomas White and the Blackloists*, 121.

⁷⁴ Bossy, *English Catholic Community*, 283.

John Leyburn in 1667.⁷⁵ There were further serious external challenges to the Catholic cause at this time with the Popish Plot of 1678, and the Exclusion Crisis of the following years. An Act of 1678 extended the Test Act of 1673, requiring all who accepted public office formally to deny the doctrine of transubstantiation, including those sitting in the House of Lords, and thus ended the possibility of Catholics sitting in either chamber of Parliament. The hysteria generated by the plot purported to have been uncovered by Titus Oates, provoked the execution of the last martyrs for the faith in England and Wales.⁷⁶

The Dominican Thomas Howard was named vicar apostolic in England in 1670, but as the Chapter, “quite out of touch with reality,”⁷⁷ pushed for an ordinary with full powers, Howard was not consecrated.⁷⁸ Twelve years later John Leyburn was at last consecrated bishop of Adrumetum *in partibus infidelium* and vicar apostolic for England (1685),⁷⁹ the Chapter still demanding a bishop in ordinary, arguing to James II that the power of a vicar apostolic would be arbitrary, being independent of the Chapter, and closer to the pope than to the king.⁸⁰ Leyburn was close to the king, trying hard, with the backing of Cardinal Howard, to provide a restraining influence on James. He reduced the 12 districts to four, and made a tour of the North, confirming 20,859 people in 1687;⁸¹ while on tour in Chester, he stayed in the episcopal palace with the Anglican bishop, a curiously ecumenical gesture.⁸²

The following year Leyburn petitioned for three more vicars apostolic: James Smith was appointed to the Northern District; Bonaventure Giffard to the Midland District; Michael Ellis, O.S.B., to the Western District; while Leyburn himself remained in charge of the London District. With the accession of

75 John Leyburn was George Leyburn's nephew and successor as president of Douai (1670–76) before going to Rome as secretary to Cardinal Howard. Whether Sergeant was a rationalist or not, he was completely exonerated at both Paris and Rome. Michael Sharratt, “Bishop Russell and John Sergeant,” *Ushaw Magazine* (June 1979), 22–37.

76 For the martyrdom of John Plessington in Chester (1679), not at all implicated in the plot, but sacrificed to the cut and thrust of local, domestic politics, see Peter Phillips, “St John Plessington, Priest and Martyr,” *RH* 28, 3 (2007), 424–33.

77 T.A. Birrell, “English Catholics without a Bishop,” *RH* 4, 4 (1958), 168.

78 See Peter Guilday, *The English Catholic Refugees on the Continent, 1558–1795* (London: 1914), 403–10. Howard was appointed cardinal in 1675, and, at the request of Charles II, was made Cardinal Protector of England, doing much to further the English mission.

79 See Hughes, “The Return of the Episcopate to England,” 204–07.

80 Basil Hemphill, *The Early Vicars Apostolic in England* (London: 1954), 6–9. Hemphill prints the “Memorial of the Dean and Chapter to James II,” 23 June 1685 (Westminster Diocesan Archives, XXXIV, 236).

81 Bossy, *English Catholic Community*, 188.

82 Aveling, *Handle and the Axe*, 234.

William and Mary, Leyburn, Giffard, and Ellis were briefly imprisoned, Smith only, hidden away in north Yorkshire, escaping arrest. The other vicars apostolic were released by 1690, Ellis returning to the Continent, having visited his district only briefly.⁸³ The vicars apostolic worked quietly on in considerable penury. Bishop Giffard, aged 80, writing to the bishops' agent in Rome in 1722, comments:

I have been very hard put to it. A good and pious priest, purely for dyet, lodging & other necessarys, had contracted a debt of £50, and for which he was arrested, & had I not paid the money he must have gone to prison. I had also been forced to pay for another priest a debt of £16, for another of £10 & for another £4 – Add to this what I am forced to expend to furnish them with clothes at their first coming, & to subsist them till a residence can be had & to supply them for their journey into the country. In fine, I am so oppressed & so exhausted that if I have not some speedy supply, I must abandon this station ...⁸⁴

Bishop John Stoner of the Midland District (1716–56) tried hard to wean his fellow vicars apostolic from the Jacobite cause, but had little success. Robert Witham, president of Douai (1715–38), and the college itself, remained profoundly loyal to the exiled Stuarts. This was but fantasy: the truth was that the flight of James II marked the real end of the possibility of a Catholic Restoration. In England itself there is evidence of a notable refusal amongst many Catholics to associate with the '15 or '45. Bishop Challoner tried hard to distance Catholics from the Jacobite cause, being very skeptical of the chances of success, and concerned about repercussions that would fall on Catholics. A sentimental romantic notion of the Stuart cause lingered on in the minds of some Catholics, but in 1765 Pope Clement XII instructed the vicars apostolic to pray for George III at Mass: Jacobitism had at last become a lost cause, a matter of history.⁸⁵

83 For an account of Bishop Ellis, see Williams, *Catholic Recusancy in Wiltshire*, 122–26. Ellis went first to the court of the exiled James II at St Germain-en-Laye, then to Rome; he resigned his vicariate in 1705 and was appointed bishop of Segni in 1708. The Western District remained vacant until the Franciscan, Matthew Pritchard, was appointed; he was consecrated in Cologne in 1715.

84 Bishop Giffard to Laurence Mayes, 29 October 1722, cited in Williams, *Catholic Recusancy in Wiltshire*, 113.

85 Aveling, *Handle and the Axe*, 254.

In the aftermath of the so-called “Glorious Revolution” and the penal legislation of William and Mary, consolidating and reinforcing legislation against Catholics, the Catholic community suffered a moment of disillusionment. But David Mathew’s claim that the period lasting from Anne and into the reigns of the early Hanoverians represented a “period of acute religious depression” must be challenged.⁸⁶ Bossy argues for “three quarters of a century of modest growth.”⁸⁷ What is most noticeable is a decline in aristocratic and seigneurial Catholicism, and a significant shift from rural to urban, with a growing preponderance of independent communities of laborers, traders, and the emerging middle and industrial classes. Albert Silvertop, agent and colliery manager for Lord Widdrington, was one such: as Leo Gooch comments, an example of “the professional hard-headed businessman who was taking over from the old gentry, rising from salaried employee to independent entrepreneur.”⁸⁸

Giada Pizzoni has identified a hitherto unexamined network of Catholic merchants trading between Britain, the Continent, and the Americas, using their Catholicism to make contacts in Catholic countries, their British nationality to preserve their links with Britain, and working amicably with their Protestant colleagues.⁸⁹ A number of expatriate communities of English, Scottish, and Irish Catholics, settled in ports along the Atlantic seaboard and in the Mediterranean, were able to promote trade during the troubled times of European war in the late 17th and throughout the 18th century, undermining trade embargos and smuggling goods into Britain. The clandestine activities of Catholic merchants made a significant contribution to the preservation of British trade. There was also a lucrative trade with the Americas. Not all merchants profited directly from slavery, but they did trade with the plantations. There are moral questions to be addressed: the question of Catholic involvement in the horrors of the colonization of native communities in the Americas, in the slave trade, and in smuggling activities which scarred the 18th-century traders and their supporters at home, and which remained a problem for the vicars apostolic.

Gradually, even before the Relief Acts of 1778 and 1791, chapels were being established. Remarkably, the Radcliffes of Dilston, Northumberland, built a

86 David Mathew, *Catholicism in England 1535–1935* (London: 1938), 131.

87 Bossy, *English Catholic Community*, 278–92. See also P.R. Newman, “Roman Catholicism in Pre-Civil War England: The Problem of Definition,” *RH* 15, 2 (1979), 148–52.

88 Leo Gooch, “‘Incarnate Rogues and Vile Jacobites’: Silvertop v Cotesworth, 1718–1723,” *RH* 18, 3 (1987), 277–81, passage cited, 281.

89 Giada Pizzoni, *British Catholic Merchants in the Commercial Age, 1670–1714* (Woodbridge: 2020).

freestanding chapel attached to their hall, which could be as early as 1616.⁹⁰ There was a chapel at Abergavenny before 1679. Leaving aside the Embassy Chapels, and show-case royal and seigneurial buildings like the chapel at Marlborough House (1623) and Wardour (1766, 1786), chapels had been built, for example, in Hathersage in rural Derbyshire, and the cities of Newcastle and Birmingham during the reign of James II, the latter being destroyed in the mob violence of 1689.⁹¹ Slowly, and with increasing speed as the 18th century drew to its close, chapels were established in centers of population: in July 1766 a London newspaper listed chapels not only in London itself but in Bath (the Bath chapel was regularly advertised in the town *Guides* from 1753 onwards), Worcester, Preston, Lancaster, York, and elsewhere, noting that in Lancashire there were “as many as all England put together.”⁹² Chester had a resident priest from 1758, and a building was hired to function as a chapel sometime later until the leading local architect, Thomas Harrison, was commissioned to design the new chapel, opened in 1799; Shrewsbury had a chapel in 1776.

It is almost impossible to establish accurately the number of Catholics during the recusant period, though several attempts have been made. Bossy has usefully analyzed these,⁹³ challenging the received view of a rapid decline of Catholics between 1680 and 1720. He concludes, inevitably with considerable speculation, that there were probably between 30,000 and 40,000 Catholics in 1603, increasing by about a half to 1641;⁹⁴ by 1680 he puts the number at about 60,000; thereafter it remained virtually static for the rest of the 17th century “and on the increase, perhaps to the extent of some 30%, thereafter.”⁹⁵ Samuel Peploe, vicar of Preston, complained of the town in 1714: “their priests swarm in it, and the Romish party is of late very upish.”⁹⁶

By the end of the 18th century there were probably about 80,000 Catholics in the country. Bossy accepts the papal representative Panzani's⁹⁷ figures of

90 See Nikolaus Pevsner & Ian Richmond, *The Buildings of England: Northumberland*, rev. ed. (London: 1992), 252. James Radcliffe, the third and last Earl of Derwentwater, was executed for his part in the Jacobite rebellion of 1715; his confiscated estates funded the building of the Greenwich Hospital on the banks of the Thames.

91 See Brian Little, *Catholic Churches since 1623* (London: 1966).

92 Little, *Catholic Churches since 1623*, 29.

93 Bossy, *English Catholic Community*, 182–94 and 216–23.

94 Bossy, *English Catholic Community*, 193.

95 Bossy, *English Catholic Community*, 189.

96 Colin M. Haydon, “Samuel Peploe and Catholicism in Preston 1714,” *RH* 20, 1 (1990), 79.

97 The Oratorian Gregorio Panzani was sent as papal agent to the Court of Charles I as part of the complex diplomatic negotiations between Charles I and the Vatican, not the least significant thread in this tangled knot being Charles's attempts to restore his Calvinist

about 500 secular priests and rather less than 300 regulars to serve this community in 1634, but points out that it was also acknowledged at the time that there were too many priests to go round.⁹⁸ The Bishops' Returns of 1773 suggest 175 seculars out of a total of 392,⁹⁹ but also suggests that they were more appropriately located, moving from isolated, gentry missions to the more populated urban areas. Vincent Smith notes seven independent urban, secular missions in Northumberland and Durham by about 1725,¹⁰⁰ and Leo Gooch shows just how active were Catholics in Northumberland and Durham during the long 18th century in establishing missions and in laying down an essential structure for the future of North Eastern Catholicism.¹⁰¹ In contrast, although what became the diocese of Salford had some early missions, by far the majority of churches in this heavily urbanized and industrialized area with its multitude of cotton mills, were built in the 19th, indeed late 19th, century.¹⁰²

The English secular clergy developed a rich tradition of spirituality founded on St Francis de Sales's *Introduction to the Devout Life* (1609), first translated into English in 1613.¹⁰³ Again seculars at the English College in Lisbon provided an important contribution to English Catholic life, though coming to differ considerably from the political machinations of Holden and Sergeant. Edward Pickford, president of Lisbon from 1642 to 1648, published a collection of meditations;¹⁰⁴ so too did William Clifford.¹⁰⁵ Simon Johnson clearly highlights the close connections between St Gregory's in Paris and the Salesian tradition of

brother-in-law the Prince Palatine. See Gordon Albion, *Charles and the Court of Rome* (London: 1935).

98 Bossy, *English Catholic Community*, 217.

99 J.H. Whyte, "The Vicars' Apostolic Returns of 1773," *RH* 9 (1968), 206–14; Bossy, *English Catholic Community*, 218–19.

100 Vincent Smith, "The Maintenance of the Clergy of Northumberland and Durham in Penal Days," *Ushaw Magazine* (March 1937), 3.

101 Leo Gooch, *Persecution without Martyrdom: The Catholics of North East England in the Age of the Vicars Apostolic 1688–1850* (Leominster: 2013).

102 See C.A. Bolton, *Salford Diocese and its Catholic Past* (Salford: 1950), passim.

103 Trans. John Yaxley; this ran through five editions before being replaced by the more accurate translation of 1648; see A.F. Allison and D.M. Rogers, *The Contemporary Printed Literature of the English Counter-Reformation between 1558 and 1640*, vol. 2 (Aldershot: 1994), 870–75; *A New Edition of the Introduction to the Devout Life* (Paris: 1648); see Thomas H. Clancy, *English Catholic Books* (Aldershot: 1996), 358. See also Mary Hardy, "The Seventeenth-century English and Scottish Reception of Francis de Sales' *An Introduction to a Devout Life*," *BCH* 33, 2 (2016), 228–58.

104 *Meditations Collected and Ordered for the Use of the English College at Lisbon* (1649, reissued for lay use in 1663); see Clancy, *English Catholic Books*, 657.3 and 657.5.

105 *Little Manual of the Poor Man's Daily Devotion* (1669); see Clancy, *English Catholic Books*, 230.

the Oratorians of Valenciennes.¹⁰⁶ That the spirituality offered by this school of thought was rather more subdued and darker in tone can be accounted for by its links with the Jansenist tradition. Both the English College, Douai, and the Catholic community in England perhaps rather unjustly came under suspicion in Rome of Jansenist leanings.¹⁰⁷

John Gother,¹⁰⁸ who with Peter Gooden gave up controversy after the exile of James II, proved to be by far the most significant of this group of Lisbon priests. A master of English prose, he published a whole series of short works of devotion which were to shape the spirituality of the coming generation of English Catholics. Duffy suggests that the 16 volumes of John Gother's writings made a central contribution to this revival and points to work of missionaries who worked amongst the London poor such as Monox Hervey, Francis Lacy in St Giles in the Fields, Christopher Piggott in Southwark, and, of course, the saintly Bishop Challoner himself.¹⁰⁹

Richard Challoner had been received into the Church by Gother, his widowed mother being housekeeper to the Holmans at Warkworth Manor, Northamptonshire, while Gother was chaplain there. Challoner (1691–1781), perhaps the greatest of the vicars apostolic, returned to London from Douai in 1730, and was consecrated Bishop of Debora as coadjutor to Petre, vicar apostolic in the London District (1741), succeeding as vicar apostolic on the latter's death in 1758 until his own death in 1781.¹¹⁰ Challoner, as Eamon Duffy states uncompromisingly, was "a writer wholly without originality,"¹¹¹ nevertheless he, and his *Garden of the Soul* (1740), "came to symbolize the intense yet sober recusant tradition" as it developed into the 18th century.¹¹²

106 Simon Johnson, *The English College at Lisbon* (Downside: 2014), 249–50.

107 See Eamon Duffy, "A rubb-up for old soares: Jesuits, Jansenists and the English Secular Clergy, 1705–1715," *JEH* 28 (1977), 291–317 (revised and expanded version in *Reformation Divided*, 248–86).

108 For Gother, see Marion Norman, "John Gother and the English Way of Spirituality," *RH* 11, 6 (1972), 306–17; Geoffrey Scott, "The Poor Man's Catechism," *RH* 27, 3 (2005), 373–82; Simon Johnson, *The English College at Lisbon*, 239–53.

109 Joseph S. Hansom, "The Catholic Register of the Rev. Monox Hervey alias John Rivett alias John Moxon 1729–1756, in *Miscellanea IX*, CRS (London: 1914), 313–96; Eamon Duffy, "'Poor Protestant Flies': Conversion to Catholicism in Early Eighteenth Century England," in Derek Baker (ed.), *Religious Motivation: Biographical and Sociological Problems for the Church Historian* (Studies in Church History) xv (Oxford: 1978), 289–304.

110 For Challoner, see Eamon Duffy, "Richard Challoner 1691–1781: A Memoir," in Duffy (ed.), *Challoner and his Church* (London: 1981), 1–26; indeed, all the essays in this volume are of interest.

111 Eamon Duffy, "Richard Challoner and the English Salesian Tradition," *Clergy Review* (December 1981), 450.

112 Duffy, "Richard Challoner and the English Salesian Tradition," 449.

The 18th century was not a period without anti-Catholic persecution, and the double land tax continued into the 19th century; the latter was largely compensated for by increasing land improvement schemes, the former ameliorated by increasing levels of toleration. Nevertheless, it must be accepted that Newman's moving picture of Catholics as a *gens lucifugum* owes more to Dickens's 1841 novel, *Barnaby Rudge*, set amidst the anti-Catholic Gordon Riots of 1780, than to the reality of Catholic life in the period:

There, perhaps an elderly person, seen walking in the streets, grave and solitary, and strange, though noble in bearing, and said to be of good family, and a "Roman Catholic". An old-fashioned house of gloomy appearance, closed in with high walls, with an iron gate, and yews, and the report attaching to it that "Roman Catholics" live there; but who they were, or what they did, or what was meant by calling them Roman Catholics, no one could tell ...¹¹³

Catholics were generally on affable terms with their non-Catholic neighbors. Educated abroad, the sons and daughters of such families often had a better education and access to European culture than was provided to non-Catholics attending schools in England. In some ways their rather different situation allowed Catholics rather more social mobility than their neighbors and they were able better to engage with industrial projects and the early stages of railway development than their non-Catholic neighbors. Sir Basil Brooke of Madeley Court in Shropshire, for example, felt free to turn his attention to industry: already the owner of coal mines, he opened the first iron forge in Coalbrookdale, the cradle of the Industrial Revolution, possibly as early as 1615. The Gillows of Lancaster rose to prominence with their fine furniture, and Thomas Worswick was to join his father-in-law, Robert Gillow, in lucrative overseas trading ventures, and later banking.¹¹⁴ In 1776 the Catholic Anderton family built the first cotton mill in Blackburn;¹¹⁵ Hareholme Mill at Rawtenstall was built by Nathaniel Booth in 1799.¹¹⁶

The French Revolution and its aftermath had considerable repercussions on the Catholic community in England and Wales. The English College at Douai

¹¹³ John Henry Newman, "The Second Spring," in *Sermons Preached on Various Occasions* (London: 1874), 171–72.

¹¹⁴ Peter Phillips, *John Lingard Priest and Historian* (Leominster: 2008), 116–17.

¹¹⁵ C.A. Bolton, *Salford Diocese*, 96.

¹¹⁶ Bolton, *Salford Diocese*, 108.

and various English regular communities of monks and nuns exiled in France (Douai had become French territory after Louis XIV's seizure of the town from the Spanish in July 1667) came back to their native shores: St Edmund's, Ware (1793) in the south, and Crook Hall (1794), Ushaw (1808) in the north were the direct descendants of the English College, Douai. To these were added Oscott, near Birmingham, founded in 1794 by a reforming group from the Cisalpines, with Rev. Dr John Bew as its president.¹¹⁷

As many as 5000 French clergy fled as refugees to England, awaking in English Protestant hearts a new sympathy towards a Catholicism now experiencing French persecution. Most returned to France, but many stayed, working in English missions and sometimes teaching French. Louis Le Maître, a Benedictine monk from the observant house of Saint-Vaast at Arras, for example, ended up in the little mission in Shrewsbury and ministered there from 1817 until his death in 1822.¹¹⁸ The first secular chapel to be built in Liverpool, the dockland mission of St Anthony's was founded in 1804 by the émigré priest Jean Baptiste Antoine Geradot.¹¹⁹

By the end of the century the vicars apostolic were able better to assert their authority. The Relief Act of 1778 was brought about by a lay committee, but the bishops were able to intervene in the Act of 1791, preventing the gentry from simply getting their own way. Although with the appointment of John Leyburn in 1685, the old Chapter had lost its authority, it still had a certain influence, especially in Staffordshire, and a group emerged, allied to the Catholic gentry, and prepared to make large concessions to the government to achieve emancipation. The leading figure in the group of Staffordshire clergy was Joseph Berington, missionary in Wolverhampton, and later chaplain to Sir John Throckmorton of Buckland House, Berkshire. The issues involved threatened to lead to schism amongst English Catholics. Fearing this, Thomas Talbot and his coadjutor in the Central District, Charles Berington, Joseph's cousin, tried hard to compromise, but the Benedictine Charles Walmesley, vicar apostolic in

117 Oscott, crippled by debt, was handed over to the control of Bishop Milner in 1808. There were now three colleges on the Continent: Lisbon, still under the control of the English secular clergy; after the suppression of the Jesuits in Spain, the revenues of Seville and Madrid were consolidated with those of Valladolid, and the latter handed over to the English secular clergy in 1767, Philip Perry being appointed rector; the English College in Rome re-opened after the Napoleonic wars in 1818, and, with Robert Gradwell as rector, was now also under the control of the English secular clergy.

118 His brother Stephan Le Maître was with him briefly, dying in 1818. Louis's name is first recorded in the baptismal register at Shrewsbury in 1809.

119 See Michael O'Neill, *St Anthony's, Scotland Road, Liverpool* (Gracewing: 2010).

the Western District, was, with the support of William Gibson, vicar apostolic in the North, implacably opposed to the group.¹²⁰

Coming to the fore in this dispute was the young missionary at Winchester, John Milner, who fought indefatigably for the rights and independence of the clergy. He constantly challenged the Catholic Board, the successor of the Catholic Committees, founded in 1808, in its preparedness to negotiate concessions to the government for emancipation; Milner, with the support of the Irish bishops, whose agent he became, campaigned uncompromisingly for the grant of unconditional political rights to Catholics.¹²¹ Milner was incontrovertibly a man of the 19th century; Berington belonged to the 18th century, and his cause died with the century, the last flicker of a tradition that can be traced back to the Appellants, the opposition to Richard Smith, and the Blackloists. While upholding the spiritual authority of the papacy, they wished to surrender, or at least severely curtail, its temporal power, and, while asserting the rights of local bishops, they also wished to defend their own rights against what they considered to be the abuse of power by their own bishops.

Milner was appointed vicar apostolic of the Midland District in 1803; his move, the following year, from the vicars' apostolic residence at Longbirch, on the Gifford estate at Chillington, to the Mass House in industrial Wolverhampton, was a symbolic as well as pragmatic decision. In freeing the English Catholic community from its dependence on the gentry, whom he uncompromisingly dismissed as "a knot of lawyers and fox hunters,"¹²² Milner achieved, in admittedly very different times, what Richard Smith had failed to achieve in the 17th century. At the beginning of the industrial age, the church, by the imposition of clerical dominance over the laity, had, in its own way, made a clear option for the poor. The clergy were thus to move into the poverty struck slums and administer spiritual and material comfort to the Catholic masses dwelling in the inner cities in the dire poverty of cellars, courts, and tenements.

The ancient Catholic Church of the British Isles had survived, and the secular clergy had played a significant part in this survival. The seminary priests and the religious built on the work of the Marian clergy, and adapted to difficult

120 See Rowlands, "Staffordshire Clergy." For a more detailed exploration of the issues involved, see Eamon Duffy, "Ecclesiastical Democracy Detected," *RH* 10, 4 (1970), 193–209; 10, 6 (1970), 309–31; 13, 2 (1975), 123–48.

121 Although Milner's contribution was a considerable one, that emancipation was eventually achieved in 1829 was the result primarily of the situation in Ireland after O'Connell's winning of the election in County Clare, and the fears of Wellington and Peel that Ireland might subsequently become ungovernable.

122 Cambridge University Library, Hengrave 21/1/84, John Milner to John Gage, 1821.

times, sometimes engaging with the regime, sometimes preferring to remain in the background. Theological high points came with the group of Elizabethan scholars which gathered in Louvain, and with the publication of the Douai Bible (1582; 1610), and the later political philosophy of White and Holden. The great tragedy was that the secular clergy remained effectively without local leaders for so long. This was at least partly the fault of Rome's lack of appreciation of what was truly going on amongst the persecuted Catholics of England and Wales, and tensions between the Holy Office and Propaganda Fide. The distribution of clergy, many unnecessarily concentrated in the South East, failed to mirror the distribution of lay Catholics, predominantly belonging to the North. Without firm leadership, support, and organization, many priests felt threatened and undermined by the more organized groupings of religious clergy, and this resulted in a series of unseemly and damaging internal squabbles: between seculars and religious, and between different parties in the Chapter.

The Catholic community was able to survive these episodes, but it would have been much stronger without them. That in the end it did come through was due to the deep devotion of Catholic men and women, served conscientiously by their priests, nourished on the memory of the saints and martyrs, their forebears and contemporaries, and also on the late medieval English and Welsh piety popularized by the works of the Brigittine monk of Syon Abbey, Richard Whitford, a tradition developed and passed on in turn by George Flinton's *Manual of Prayers*, the writings of Gother, and Challoner's *Garden of the Soul*. At the heart of this tradition of devotion lay the Mass, which Christopher Trychay had struggled to preserve in the difficult times from his arrival on the southern edge of Exmoor in 1520 until his death in 1574.¹²³ For the next 200 years the Mass was celebrated in garrets and secret places – and occasionally more prominently, such as the episcopal ordination of Bishop Giffard in the Banqueting House, Whitehall, during the strange interlude provided by the reign of James II –¹²⁴ until Catholic chapels and churches could again be built openly in town and countryside to bring hope and comfort to generations of those in need of the sustaining grace of the sacraments.

¹²³ After 1570, amongst those still loyal to Rome, the Sarum Rite, most familiar to medieval England, and other local rites, gave way, with the introduction of the new missal of Pius V, to the rather simpler Tridentine Rite.

¹²⁴ Bishop Giffard was consecrated on 22 April 1688. Subsequently, Bishop Ellis was consecrated on 6 May and Bishop Smith at Somerset House on 13 May 1688. See Hemphill, *The Early Vicars Apostolic of England*, 17–18.

The Jesuits and Other Male Religious Orders in Britain and Ireland

Thomas M. McCoog, S.J.

1 Historiography of the Religious Orders

The paucity of monographs on various religious orders in the early modern British Isles and Ireland is somewhat astonishing because many 20th-century historians of this period were in fact members of the same religious orders.¹ Contemporary historians seeking an integrated assessment of the activities of the Roman Catholic clergy without distinguishing between secular and religious, apparently have little interest in the more traditional accounts of distinct orders and congregations.

The fabled Jesuit mission to England in 1580 has been sufficiently examined and debated by historians and literary scholars who seem not to tire of the topic. General histories of the mission/province are not as plentiful.² Four appeared in the 20th century, two by non-Jesuits and two by Jesuits. The histories by non-Jesuits Ethelred Taunton and William Walsh are unreliable polemics, a curious amalgamation of fable, fact, and fiction, against the province and the Society of Jesus, bordering at times on a Trumpeque alternate universe. Jesuit Bernard Basset's *The English Jesuits from Campion to Martindale* is an entertaining, conversational survey of colourful characters with engaging data at times related without explicit citations. Francis Edward's history, delayed for years because of the popularity of Basset's work, lacks the latter's vitality, but provides sources for information.³ The Elizabethan mission itself has been

1 Thirty years ago, John Patrick Donnelly, S.J., observed that members of historical institutes of different religious orders had little if any contact with each other and remained narrowly focused. The field needed a comparative history. It seems his wish has been granted. See "Religious Orders of Men, Especially the Society of Jesus," in *Catholicism in Early Modern History: A Guide to Research*, ed. John W. O'Malley, S.J. (St Louis: 1988), 147–62, at 157.

2 Unlike Ireland and Scotland, Wales never had an independent hierarchy with its own primate since the Norman reorganization of the church (post-1066) and the Welsh bishops' profession of obedience to the archbishop of Canterbury.

3 Ethelred L. Taunton, *The History of the Jesuits in England, 1580–1773* (London: 1901); William Walsh, *The Jesuits in Great Britain: An Historical Inquiry into their Political Influence* (London: 1903); Bernard Basset, S.J., *The English Jesuits from Campion to Martindale*

treated extensively by Robert Scully, S.J., Thomas M. McCoog, S.J., and many others.⁴ Francis Edwards, S.J., unfortunately only translated the 16th-century portion of Henry More's *Historia provinciae Anglicanae* (1640).⁵

Interest in English Jesuit history dies with the Gunpowder Plot (1605) as the 17th century remains fallow territory with Thomas H. Clancy, S.J.'s *A Literary History of the English Jesuits: A Century of Books, 1615–1714* as the sole exception.⁶ No monograph has explored the blossoming of the Jesuit province and its subsequent wilting during the Popish Plot (1678) and “Glorious Revolution” (1688). Geoffrey Holt, S.J., has surveyed the province in the 18th century, and Maurice Whitehead has examined the province's educational policies.⁷ An account of the province's survival and struggle for recognition between 1773 and 1829 can be found in *Promising Hope*.⁸ Two new works in series sponsored by Brill, “Jesuit Historiography Online,” and “Brill Research Perspectives in Jesuit Studies” are relevant: Hannah Thomas, “Historiography of the Jesuits in England in the Early Modern Period,”⁹ and Thomas M. McCoog, S.J., *Pre-Suppression Jesuit Activity in the British Isles and Ireland* (Leiden: 2019).¹⁰ James E. Kelly's “The Jesuit English Mission” appeared in *The Oxford Handbook of the*

(London: 1967); Francis Edwards, S.J., *The Jesuits in England: From 1580 to the Present Day* (Tunbridge Wells: 1985). *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus*, 7 vols in 8 parts (London: 1877–83) by Henry Foley, S.J., is *sui generis* in that it interweaves (and not always successfully) biographical records, documentary accounts, and archival material into a general history of Jesuit colleges and residences in England.

4 Robert E. Scully, S.J., *Into the Lion's Den: The Jesuit Mission in Elizabethan England and Wales, 1580–1603* (St Louis: 2011); Thomas M. McCoog, S.J., *The Society of Jesus in Ireland, Scotland, and England 1541–1588: “Our Way of Proceeding?”* (Leiden: 1996); McCoog, *The Society of Jesus in Ireland, Scotland, and England, 1589–1597: Building the Faith of Saint Peter upon the King of Spain's Monarchy* (Farnham 2012); McCoog, *The Society of Jesus in Ireland, Scotland, and England, 1598–1606: “Lest Our Lamp Be Entirely Extinguished”* (Leiden: 2017). For other studies, see McCoog, “And touching our society”: Fashioning Jesuit Identity in Elizabethan England (Toronto: 2013), 11–13.

5 *The Elizabethan Jesuits: Historia Missionis Anglicanae Societatis Jesu (1660) of Henry More*, trans. and ed. Francis Edwards, S.J. (London: 1981).

6 (San Francisco: 1996).

7 William Strickland and the Suppressed Jesuits (London: 1988); *The English Jesuits in the Age of Reason* (Tunbridge Wells: 1993); Maurice Whitehead, *English Jesuit Education: Expulsion, Suppression, Survival, and Restoration, 1762–1803* (Farnham: 2013).

8 *Promising Hope: Essays on the Suppression and Restoration of the English Province of the Society of Jesus*, ed. Thomas M. McCoog, S.J. (Rome: 2003).

9 In *Jesuit Historiography Online*, ed. Robert A. Maryks (Leiden: 2017), doi:https://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/jesuit-historiography-online/-COM_193581.

10 <https://brill.com/view/book/9789004395299/BP000006.xml>.

Jesuits.¹¹ Unfortunately the handbook contains nothing on Jesuit ministries in Scotland and Ireland.

The limited historiography of the Society of Jesus is extensive by comparison with the other religious orders. Significantly fewer volumes concerning monastic and mendicant orders have been published by the Catholic Record Society.¹² H.N. Birt's *Obit Book of the English Benedictines* provides short biographies of post-Reformation monks.¹³ David Lunn and Geoffrey Scott, O.S.B., excellently covered the early modern Benedictine mission to England 30 years ago.¹⁴ The "Monks in Motion" project, funded by the British Arts and Humanities Research Council and recently inaugurated by Durham University, aims at a prosopographical study of English and Welsh Benedictines in exile, 1553 to 1800.¹⁵ Dominic Bellenger, O.S.B., has produced a series of articles on aspects of modern English Benedictine history, and Alban Hood has examined the migration of the English Benedictine communities from the Continent to the kingdom.¹⁶ Godfrey Anstruther, O.P., has chronicled the return of the Dominicans to England.¹⁷ The other orders suffered even greater neglect: the standard accounts of the revived Franciscan and Carmelite missions were written in the late 19th century, and that of the Capuchins in the early 20th century.¹⁸

11 Ed. Ines G. Županov (Oxford: 2019), 293–317.

12 Six volumes are devoted exclusively to Jesuits; only *Dominicana: Cardinal Howard's Letters, English Dominican Friars, Nuns, Students, Papers and Mission Registers* (London: 1925), *Memorials of Father Augustine Baker and Other Documents Relating to the English Benedictines*, ed. Justin McCann and Hugh Connolly (London: 1933), and *The English Franciscan Nuns, 1619–1821, and the Friars Minor of the Same Province, 1618–1761*, ed. Richard Trappes-Lomas (London: 1922) concentrate explicitly on other orders.

13 (Edinburgh: 1913).

14 David Lunn, *The English Benedictines, 1540–1688: From Reformation to Revolution* (London: 1980); Geoffrey Scott, O.S.B., *Gothic Rage Undone: English Monks in the Age of Enlightenment* (Bath: 1992).

15 See <https://www.dur.ac.uk/mim/> (accessed 11 January 2017).

16 Dominic Aidan Bellenger, O.S.B., *Monks with a Mission: English Benedictine History* (Bath: 2014); Bellenger, *Monastic Identities: Essays in the History of St. Gregory's, Downside* (Bath: 2014); Alban Hood, *From Repatriation to Revival: Continuity and Change in the English Benedictine Congregation, 1795–1850* (Farnham: 2015).

17 Godfrey Anstruther, O.P., *A Hundred Homeless Years: English Dominicans 1558–1658* (London: 1958).

18 Father Thaddeus, O.F.M., *The Franciscans in England 1600–1850* (London: 1898); B. Zimmerman, O.C.D., *Carmel in England: A History of the English Mission of the Discalced Carmelites 1615 to 1849* (London: 1899); Father Cuthbert, O.S.F.C., *The Capuchins: A Contribution to the History of the Counter-Reformation*, 2 vols (London: 1929). Religious orders of women principally because of the "Who Were the Nuns?" project have been better served by recent historians. But that is the subject of chap. 4 in this collection.

Four Courts Press has almost single-handedly energized research in Irish religious history. Thomas S. Flynn, O.P., has studied the first century of the post-Reformation of his order in *The Irish Dominicans, 1536–1641*.¹⁹ Edel Bhreathnach, Joseph MacMahon, O.F.M., and John McCafferty, have edited a general history of the Irish Franciscans, the most important of the orders in early modern Ireland: *The Irish Franciscans 1534–1990*.²⁰ Nollaig Ó Muraíle has made previously published articles by Brendan Jennings, O.F.M., Paul Walsh, Felim O'Brien, O.F.M., and Canice Mooney, O.F.M., more accessible in *Mícheál Ó Cléirigh, His Associates and St. Anthony's College, Louvain*.²¹ *The Undoing of the Friars in Ireland: A Study of the Novitiate Question in the Eighteenth Century* by Hugh Fenning, O.P., remains the definitive study of a major issue.²² *The Irish Franciscans 1651–1665* by Benignus Millett, O.F.M., remains valuable.²³ Regarding the Benedictines, Martin Browne, O.S.B., and Colmán Ó Clabaigh, O.S.B., have edited *The Irish Benedictines: A History*.²⁴ Louis McRedmond's popular *To the Greater Glory: A History of the Irish Jesuits* remains the only monograph on the subject.²⁵ The Elizabethan period is covered in McCoog's trilogy. A special issue of *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review* examines selected aspects of Irish Jesuit history.²⁶ Recent editions by Vera Moynes will, one hopes, provoke greater interest in Irish Jesuits.²⁷

There is a dearth of material on Scottish religious orders.²⁸ With the exception of a chapter on Jesuits in Scotland in Francis Edwards's *The Jesuits in England*, Michael Yellowlees's "*So Strange a Monster as a Jesuite*": *The Society of Jesus in Sixteenth-Century Scotland*,²⁹ the relevant sections of McCoog's

19 (Dublin: 1993).

20 (Dublin: 2009). Pat Donnelly reminds us that "contrary to a wide spread assumption," traditional orders, especially the mendicants, remained extremely popular throughout the early modern period ("Religious Orders of Men," 148).

21 (Dublin: 2008).

22 (Louvain: 1972).

23 (Rome: 1964).

24 (Blackrock: 2005).

25 (Dublin: 1991).

26 "The Jesuits in Ireland: Before and After the Suppression," special issue, *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review* 103, no. 412 (2014–15).

27 *The Irish Jesuit Mission: A Calendar of Correspondence 1566–1752* (Rome: 2017); *Irish Jesuit Annual Letters, 1604–1674*, 2 vols (Dublin: 2019).

28 Martin J. Havran commented on the absence of serious historical studies of post-Reformation Scottish Catholic history nearly 30 years ago. Unfortunately, his observation remains true. See "The British Isles," in O'Malley, *Catholicism in Early Modern History*, 69–82, at 76.

29 (Isle of Colonsay: 2003).

previously cited trilogy, and Mark Dilworth's study of Scottish Benedictines on the Continent, *The Scots in Franconia*,³⁰ no monograph has explored any of the religious orders in Scotland. One can nonetheless extract some data from Alphons Bellesheim's *History of the Catholic Church of Scotland*³¹ and Peter F. Anson, *Underground Catholicism in Scotland*.³² The *Journal of Jesuit Studies* devoted one number, vol.7, no. 1 (2020) to Jesuits in Early Modern Scotland.

The following exposition of male religious orders will neither explicate penal legislation nor expound in detail the politico-religious history of the period: other articles in this collection will cover these matters and I shall simply provide historical context. My prioritization of English Jesuits will, I hope, not prove to be myopic.

2 Introduction: 16th-Century Britain and Ireland

The Shakespearean "Bare ruin'd choirs" were restored and re-occupied after the accession of Queen Mary I in 1553. But the sweet birds sang briefly.³³ Elizabeth I's succession in 1558 and the consequent implementation of new Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity in 1559 resulted in the closure of the communities and the departure of their inhabitants. The Spanish Jesuit Pedro de Ribadeneira – Reginald, Cardinal Pole rejected Ignatius Loyola's offer of more men³⁴ – crossed to the Continent with his patron Gómez Suárez de Figueroa y Córdoba, Count (later Duke) of Feria, in the late spring of 1559. Other religious travelled with or after the count.³⁵ Some religious, specifically Benedictines,

30 (Edinburgh: 1974). See also Thomas McNally, *A Saltire in the German Lands: Scottish Benedictine Monasteries in Germany 1575–1862* (Aberdeen: 2016).

31 4 vols (Edinburgh: 1887–90). Bellesheim's *Geschichte der katholischen Kirche in Irland von der Einführung des Christenthums bis auf die Gegenwart*, 3 vols (Mainz: 1890–91) remains untranslated.

32 (Montrose: 1970).

33 On the restoration of the religious orders, see William Wizeman, S.J., *The Theology and Spirituality of Mary Tudor's Church* (Aldershot: 2006), 140–42; John Edwards, *Mary I: England's Catholic Queen* (New Haven: 2013), 246–49.

34 See Thomas M. McCoog, S.J., "Ignatius Loyola and Reginald Pole: A Reconsideration," *JEH* 47 (1996), 257–73; Thomas F. Mayer, "A Test of Wills: Cardinal Pole, Ignatius Loyola, and the Jesuits in England," in *The Reckoned Expense: Edmund Campion and the Early English Jesuits: Essays in Celebration of the First Centenary of Campion Hall, Oxford (1896–1996)*, ed. Thomas M. McCoog, S.J. (2nd ed., Rome: 2007), 23–41; Eamon Duffy, "Cardinal Pole Preaching: St. Andrew's Day, 1557," in *The Church of Mary Tudor*, ed. Eamon Duffy and David Loades (Aldershot: 2006), 176–200.

35 Peter Guilday, *The English Catholic Refugees on the Continent, 1558–1795* (London: 1914), 41–55.

remained, but their activities, like the Marian priests in general, remain unexplored. They, along with the deprived Catholic bishops in prison or in personal custody, apparently did not communicate with seminary priests and Jesuits. Dom David Knowles suggests that the Marian religious avoided “going to extremes,” specifically challenging and confronting the settlement, as an explanation for this lack of contact.³⁶

Religious houses in Wales were not restored during Mary’s reign.³⁷ In Ireland the Henrician suppression was restricted *de facto* to the Pale and to cities loyal to the English Crown. Brendan Bradshaw estimates about 55 per cent of circa 140 monastic foundations and 40 per cent of circa 200 mendicant communities were actually suppressed. Some friars and monks continued to live at their officially closed religious houses and informally among the ruins. A few religious communities were restored during Mary’s reign but not one lasted more than five years into the reign of Elizabeth. Survivors thereafter, with the exception of the Gaelic areas, lived in woods or mountains.³⁸ Male religious orders were never totally eradicated in Ireland. But as Canice Mooney, O.F.M., makes clear, the religious orders, specifically the Knights Hospitallers, Benedictines, Conventual Franciscans, and Trinitarians, dependent on the English, died out.³⁹

As their confrères in Ireland and England faced suppression and exile, the Scottish religious orders enjoyed the protection of the regent Mary of Guise. In 1559, according to the estimations of Joseph O’Dea, O.C.R., there were circa 155 Benedictines, 155 Cistercians, ten Carthusians, 60 Premonstratensians, 110 Augustinians, 12 Trinitarians, 75 Dominicans, 35 Carmelites, 35 Conventual Franciscans and 75 Observant Franciscans.⁴⁰ However, as the Protestant Lords of the Congregation, with English support, resisted Mary of Guise’s

36 *The Religious Orders in England*, 3 vols (Cambridge: 1979), 3:434. Maurice Chauncy would later question aspects of William Allen’s strategy, especially the use of secular clothing for clergy. See McCoog, “*And Touching our Society*,” 240–41.

37 Glanmor Williams, *Wales and the Reformation* (Cardiff: 1999), 72–104.

38 Brendan Bradshaw, *The Dissolution of the Religious Orders in Ireland under Henry VIII* (Cambridge: 1974), 206–07; Colm Lennon, “The Dissolution to the Foundation of St. Anthony’s College, Louvain, 1534–1607,” in Bhreathnach, MacMahon, and McCafferty, *Irish Franciscans*, 3–26, at 6–11; Henry A. Jefferies, *The Irish Church and the Tudor Reformations* (Dublin: 2010), 118–19.

39 Canice Mooney, O.F.M., *The First Impact of the Reformation* (Dublin: 1967), 27–28. See the entire book for specific data on pre-Reformation religious communities.

40 Anthony Ross, “Some Notes on the Religious Orders in Pre-Reformation Scotland,” in *Essays on the Scottish Reformation 1513–1625*, ed. David McRoberts (Glasgow: 1962), 185–244, at 234. For the ministries of a few former religious who remained in Scotland, see 227–33.

government, the Lords attacked and closed Roman, “papist” institutions. A few religious wandered through the kingdom and may have been succoured in Catholic areas; others sought refuge in the Continental “Scottish” abbeys, e.g. Würzburg and Erfurt. In Scotland the bells tolled the death of religious life.⁴¹

3 The Return of Religious Orders

Many English Catholics, according to William Allen, clamoured for Jesuit involvement in England.⁴² Robert Persons, the mission’s initial apologist, juxtaposed missionary enterprises: as Benedictine monks sent by Pope Gregory I (the Great) had converted England to Christianity, so too a new religious order sent by Pope Gregory XIII, would work for Catholicism’s restoration.⁴³ Ironically the English Jesuits rebuffed arguments advanced by Benedictines that they themselves should reprise this role. The Jesuit superior general Everard Mercurian’s insistence on the inclusion of an unenthusiastic Bishop Thomas Goldwell in the party to introduce some organization into the Catholic remnant, failed when the bishop withdrew prior to crossing the channel because of the dangers involved.⁴⁴ Amidst this ecclesiastical wasteland, the Society of Jesus became the first religious order to enter the realm after the Elizabethan settlement. With the exception of two Franciscans (the martyr John Jones and another), two Dominican apostates, John Sacheverell and Andrew Bailey (both later reconciled with the Church and their order),⁴⁵ martyrs such as Mark Barkworth, O.S.B., and Robert Nutter, O.P.,⁴⁶ who confirmed

41 See Ross, “Some Notes,” 187, 204, 230, 241, and 243; Janet P. Foggie, *Renaissance Religion in Urban Scotland: The Dominican Order, 1450–1560* (Leiden: 2003), 228–42.

42 In Edward Rishton’s continuation of Nicholas Sander’s *De origine ac progressu schismatis Anglicani*, Rishton and/or Robert Persons explained: “There was much talk at this time among the Catholics of the admirable training, order, and learning of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, how much they were in favour with God and man. There was also a very great desire on the part of the English to profit by their labours” (*Rise and Growth of the Anglican Schism*, trans. David Lewis [London, 1877], 309). See also McCoog, *Society of Jesus in Ireland, Scotland, and England 1541–1588*, 131–32.

43 Robert Persons, S.J., “Of the Life and Martyrdom of Father Edmond Campian,” *Letters and Notices* 11 (1877), 219–42 and 308–339; 12 (1878), 1–68, here 329–32.

44 See T.F. Mayer, “Goldwell, Thomas (d. 1585),” in *ODNB*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/10927>.

45 Anstruther, *Hundred Homeless Years*, 22–23. For a short survey of Dominican post-Reformation history in England and biographies, see Walter Gumbley, O.P., *Obituary Notices of the English Dominicans from 1555 to 1952* (London: 1955).

46 See Anstruther, *Hundred Homeless Years*, 34–82.

their religious identities on the scaffold,⁴⁷ and survivors from the Marian restoration, Jesuits remained the only religious within England for the next 25 years. Did the clamoring Catholics realize how radically the incoming order differed from the traditional ones?

Allen and Persons worked hand-in-hand. With Allen's approval, the few Jesuits in England arranged for the arrival and distribution of seminary priests, and maintained the common fund. The ever-attentive Allen resolved whatever resentment may have surfaced among the secular clergy regarding this arrangement. Shortly after his death in 1594, attempts by secular clergy to establish an ecclesiastical structure of their own independent of the Society unleashed the whirlwind later known as the Archpriest and Appellant controversies.⁴⁸

Among the many memorials drawn up by Persons is a detailed ground plan for the restoration of orthodoxy and the establishment of England as "the Spectacle of all the World, and an Example of Perfection to all other Catholic Countries and Churches round about it" after a regime change or the accession of a new ruler.⁴⁹ Initially, traditional orders had no role. He proposed that the recovered monastic properties be restored not to original owners, but devoted to the foundation of good Catholic colleges, universities, and seminaries.⁵⁰ That advice might have been acceptable to some English Catholics, many of whom, as in Ireland, were now in possession of ecclesiastical lands, but the recommendation that the property be transferred "to divers Houses of other Orders, that do deal more in preaching and helping of Souls" set off alarm bells.⁵¹ This suggestion, many believed, benefited the Society of Jesus. Until at a later date the Council of Reformation, an ecclesiastical commission (or, to the opponents of Persons, an inquisition), responsible for Catholicism's

47 See McCoog, *Society of Jesus in Ireland, Scotland, and England, 1589–1597*, 268, 283–84, 313, 394, and 398; McCoog, *Society of Jesus in Ireland, Scotland, and England, 1598–1606*, passim.

48 See Peter Lake and Michael Questier, *All Hail to the Archpriest: Confessional Conflict, Toleration, and the Politics of Publicity in Post-Reformation England* (Oxford: 2019).

49 Robert Persons, S.J., *The Jesuit's Memorial for the Intended Reformation of England*, ed. Edward Gee (London: 1690), fol. A 4r-v. See Thomas H. Clancy, S.J., "Notes on Persons's 'Memorial for the Reformation of England' (1596)," *RH* 5 (1959), 17–34; and Michael L. Carrafiello, *Robert Parsons and English Catholicism, 1580–1610* (Selinsgrove/London: 1998), 56–87.

50 The Society of Jesus committed itself to seminary education in order to form priests spiritually motivated and intellectually acute to give witness to Gospel values and to rebut Protestantism. As we shall see, the Jesuits administered many Irish, English, and Scottish colleges. For Jesuit pedagogy in general, see *Jesuit Pedagogy, 1540–1616: A Reader*, ed. Cristiano Casalini and Claude Pavur, S.J. (Chestnut Hill, Ma.: 2016), 1–33; John W. O'Malley, S.J., *The First Jesuits* (Cambridge, Ma.: 1993), 232–42.

51 Persons, *Jesuit's Memorial*, 57.

restoration allowed the return of other orders, no “Religious or Ecclesiastical Person” could remain within the kingdom without proper credentials.⁵² Nowhere in the widely circulated controversial text does Persons specify the Society of Jesus as the order par excellence – indeed he mentions only the Capuchins – but it best fitted the description.⁵³

It is difficult to assess how pervasive Persons’s estimation of monastic orders was among English Jesuits, but the flight of seminarians from Jesuit-run English colleges in Rome and Valladolid to the Benedictines shocked some.⁵⁴ Between 1588 and 1596, six seminarians left the English College, Rome, for Monte Cassino. In the late spring of 1599 John Bradshaw left Valladolid for the Benedictines. Public reading of selected passages from Persons’s “Memorial,” presumably the sections concerning the exclusion of the traditional orders, did not deter five others from following him. Jesuits reproached the Benedictines for poaching, accused the seminarians of violating their missionary oath, and publicly belittled the intellectual abilities of the future monks. Persons was more sanguine: religious vocations, he reminded the spiritual fathers, were gifts from God and they should simply ascertain their authenticity.⁵⁵

In the midst of Henry VIII’s attempts to eradicate Irish religious life, Jesuits Paschase Broët and Alfonso Salmerón presented a bleak almost hopeless portrait of the Church in Ulster. The next Jesuit in Ireland, David Wolfe, was commissioned as papal nuncio in 1560, to reform the Church there especially through the recommendation of qualified candidates for episcopacies, and the establishment of grammar schools. He and an English Jesuit, William Good, collaborated with Richard Creagh, Archbishop of Armagh, throughout the 1560s. The nuncio frequently crossed paths and occasionally crossed swords with members of religious orders. The persistent lament

52 Persons, *Jesuit’s Memorial*, 74–75.

53 J.J. Scarisbrick, presumably with tongue firmly in cheek, observed that only Jesuits and Capuchins would be allowed, “the Holy Spirit having forsaken all others (or, to be more exact, the Capuchins being the only sort the Jesuits could live with)” (“Robert Persons’s Plans for the ‘True’ Reformation of England,” in *Historical Perspectives: Studies in English Thought and Society in Honour of J.H. Plumb*, ed. Neil Mc Kendrick [London: 1974], 19–42, at 36).

54 Lunn, *English Benedictines*, 16–24; Michael E. Williams, *St. Alban’s College, Valladolid: Four Centuries of English Catholic Presence in Spain* (London: 1986), 22–25; Bede Camm, O.S.B., “Jesuits and Benedictines at Valladolid, 1599–1604,” *The Month* 92 (1898), 364–77; John Hungerford Pollen, S.J., “Troubles of Jesuits and Benedictines at Valladolid in 1603,” *The Month* 94 (1899), 233–48.

55 Robert Persons to John Blackfan and John Floyd, Rome, 23 August 1599, *The Correspondence and Unpublished Papers of Robert Persons, SJ (1546–1610)*, vol. 2, ed. Victor Houlston, Ginevra Crosignani, and Thomas M. McCoog, S.J. (Toronto: forthcoming).

of the Jesuits regarding loneliness and appalling conditions, and Wolfe's endorsement of, and involvement with, the FitzGerald revolt against the Tudor administration resulted in the Society's withdrawal and the cancellation of the mission in the early 1580s.⁵⁶ Claudio Acquaviva, the superior general, refused to send more Jesuits until the situation had improved. In 1598, as the revolt of Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, was in the ascendancy, Acquaviva revived the mission. Irish Jesuits also administered colleges (seminaries) on the Continent: Lisbon (1590), Salamanca (1592), Santiago (1605, Jesuit after 1611), Rome (1625, Jesuit after 1635), Seville (1612, Jesuit after 1619), and Tournai (1616).⁵⁷

A few individual Jesuits, both Scottish and foreign, visited Scotland during the reign of Mary Stuart. Each argued that a Catholic revival and restoration could only come after a military solution. In the early 1580s, the Scottish Jesuit William Crichton on the Continent and the English Jesuit William Holt, with the active involvement and encouragement of royal advisors, negotiated various enterprises for the release of Mary, Queen of Scots, imprisoned in England in 1568, and the overthrow of the heretic Elizabeth, excommunicated by Pope Pius V in 1570. Suggestions that the Society establish a permanent mission were rejected as inappropriate until 1584 when, with some hesitation, Acquaviva decided in its favor. Between two and five Jesuits worked in Scotland until the end of the century under the protection of Catholic nobles and generally with the complicity of King James VI. Scottish Jesuits also assumed the administration of the migratory Scottish College that finally settled in Douai in 1612, and of the Scottish College, Rome (1600).

An influx of English vocations raised the possibility of a Benedictine mission to England in 1597. Subsequent negotiations took place as the Archpriest and Appellant controversies pitted English Jesuits against some secular clergy, tacitly supported by the English government through the mediation of Richard Bancroft, Bishop of London. Indeed, Jesuit opponents, e.g. Christopher Bagshaw, Henry Constable, and William Gifford, advocated a Benedictine mission perhaps in the expectation that a monastic presence

56 See McCoog, *Society of Jesus in Ireland, Scotland, and England 1541–1588*, passim; Thomas M. McCoog, S.J., "Mourning in Lonely Exile: The Irish Ministry of William Good, S.J.," in *From Rome to Zurich, between Ignatius and Vermigli: Essays in Honor of John Patrick Donnelly, S.J.*, ed. Kathleen Comerford, Gary W. Jenkins, and W.J. Torrance Kirby (Leiden: 2017), 23–39; Thomas M. McCoog, S.J., and Victor Houliston, "Life in Tudor Limerick: William Good's 'Annual Letter' of 1566," *Archivum Hibernicum* 59 (2016), 7–36; Alexander G. De Witt, S.J., and Thomas M. McCoog, S.J., "The Correspondence of William Good, S.J., and the Jesuit Mission in Elizabethan Ireland," forthcoming.

57 Cathaldus Giblin, O.F.M., *Irish Exiles in Catholic Europe* (Dublin: 1971), 22.

would provide a strong, traditional religious counter-weight to the Jesuits and, more important, useful allies in their campaign to ascertain a *modus vivendi* with the Crown. Pope Clement VIII's *Venerunt nuper* of 5 October 1602 in favor of the Appellants separated the secular and Jesuit missions. Two months later on 5 December, the pope authorized the Cassinese (Monte Cassino) and Spanish congregations (Valladolid) to send missionaries to England despite strong Jesuit opposition.⁵⁸ Most likely in the expectation that religious tolerance would follow the dynastic change, the first monks arrived in March 1603. They secured through Dom Robert Sigebert Buckley, the surviving monk of Westminster Abbey, succession to the English Benedictine tradition and rights to monastic lands and properties if there was a Catholic restoration.⁵⁹ The anticipated antagonism between Benedictine and Jesuit erupted almost immediately.

At root the first quarrel was a personal spat between Raphael Bifield, O.S.B., and Robert Persons but it rapidly escalated. Benedictines, according to the Jesuits, misled Rome with false information because of their conviction that King James VI/I would grant some form of tolerance to Catholics. Fierce Jesuit opposition impeded but did not prevent the foundation of an abbey in Douai in 1607.⁶⁰ Benedictine support for an English bishop with candidates drawn from the Appellants in 1607 further antagonized Jesuits who now marshalled their considerable support for the suppression of the Benedictine mission. The question, formulated in different languages and under various disguises, was simple: how can a monastic order with a strict daily routine and vows of stability, function in an environment as precarious as England?⁶¹

58 See "*Rationes propter quas expedit Benedictorum missionem in Angliam prohiberi*," London, ABSI, MS Anglia VI, 74.

59 See Knowles, *Religious Orders in England*, 3:444–55; Lunn, *English Benedictines*, 23–28.

60 Subsequent priories were founded at St Lawrence's, Dieulouard (1608); St Benedict's, S. Malo (1611–1669); St Edmund's, Paris (1615). The Abbey of Saints Adrian and Denis near Hildesheim (Kloster Lamspringe) became part of the English Congregation in 1643. See Scott, *Gothic Rage Undone*, 10; *Lamspringe: An English Abbey in Germany, 1643–1803*, ed. Anselm Cramer, O.S.B. (York: 2004).

61 See Lunn, *English Benedictines*, 62–76. Francis Edwards, S.J., glosses over the dispute, but blames the Benedictines "because many ... nursed some resentment ... against the Society" for the misunderstanding. Edwards cites Ignatius Loyola's relations with the Benedictines as evidence "that there was no inherent prejudice" against them among Jesuits (*Robert Persons: The Biography of an Elizabethan Jesuit, 1546–1610* [St Louis: 1996], 339–40).

4 The Arrival of the Stuarts

For years, Catholic nobles, gentry, princes, and popes had witnessed James VI's winks and nods as he sought their support for his claim to the English throne with insinuations and easily disownable promises. At the very least they anticipated formal toleration. They were disappointed. Amidst the moral panic caused by the discovery of the Gunpowder Plot in November 1605, Parliament legislated an Oath of Allegiance whereby the government could distinguish loyal subjects from traitorous papists on the basis of their acceptance or rejection of papal power over secular rulers. Once the panic had subsided, persecution diminished significantly as James initiated what became a standard practice: fining Catholics as a source of income without parliamentary interference.

Richard Holtby, the Jesuit superior, George Blackwell, the archpriest, and Thomas Preston, O.S.B. (alias Roger Widdrington), evaluated the oath's acceptability. Only the Benedictine defended it. Shortly thereafter Blackwell reversed his position. Holtby and Richard Blount, his assistant, both denounced and condemned the oath.⁶² From the safety of his cell in the Clink prison, Preston argued in favor of the oath. Other English Benedictines supported him, arguably more because of their opposition to the Jesuits than to the force of his arguments.⁶³ Pope Paul V's condemnation of the oath on 22 September 1606, spawned a controversy that would involve many English, Irish, and European theologians for years.⁶⁴

Both Benedictines and Jesuits appealed to Rome as the dispute intensified. On 10 December 1608 the Holy Office laid down strict regulations. Regarding

62 Father Randall (*vere* Blount) to O. Hamiano (*vere* Persons), 14 July 1606, ABSI, MS Anglia III, 62; Robert North (*vere* Holtby) to Persons, 30 October 1606, ABSI, MS Anglia III, 71; R. Dagger (*vere* Blount) to Mr Snype [Persons?], [August or September] 1606, ABSI, MS Anglia III, 64.

63 David Lunn, "The Anglo-Gallicanism of Dom Thomas Preston, 1567–1647," in *Schism, Heresy and Religious Protest*, ed. Derek Baker (Cambridge: 1972), 239–46; Lunn, *English Benedictines*, 40–52.

64 For a discussion of its meaning and significance, see Johann P. Sommerville, "Papalist Political Thought and the Controversy over the Jacobean Oath of Allegiance," in *Catholics and the 'Protestant Nation': Religious Politics and Identity in Early Modern England*, ed. Ethan H. Shagan (Manchester: 2005), 162–84; Michael Questier, "Loyalty, Religion and State Power in Early Modern England: English Romanism and the Jacobean Oath of Allegiance," *Historical Journal* 40 (1997), 311–29; Michael Questier, "Catholic Loyalism in Early Stuart England," *EHR* 123 (2008), 1132–65; Stefania Tutino, *Law and Conscience: Catholicism in Early Modern England, 1570–1625* (Aldershot: 2007), 117–93; Tutino, *Empire of Souls: Robert Bellarmine and the Christian Commonwealth* (Oxford: 2010), 117–58; Harro Höpfl, *Jesuit Political Thought: The Society of Jesus and the State, c. 1540–1630* (Cambridge: 2004), 314–38.

vocations, Jesuits could not prevent any student from entering the Benedictines who, however, were forbidden to recruit. Benedictines were instructed to avoid familiarity “as far as possible” with anyone endorsing or taking the Oath of Allegiance.⁶⁵ Indeed both sides were admonished against involvement in political affairs and were required to delate to Rome any Catholic consorting with heretics in England, or elsewhere, to the detriment of Catholicism. Any future problem should be referred to Rome. All discord must end; all slights forgiven. Both sides must observe the regulations “under pain of disobedience and His [the pope’s] displeasure.” Failure to observe them could result in the suppression of the mission.⁶⁶ Relations did in fact improve. At the dispute’s conclusion, after many long nights and false dawns, Pope Paul v confirmed the English congregation on 23 August 1619 with *Ex incumbenti*. In the 1633 bull *Plantata in agro Dominico veneranda Congregatio monachorum Anglorum*, Pope Urban VIII recognized the English Benedictine Congregation as the legitimate successor and heir to the old congregation and granted it the rights and privileges of the other congregations and religious orders. *Un beau geste*, perhaps, but David Lunn judged the bull as “an irrelevance” and Geoffrey Scott, “a mirage of baroque extravagance” as regards the reclamation of monastic lands.⁶⁷

Other religious orders returned during James’s reign. John Gennings revived the Observant Franciscans (Recollects) sometime between 1610 and 1614. The General Chapter held in Salamanca in 1618 confirmed the province’s restoration, granted Gennings the title “vicar,” and authorized the foundation of a seminary, St. Bonaventure’s, in Douai and a friary at Gravelines. The restored province was recognized in 1625, but with an important administrative qualification: until there were sufficient numbers, the superior would have the authority and power of the provincial but not the title: he would be called “custos.” Gennings was named provincial in 1626 when the restriction was lifted. Within the province, specific districts were constituted as friaries with their own “guardians.” The friars (as we shall see, the other orders had the same

65 See Maurus [David] Lunn, O.S.B., “English Benedictines and the Oath of Allegiance, 1606–1647,” *RH* 10 (1969), 146–63.

66 Frédéric Fabre, “The Settling of the English Benedictines at Douai: As Seen Chiefly through Unpublished Documents of the Vatican Archives (1607–1611),” *Downside Review* 52 (1934), 93–128 and 292–319; Lunn, *English Benedictines*, 76–83. An English translation of the rules can be found in the former, 301–03.

67 See Lunn, *English Benedictines*, 90–108 and 111–15; Scott, as cited in Hood, *From Repatriation to Revival*, 4.

concerns) were especially concerned about the adaptations to their regular style of life that conditions in England would demand.⁶⁸

The Order of Friars Minor (non-conventual Franciscans) and not the Recollects were the most numerous and influential religious order in Ireland. In September 1601 during the Nine Years' War, the last Franciscan monastery at Donegal was destroyed. Six years later, on 3 April 1607, Pope Paul v revived the province when he approved the foundation of the Irish Franciscan College of St Anthony in Louvain with an endowment from King Philip III. The college would train and form missionaries for Ireland and other mission territories in Europe. Other colleges and residences followed: Irish College of St Isidore, Rome (1625); College of the Immaculate Conception, Prague (ca. 1629); a friary in Wielun, Poland (1645); a residence in Paris (1653); a novitiate at Capranica, Italy (1656); and a refuge at Boulay near Metz (late 1600s). The Prague college hovered around 50 friars in the mid-17th century, the largest Irish Franciscan community.⁶⁹ Within Ireland there was steady growth as provincial vicars were elected and chapters convened despite proclamations against religious. So thriving were the Irish Franciscans that they initiated a mission to Scotland in 1619. Eight Franciscans were ministering in the Highlands and Islands in 1623. Lack of funding led to the mission's suspension in 1637. Attempts to revive it ten years later failed, but apparently a few Franciscans could be found there until the mid-18th century.⁷⁰

Simon Stock of St Mary (Thomas Doughty) inaugurated a Discalced Carmelite⁷¹ mission to England in 1614. Eager to provide a steady stream of

68 Thaddeus, *Franciscans in England*, 27, 30–34, 37, 46–49, 56–57, and 238; John Berchmans Dockery, O.F.M., *Christopher Davenport: Friar and Diplomat* (London: 1960), 21–22 and 27–29; John Miller, *Popery & Politics in England 1660–1688* (Cambridge: 1973), 39–40.

69 Brendan Jennings, O.F.M., “Micheál Ó Cléirigh, Chief of the Four Masters, and his Associates,” and Jennings, “The Irish Franciscan College of St Anthony at Louvain,” in Ó Muraíle, *Micheál Ó Cléirigh*, 24–25 and 123–29; Lennon, “Dissolution to Foundation,” 3–26; Mary Ann Lyons, “The Role of St Anthony’s College, Louvain in Establishing the Irish Franciscan College Network, 1607–60,” in Bhreathnach, MacMahon, and McCafferty, *Irish Franciscans*, 27–44; Jan Pařez and Hedvika Kuchařová, *The Irish Franciscans in Prague, 1629–1786* (Prague: 2015); Jefferies, *Irish Church and the Tudor Reformations*, 178–80.

70 Lennon, “Dissolution to Foundation,” 12; Raymond Gillespie, “The Irish Franciscans, 1600–1700,” in Bhreathnach, MacMahon, and McCafferty, *Irish Franciscans*, 45–46; David Stephenson, “The Irish Franciscan Mission to Scotland and the Irish Rebellion of 1641,” *IR* 30 (1979), 54–61.

71 Carmelites of the “Old Observance,” that is those not observing the reforms of Teresa of Avila and John of the Cross, did not have an institutional presence in England. George Raynes arrived in England before the death of Mary Tudor and ministered to Catholics until his death in 1613. Other Carmelites, English, French, or Irish, worked sporadically throughout the penal period. See *English and Welsh Priests 1558–1800: A Working List*, ed. Dominic Aidan Bellenger, O.S.B. (Bath: 1984), 12.

missionaries, he established a college in Louvain in 1621 for their training. With the arrival of a second Carmelite in 1618, Stock was named vice-provincial (the Carmelites were part of the province of Belgium), a position he held until his death in 1652. Their numbers remained small: there were eight in 1635. The Carmelites were back in Ireland by 1610. They later opened colleges in La Rochelle (1665) and Aachen (1677).⁷²

The Irishman Francis Nugent secured Pope Paul v's approval of a Capuchin mission to Great Britain and Ireland in 1608. A few Capuchins ministered in London during the last decade of James's reign. After the dismissal of Henrietta Maria's Oratorian chaplains, King Charles I allowed ten Capuchins to serve the queen at Somerset House. They arrived in February 1630. But, what Father Cuthbert, the order's historian, discreetly called a "diplomatic blunder," the Capuchin François Leclerc du Tremblay (Père Joseph), the *éminence grise* of Armand Jean du Plessis, Cardinal Richelieu, suppressed the mission as instituted by Pope Paul v, and focussed instead on the royal chapel. Moreover, he and the French court decided that no English, Irish, and Scottish Capuchins could serve at court lest their presence antagonize the government. Irish Capuchins refused to leave. After protests to Rome, a few English and Scots were allowed to return. Expelled from Somerset House during the Civil War and the Interregnum, they returned with Henrietta Maria, now Queen Mother, in 1660. Some remained after she went back to France in 1665, but they left the kingdom for France upon her death in 1669. With their departure the mission grew steadily but slowly.⁷³

The arrival of the Capuchins in Ireland in 1615 aggravated relations between religious and diocesan clergy already strained because of disputes concerning faculties, finances, and jurisdictional matters, and between the different religious orders. The older orders considered the newer ones, specifically Jesuits and Capuchins, as intruders whose over-zealous ministries threatened detente. Dominicans and Jesuits argued over whose sodality should celebrate the first Sunday of the month. The other Sundays were already taken: Augustinians had the second; Carmelites the third; and Franciscans the fourth. All grumbled about the numerical superiority and influence of the Franciscans. The

72 Zimmerman, *Carmel in England*, 29, 33–36, 40, and 67; Patricia O'Connell, "The Early-Modern Irish College Network in Iberia, 1590–1800," in *The Irish in Europe, 1580–1815*, ed. Thomas O'Connor (Dublin: 2001), 52, n. 11.

73 Cuthbert, *Capuchins*, 1 221–22; 2:327, 329, and 337–40; Martin J. Havran, *The Catholics in Caroline England* (Stanford: 1962), 55–56; Miller, *Papery & Politics in England*, 21; F.X. Martin, *Friar Nugent: A Study of Francis Lavalin Nugent 1569–1635: Agent of the Counter-Reformation* (Rome/London: 1962).

Capuchins eventually opened three houses in France: Bar-sur-Aube, Vassy, and Charleville (1620).⁷⁴

Throughout the 1590s there were approximately 55 Dominicans in Ireland mostly in the north and west beyond English influence. Thereafter numbers declined. By 1609, Guido Bentivoglio, papal nuncio in Brussels, estimated only a few remained along with 800 diocesan clergy, 130 Franciscans, 20 Jesuits, and a few Cistercians.⁷⁵ Circa 1613, the Dominican province turned the corner as vocations increased and conditions improved. By 1626 they had 12 houses with 110 friars (including 51 priests) in Ireland with another 65 residing abroad principally in Spain. There were 19 houses by 1632. Continental communities were opened in Lisbon (1615), Louvain (1624), and near Bordeaux (1677). The house in Louvain was explicitly open to Irish, Scottish, and English Dominicans. The General Chapter entrusted a Scottish mission to the Irish province in 1629, but it never really took off: few were interested in volunteering for it because of the living conditions and the language; moreover, the Franciscans already had a thriving mission. For reasons unknown, Propaganda Fide discouraged the enterprise.⁷⁶

In July 1622 Thomas Middleton was granted customary authority as vicar general of the few Dominicans in England. He was nominated "president of the missionaries," an unusual title, in 1627. In that year Middleton received from Pope Urban VIII the same faculties as granted to other religious orders, an interesting concession because, as we shall see, the bishop of Chalcedon argued that he was the sole font for faculties within England. There were about five Dominicans in England in 1627. There were 12 by 1635. The Scot James Forbes was named as Dade's successor in 1640 but strident protests from the English against the nomination of a foreigner resulted in his re-assignment to France the following year.⁷⁷

Spain demanded Prince Charles's conversion and the repeal of the penal legislation as preconditions for a marriage between him and the Spanish princess. Negotiations ebbed and flowed in the early 1620s. James, however, hoped that Spanish authorities would be satisfied, initially at least, with the absence

74 Flynn, *Irish Dominicans*, 149–50 and 231–42; Gillespie, "Irish Franciscans," 52–55; Giblin, "Irish Exiles," 3. See Brian MacCuarta, S.J., *Catholic Revival in the North of Ireland 1603–41* (Dublin: 2007), 218–25 for a dispute between Jesuits and Franciscans in Drogheda in the 1620s.

75 The Cistercians returned to Ireland circa 1600.

76 Flynn, *Irish Dominicans*, 9, 89–90, 158, 161, 263, and 285–87; Anthony Ross, "Dominicans and Scotland in the Seventeenth Century," *IR* 23 (1972), 40–75, at 45–47.

77 Anstruther, *Hundred Homeless Years*, 125, 131, 134, and 148–50; Ross, "Dominicans and Scotland," 41–42.

of persecution and *de facto* toleration.⁷⁸ Benedictines and Jesuits meanwhile adjusted their distinctive religious structures to conditions within England with little fear of reprisal. A superior directly dependent on the general had directed the Jesuit mission until a novel administrative structure, the prefecture, was inaugurated in 1598. The prefect, residing at the English College, Rome (1579), governed a tripartite mission: England, the seminaries in Spain at Seville (1592) and Valladolid (1589), and the college and ministries in Belgium. A superior, now dependent on the prefect, administered England; vice-prefects, the other two regions. In 1619 England was elevated to vice-provincial status but without any jurisdiction over the Spanish seminaries. In 1623, as marital negotiations climaxed with Prince Charles's *incognito* visit to Spain, the vice-province was raised to full provincial status, which included houses in Belgium (the tertianship at Ghent [1622], novitiate at Watten [1625], college/seminary at St Omer [1593], and the philosophate/theologate at Liège [1614]); and 14 inchoate colleges and residences within England and Wales. At the time English Jesuits numbered 242, with about 140 in England and Wales.⁷⁹ In 1633 the Benedictine mission was divided into two provinces (priors): the northern (York), which included Scotland and the English counties until Derbyshire, Staffordshire, and Nottinghamshire; and the southern (Canterbury), which included Wales.⁸⁰ Each provincial had the authority of an abbot. In 1621, 57 Benedictines worked in England, and Lunn calculates that the number hovered around 50 for the rest of the century.⁸¹ Both Jesuits and Benedictines experienced the gravitational pull of London that resulted in the geographical maldistribution so lamented by John Bossy.⁸²

Christopher Holywood, appointed superior of the revived Jesuit mission in 1598, did not arrive in Ireland until the summer of 1604: he had been captured as he passed through England and spent nearly six years in prison. In May 1604, as Holywood rested on the Continent after his release on James's accession to the English throne, the superior general Claudio Acquaviva decided against assigning the Irish mission to a specific province and elevated it to a prefecture directly responsible to him as he had done in 1598 with the English mission. At

78 See Glyn Redworth, *The Prince and the Infanta: The Cultural Politics of the Spanish Match* (New Haven: 2003) for a detailed exposition.

79 See Thomas M. McCoog, S.J., "The Establishment of the English Province of the Society of Jesus," *RH* 17 (1984), 121–39; McCoog, "The Society of Jesus in England, 1623–1688: An Institutional Study" (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Warwick, 1984), 475.

80 Definitive constitutions were drafted in 1661. See Scott, *Gothic Rage Undone*, 10.

81 Lunn, *English Benedictines*, 148 and 156.

82 John Bossy, *The English Catholic Community 1570–1850* (New York: 1976), 223–28.

his arrival, Holywood became the sixth Jesuit in Ireland; at his death in 1626 there were 42. The mission was expanding.⁸³

We know that a few religious, e.g. the Cistercian Gilbert Broun, last abbot of New Abbey, Dumfries, John, Master of Forbes, known as Father Archangel in the Capuchins, and approximately a half-dozen Jesuits worked in Scotland during the first two decades of the 17th century including Scotland's one martyr, John Ogilvie. During the reign of Charles I, Franciscans, Benedictines, Capuchins, and Vincentians (Lazarists) ministered in Scotland. As we have seen, the Franciscans were missionaries from Ireland. In 1628 in a report to Propaganda fide, the Franciscans claimed to have converted 10,269 persons over the previous two years. The most famous Capuchin, Archangel Leslie, was the subject of *Il cappuccino scozzese* (Macerata: 1644) by Giovanni Battista Rinuccini, later papal nuncio to Ireland. Dom Silvanus directed the Benedictine mission for a few years in the 1620s before he returned to Würzburg. Despite the paucity of English- and Gaelic-speaking missionaries, Vincent de Paul was eager to send men to Scotland. He had already sent a few to Ireland. In the late 1640s or early 1650s he sent Irish priests to the Hebrides and a Scot to the mainland. The Jesuit mission remained small with the seminaries as the top priority. Indeed, they administered a third seminary with the foundation of the Scots College, Madrid (1627). The Jesuit mission never achieved independence and never evolved into a vice-province or province. Indeed, administration of the mission was passed from the Belgian province back to the French province perhaps on the basis of the "auld alliance."⁸⁴

As religious orders entered and expanded throughout the three kingdoms, Pope Gregory XV's establishment of the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith (*Propaganda fide*) redefined the ecclesiastical situation. The new congregation assumed jurisdiction over England, Scotland, and Ireland. Previously they had been subject to the Holy Office (Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith). Eugene MacMahon, Archbishop of Dublin, reported to Propaganda in 1623 that there were 800 diocesan priests, 200 Observant Franciscans, 40 Jesuits, 20 Dominicans, four or five Capuchins, and a few Augustinians and

83 McCoog, *Society of Jesus in Ireland, Scotland, and England, 1598–1606*; McRedmond, *To the Greater Glory*, 43.

84 Bellesheim, *History of the Catholic Church*, 3:405ff., 4:41 and 65–83; Thomas M. McCoog, S.J., " 'Pray to the Lord of the Harvest': Jesuit Missions to Scotland in the Sixteenth Century," *IR* 53 (2002), 127–88; McCoog, *Society of Jesus in Ireland, Scotland, and England, 1598–1606*, chaps 2 and 5; Charles Burns, "Escocia," in *Diccionario Histórico de la Compañía de Jesús*, ed. Charles E. O'Neill, S.J., and Joaquín M. Domínguez, S.J., (4 vols, Rome/Madrid: 2001), 2:1259–62.

Cistercians in Ireland.⁸⁵ Of the three kingdoms, Ireland alone retained a hierarchy. With support from the congregation, the bishops strove to extend their authority and jurisdiction over the religious. Periodic pleas for an English bishop were finally heeded: Urban VIII nominated William Bishop, an anti-Jesuit Appellant, titular Bishop of Chalcedon, with authority in England, Wales, and Scotland. Consecrated in Paris in June 1623, he reorganized the Church in Wales and England along traditional lines with the establishment of a chapter ("Old Chapter") and other ecclesiastical posts but displayed little interest for Scotland. Scots clergy protested the subjection of their church to an Englishman incapable of understanding. Scottish sensitivities were acknowledged; 30 years later, Scotland received its own vicar apostolic.⁸⁶

Bishop died in April 1624. Richard Smith, another Appellant and a protégé of Cardinal Richelieu, was named Bishop's successor in 1625. Bishop had established good relations with the religious orders in England with the exception of the Jesuits, but even these relations soured under his successor.⁸⁷ The question of faculties ignited an acrimonious dispute. Smith contended that all priests ministering within the kingdom must obtain canonical faculties from him. This insistence implied that Smith understood himself to be a regular bishop with the ordinary authority and power attached to the office. The religious orders, especially the Benedictines and the Jesuits, argued that the bishop was a vicar with delegated authority from the pope from whom they already had faculties. Once Smith questioned the validity of sacraments celebrated by clergy without his explicit approval, the conflagration spread from the sanctuary to the nave by throwing into doubt the spiritual life and the eternal salvation of the laity. Pope Urban VIII decided in favour of Smith's opponents in the brief *Britannia*, in May 1631. Smith fled England to his patron, Cardinal Richelieu. Once more England lacked a Catholic bishop, but had a cathedral chapter of dubious canonical status.⁸⁸

85 Flynn, *Irish Dominicans*, 149–50. The Augustinians opened a college in Rome in 1656 (O'Connell, "Early-Modern Irish College Network," 52, n. 11).

86 Bellesheim, *History of the Catholic Church*, 3:437–38.

87 See *Stuart Dynastic Policy and Religious Politics, 1621–1625*, ed. Michael Questier (Cambridge: 2009), 237–38, n. 502. See also Philip Hughes, *Rome and the Counter-Reformation in England* (London: 1942), 324–28.

88 Until a much needed, thorough investigation of this controversy appears, see Hughes, *Rome and the Counter-Reformation*, 329–407; Anthony F. Allison, "Richard Smith's Gallican Backers and Jesuit Opponents," *RH* 18 (1987), 329–401; *RH* 19 (1989), 234–85; *RH* 20 (1990), 164–206; and *Newsletters from the Caroline Court, 1631–1638: Catholicism and the Politics of the Personal Rule*, ed. Michael C. Questier (Cambridge: 2005).

Papal agent Gregorio Panzani, having arrived in England in December 1634, sought to restore better relations among the clergy. Jesuits rebuffed his efforts to secure their cooperation and apparently worked against him at court and in Rome. Panzani convened a conference of leading secular clergy and representatives from the Benedictines, Dominicans, Franciscans, and Carmelites at his house in November 1636. The Jesuits were not invited. Panzani did reach an agreement, albeit a compromise that avoided controversial issues and was framed in general terms.⁸⁹

Despite the negotiations, and despite Charles's journey to Spain, marital negotiations first stalled and then ceased. England had successfully evaded the snare, if I may adapt the title of John Gee's anti-Catholic 1624 polemic.⁹⁰ Instead Charles married the French princess Henrietta Maria in June 1625, some three months after his accession. Henrietta Maria's influence with her husband was considerable and her Catholicism, fervent. Theatines, Capuchins (as we have seen), and Oratorians accompanied her from France or served in her chapel. Crypto- or open Catholics, e.g. Francis, Lord Cottington and Sir Kenelm Digby, and their sympathizers, including Sir Francis Windebank and Richard Weston, had privileged positions and privileged access at court.⁹¹ Even Rome was represented through the agencies of Gregorio Panzani and George Conn. All this horrified a Parliament already disturbed by the innovations of Archbishop William Laud. Rumors of papal intentions, Catholic machinations, and of the imminent arrival of allegedly bloodthirsty Irish Catholics led to parliamentary demands for popery's suppression. Charles quieted Parliament by dismissing it and governing without it. During the decade of his personal rule, colorful religious courtiers paraded through Whitehall with proposals, dreams, fantasies of Laud's conversion, and the return of the Anglican Church to the Church of Rome.

The Benedictines played a prominent role in the delicate maneuvering between the English and papal courts, a position they assumed almost by default: the secular clergy were out of favor because of the Chalcedon conflict, and the Jesuits were, well, Jesuits. Thomas Preston continued to turn out defenses of the oath.⁹² Leander Jones, O.S.B., recommended that the papal

89 See Havran, *Catholics in Caroline England*, 140–44; Lunn, *English Benedictines*, 126–27; Dockery, *Davenport*, 42–43.

90 See Theo Harmsen (ed.), *John Gee's Foot Out of the Snare (1624)* (Nijmegen: 1992).

91 The essential works remain Gordon Albion, *Charles I and the Court of Rome: A Study in 17th Century Diplomacy* (London: 1935); Havran, *Catholics in Caroline England*; and Caroline M. Hibbard, *Charles I and the Popish Plot* (Chapel Hill: 1983).

92 An English Jesuit, Edward Courtney (*vere* Leedes) replied with a strident defense of papal power especially as regards the deposition of princes. When Leander Jones leapt to assist

condemnation of the oath be revoked.⁹³ It and it alone, he believed, prevented the reconciliation of the Roman and Anglican Churches. If Rome accepted the oath, Charles would, in the fanciful image of David Lunn, “with a wave of his sceptre, change his country from a Protestant pumpkin into a Catholic coach and four.”⁹⁴ The Franciscan Recollect Christopher Davenport (Francis a Santa Clara, O.M.R.) also advocated reunion, and, to Rome’s dismay, interpreted the Anglican Church’s Thirty-Nine Articles in such a way as to minimize differences between the two Churches.⁹⁵ In 1637, during Santa Clara’s provincialate, the Franciscans formulated new statutes regarding the suitability of missionaries, and the precedence of their communities: London, Greenwich, Reading, York, Dorchester, and Leicester, with St Bonaventure’s College at the top of the list.⁹⁶ Jesuits remained at best skeptical despite their growth. In 1639, there were more than 350 Jesuits in the English Province, and nearly 200 ministered in England and Wales.⁹⁷ The outbreak of civil discontent and civil war aborted the debate.

5 The Civil War and Interregnum

Charles I’s “personal rule,” freed from the restrictions and demands laid on by an anti-Catholic Parliament, inaugurated considerably greater religious tolerance in England and Ireland. In Scotland the Kirk still dominated. In Ireland religious orders opened communities and sponsored sodalities and public devotions. During the “graces,” Catholic leaders purchased *de facto* tolerance through financial contributions. However, the failure to convert *de facto* into *de jure* angered these leaders, an anger intensified by the aggressive Protestantism of the Long Parliament convened in November 1640. In October 1641 Gaelic Irish arose in Ulster. Subsequently Irish Catholic nobles, religious authorities, and military officials formed the Confederation of Kilkenny in 1642. United under the slogan “*Pro Deo, Rege, et Patria, Hiberni Unanimes*” (For God, King, and Fatherland, the Irish are United), the Confederates developed

his colleague, it seemed as if the Jesuits and Benedictines would renew their conflict. This merits further investigation. Meanwhile, see Lunn, *English Benedictines*, 126; Questier, *Newsletters from the Caroline Court*, 230–31.

93 See Gerard Sitwell, “Leander Jones’s Mission to England, 1634–1635,” *RH* 5 (1965), 131–82.

94 Lunn, *English Benedictines*, 125.

95 See Anne Ashley Davenport, *Suspicious Moderate: The Life and Writings of Francis à Sancta Clara (1598–1680)* (Notre Dame: 2017).

96 Dockery, *Davenport*, 84–93, 111–14, and 146–49.

97 McCoog, “Society of Jesus in England,” 475.

the mechanisms and structures of a government and sought foreign assistance and recognition.

King Charles I commissioned James Butler, Earl of Ormonde, to negotiate with the Confederates in June 1644, in the midst of the English Civil War. Pope Innocent X sent a nuncio, Giovanni Battista Rinuccini, to aid the Confederacy. The Royalists and the Confederates, after considerable discussion, agreed to peace in the summer of 1646. But the nuncio, supported by many, but not all, bishops and religious superiors repudiated the treaty as insufficient. The nuncio subsequently excommunicated anyone supporting the truce – including bishops – and placed specific areas under interdict. Generally speaking, the Gaelic Irish supported the nuncio with opposition from the Old English. Generally, Franciscans, Capuchins, and Dominicans supported the nuncio; Jesuits tended not to. Rinuccini, previously close to the Society of Jesus, now considered the Jesuits his principal opponents. The situation deteriorated so badly that Vincenzo Carafa, Jesuit superior general, sent an official visitor to mend relations between the Society and the nuncio.⁹⁸ Peter Walsh, an articulate, controversial Franciscan opposed to Rinuccini, was excommunicated in 1646, an excommunication not officially lifted until 1688. Walsh left Ireland in 1652.⁹⁹ The Rinuccini episode articulated deep divisions within Irish Catholicism, and the intra-Catholic tensions survived the Cromwellian invasion and destruction of the painstakingly rebuilt Catholic institutions (1649–53).

In 1641 the Franciscans successfully prevented the initiation of a Mercedarian mission to Ireland with the argument that the kingdom could not afford more religious orders. By 1646 there were circa 600 Irish Franciscans, around 400 of whom lived in the kingdom. Other religious considered them too powerful and almost overweening. There were circa 60 Capuchins, and around the same number of Carmelites and Cistercians, with a smaller number of Dominicans and Jesuits. In 1646 the Canons Regular of St Patrick, later affiliated with the Canons Regular of the Lateran, were established in Kilkenny; in 1647 nine Vincentians (seven priests and two seminarians) arrived in Munster. In 1647 the Confederacy decreed that the Capuchins and the Jesuits were not to be considered as novel interlopers but were to be granted the same rights and recognition as the traditional, older orders.¹⁰⁰ Oliver Cromwell's march through

98 Fergus O'Donoghue, S.J., "The Jesuit Mission in Ireland 1598–1651" (unpublished PhD thesis, Catholic University of America, 1981), 317–24; Tadhg Ó hAnnracháin, *Catholic Reformation in Ireland: The Mission of Rinuccini 1645–1649* (Oxford: 2002), 208 and 239–44.

99 M.A. Creighton, "Walsh, Peter (c.1618–1688)," in *ODNB*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/28616>.

100 O'Donoghue, "Jesuit Mission," 258–91; John Brady and Patrick J. Corish, *The Church under the Penal Code* (Dublin: 1971), 38–39.

Ireland destroyed Catholic institutions and schools. The prosperity experienced under the Confederacy ended tragically. All religious orders suffered; the Jesuit mission was bankrupt, nearly wiped out, and dependent on foreign Jesuits for support.

In England anti-Catholic paranoia fuelled by accounts of Irish hostilities contributed to the outbreak of the Civil War. Religious orders, secular clergy, and Catholic laity in general raised money for King Charles's cause as the shockwaves of the Scottish religious conflict threatened the entire island in 1639.¹⁰¹ Yet, despite post-Restoration self-fashioning into consistent, true-blood Royalists, Catholics in general and clergy in particular sought accommodation with the new order even before Charles's execution in 1649. Thomas, Lord Brudenell initiated negotiations with the victorious army in 1647 regarding toleration for Catholics. Because of the strength of the Independents, many Catholics believed this was not only possible but imminent. The Independents laid down terms that prohibited under pain of death the publication of any sermon, lessons, or treatise on the "three propositions" denouncing papal deposing power, a highly controversial doctrine. Claims that the pope as the successor of Peter and the vicar of Christ on earth held ultimate authority over temporal rulers and thus could declare them deposed for sacrilege or heresy, were, of course, rejected by the monarchs. Nonetheless, rulers feared papal condemnation and often demanded that their subjects explicitly repudiate it.

In a rare demonstration of unity, secular priests George Gage, Philip Champet, Thomas Carr (*vere* Miles Pinckney), the Dominican vicar general Thomas Dade (*vere* Middleton), the Carmelite vice-provincial Eliseus of St Michael (William Pendryck), two Franciscans, Bonaventure Bridges and the superior who did not sign his name, a Benedictine William Palmer, and two Jesuits, Henry More, vice-provincial, and George Ward, accepted the terms, including the "three propositions" but added a preface. Pope Innocent x condemned the propositions in January 1648.¹⁰² Nonetheless, intermittent discussions took place between Oliver Cromwell and Catholic leaders as the former sought papal and Spanish recognition and support. Neither was granted, but

101 See Caroline Hibbard, "The Contribution of 1639: Court and Country Catholicism," *RH* 16 (1982), 42–60. William Price, O.S.B. (*vere* Benedict Jones), Thomas Dade, O.P. (*vere* Middleton), Christopher Davenport, O.S.F., and Henry More, S.J., each superior of his order, endorsed the circular letter. See Anstruther, *Hundred Homeless Years*, 171–72.

102 For a thorough analysis, see Thomas H. Clancy, S.J., "The Jesuits and the Independents: 1647," *AHSJ* 40 (1971), 67–90, esp. 73 and 77. The secular priest Thomas White (alias Blacklo) conducted his own negotiations with the Independents. See Stefania Tutino, *Thomas White and the Blackloists: Between Politics and Theology during the English Civil War* (Aldershot: 2008), 43–49.

in 1657, the Franciscans opened some sort of school in London.¹⁰³ The relative peace that Catholics experienced under Oliver Cromwell and his son Richard ended by February 1660 with the ascendancy of the Presbyterians. The Benedictine John Huddleston's protection of the defeated Charles II after the battle of Worcester in September 1651 might prove beneficial not only for Benedictines but Catholics in general if the king successfully ascended the throne. Edward Courtney (*vere* Leedes), Jesuit procurator in Antwerp, met with Charles as the king prepared to sail to England. Elated, he reported his high expectations to Goswin Nickel, superior general of the Society, who hoped the Englishman would not be disappointed.¹⁰⁴

6 The Restoration¹⁰⁵

Throughout the Interregnum, the English Jesuit province had decreased in numbers and in wealth. The loss of endowments and benefactions during the Civil War and the Thirty Years' War restricted the number of novices. By 1660 the province had declined by nearly 100 with 50 fewer Jesuits on the mission.¹⁰⁶ Nonetheless the Jesuits hoped for better times with the restoration of the monarchy. Not even the rapid reintroduction of the Oath of Allegiance alarmed them. In Ireland, on the other hand, the Society opened ten residences, operated five colleges, organized numerous sodalities, and established a college for lay pupils and a refuge for themselves in Poitiers (1674).¹⁰⁷ No wonder talk about the absorption of the Irish mission into the English province disturbed Irish Jesuits.¹⁰⁸

Charles II had promised religious liberty in the "Declaration of Breda." Twice Charles issued declarations of indulgence (1662 and 1672) but Parliament forced him to withdraw the declarations and then, in 1675, to banish Catholic clergy. The "Old Chapter," headed by John Sergeant, tried to obtain parliamentary support for religious liberty by sacrificing the hated Jesuits.¹⁰⁹ But even that mouth-watering possibility did not win the concessions. A similar theological

103 Dockery, *Davenport*, 122–23.

104 Nickel to Courtney, Rome, 3 July 1660, ARSI, Anglia 2/1, fol. 225r.

105 Miller's *Popery & Politics* is still the best introduction to this important period.

106 McCoog, "Society of Jesus in England," 475.

107 See Francis Finnegan, S.J., "The Irish College of Poitiers: 1674–1762," *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* 104 (1965), 18–35.

108 Thomas M. McCoog, S.J., "Resisting National Sentiment: Friction between Irish and English Jesuits in the Old Society," *JJS* 6 (2019), 598–626.

109 See Tutino, *Thomas White*, 121–26 and 138; Edwards, *Jesuits in England*, 79–80.

controversy divided Irish Catholics. The excommunicated Franciscan Peter Walsh was living in London when Charles was restored to the throne. Walsh, perhaps naively, believed that the king would acknowledge the treaty negotiated between the Royalists and the Irish Confederacy: he did not. Eager to demonstrate the loyalty of Catholic clergy despite contrary rumors, Walsh endorsed the remonstrance in December 1661. The remonstrance, a declaration of allegiance, acknowledged by oath loyalty to the king above any other power, secular or ecclesiastical. More than 100 laymen and circa 70 clerics subscribed, but this quasi-Gallican oath was condemned by Rome. Attempts by Jesuits, Dominicans, and Franciscans to formulate an acceptable alternative failed.¹¹⁰ Approximately 1000 diocesan priests and 600 religious (including 35 Jesuits and 200 friars)¹¹¹ ministered in Ireland in the 1670s. Conflict between Franciscans and Dominicans, and parliamentary proclamations that banished bishops and regular clergy, did not dull the mood.¹¹²

The Franciscans in England continued to expand their ministry. In 1665 they discussed a possible school in Osmotherley, Yorkshire, and authorized the creation of a mission to Maryland where the English Jesuits established a mission 30 years earlier. "Guardianates" (friaries) were established in Canterbury in 1662, Coventry in 1668, and Norwich in 1675, with Henry Howard, Earl Marshal of England and Duke of Norfolk, as titular guardian of Norwich. Until 1693 when the task became too onerous, guardians were obliged to visit the friars under their jurisdiction annually. Twelve Portuguese Franciscans assisted at the chapel at Somerset House, where the English Franciscans held their chapters apparently until the "Glorious Revolution" of 1688.¹¹³

The Carmelite mission remained small. Five served in England in 1668: three in London, one in Oxford, and one in Hereford. Fr Anselm of St Mary (John Hansom) directed the mission throughout the Interregnum. Fr Bede of St Simon Stock (Walter Joseph Travers), who arrived in England in 1660, served as vice-provincial between 1665–72 and 1675–78. At an unspecified date in the 1660s, the Carmelite working in Hereford operated a small school, at least ten students of which entered the order within 25 years.¹¹⁴

110 See Creighton, "Walsh, Peter (c.1618–1688); McRedmond, *To the Greater Glory*, 90–91; James Brennan, "A Gallican Interlude in Ireland," *Irish Theological Quarterly* 24 (1957), 219–37 and 283–309.

111 Gillespie, "Irish Franciscans," 67 and 70.

112 McRedmond, *To the Greater Glory*, 87–90 and 92.

113 Thaddeus, *Franciscans in England*, 57–58 and 160–61; Miller, *Popery & Politics in England*, 53; Dockery, *Davenport*, 130–31.

114 Zimmerman, *Carmel in England*, 120, 133, 203–04, and 225–26.

Godfrey Anstruther attributed the “almost static existence” of the English Dominicans as “the result of a vicious circle”: “new subjects could not be attracted or properly trained without a home, and a home could not be founded or sustained without an increase in personnel.”¹¹⁵ Unlike the English Benedictines and Franciscans, the Dominicans were never able to establish a base on the Continent and thus had to work through either Spanish, Italian, or French communities. Three Dominicans were ministering in Scotland in the 1660s but attempts to resurrect that province failed and were quickly forgotten. The controverted vocation of Thomas (*vere* Philip) (later Cardinal) Howard, son of Henry Frederick Howard, Earl of Arundel, proved a turning point. George Catchmay, vicar general in England, authorized Howard to establish a priory at Bornhem in 1657. As had been hoped, the priory attracted a steady but not large stream of vocations. Howard returned to England, but retained his role as prior. He was named vicar general in July 1661. Because he also served first as chaplain and later as grand almoner to Queen Catherine of Braganza – and also because of his family connections – he had considerable influence at court. To the shock and anger of the Old Chapter, which had again been agitating for a bishop, Howard was appointed Bishop of Helenopolis *in partibus infidelium* in May 1672, but the announcement was never implemented at the request of King Charles II who feared domestic unrest if it became public. Howard left England in March 1675 because a royal proclamation banished Catholic priests. During the hysteria of the Popish Plot in 1678, he and all Dominicans in England were cited as conspirators.¹¹⁶

Charles did not forget the Benedictines. He allowed a community to be established at St James's Palace where the monks served as chaplains to the queen. The community was transferred to the more accessible Somerset House in 1671. The queen, with Charles footing the bill, maintained 28 priests as chaplains. Benedictine presence at the royal court ended in 1675 when they, with the exception of John Huddleston, were banished. Foreign priests took their place.¹¹⁷

Approximately 230 secular priests, 120 Jesuits, 80 Benedictines, 55 Franciscans, and a handful of Carmelites and Dominicans worked in England in 1669. Rumors of the conversion of James, Duke of York and heir to the

¹¹⁵ Anstruther, *Hundred Homeless Years*, 227.

¹¹⁶ Ross, “Dominicans and Scotland,” 40–41 and 63; Anstruther, *Hundred Homeless Years*, 232, 240, and 242; Gumbley, *Obituary Notices of the English Dominicans*, 202; Allan White, “Howard, Philip (1629–1694),” in *ODNB*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/13930>; Miller, *Popery & Politics*, 48 and 95.

¹¹⁷ Lunn, *English Benedictines*, 135–38; Miller, *Popery & Politics*, 21–22.

throne, fuelled English and Anglican apprehensions. His refusal to take the oath prescribed in the Test Act of 1673 confirmed their worst fears and caused the most virulent display of anti-Catholic sentiment since the early years of the Civil War.¹¹⁸ The consequent “Exclusion Crisis” tried to eliminate James as his brother’s successor. The supporters of exclusion, the Whigs, warned England that popery, persecution, and the Roman Inquisition would immediately follow James’s accession. The revelations of Titus Oates and Israel Tonge in 1678, that is, the Popish Plot, conveniently confirmed the claims of the Whigs. Eight secular priests (including an archbishop), five laymen, three Benedictines, three Franciscans, and 16 Jesuits were executed or died in prison. Others escaped to the Continent. Jesuit properties, the location of some of which were known by the government since the 1620s, were attacked and their assets seized. A large library assembled at Holbeck Hall, Nottinghamshire, was confiscated and sent to London in 1679.¹¹⁹ Herbert Croft, Bishop of Hereford and former Jesuit pupil, led the raid on the Cwm, where a mission had thrived under the protection of the earls of Worcester since the early 17th century, in December 1678. The pursuivants confiscated a library now preserved at Hereford Cathedral.¹²⁰ In Ireland the former Jesuit Peter Talbot, Archbishop of Dublin, and Oliver Plunket, Archbishop of Armagh, were arrested. Talbot died in prison in November of 1680; Plunket was executed at Tyburn on 1 July 1681. Others were arrested and banished.¹²¹ Charles weathered the anti-Catholic typhoon unleashed by Oates’s and Tonge’s “revelations” and died peacefully in his bed in February 1685, having been received into the Roman Church by Father Huddleston. No public riots or demonstrations impeded the accession of the Catholic James II.

118 Miller, *Popery & Politics*, 124–25.

119 See Hendrik Dijkstra, *The Library of a Jesuit Community at Holbeck, Nottinghamshire (1679)* (Tempe: 2003).

120 See Hannah Thomas, “Missioners on the Margins? The Territorial Headquarters of the Welsh Jesuit College of St. Francis Xavier at the Cwm, c. 1600–1679, *RH* 32 (2014), 173–93; Thomas, “The Society of Jesus in Wales, c. 1600–1679: Rediscovering the Cwm Jesuit Library at Hereford Cathedral, *JJS* 1 (2014), 572–88; Thomas, “‘Books Which Are Necessary for Them’: Reconstructing a Jesuit Missionary Library in Wales and the English Borderlands, ca. 1600–1679, in *Publishing Subversive Texts in Elizabethan England and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth*, ed. Teresa Bela, Clarinda Calma, and Jolanta Rzegocka (Leiden: 2016), 110–28.

121 Stephen Usherwood and Elizabeth Usherwood, *We Die for the Old Religion: The Story of the 85 Martyrs of England and Wales Beatified 22 November 1987* (London: 1987), 123–26; Zimmerman, *Carmel in England*, 278–79. John Kenyon’s *The Popish Plot* (London: 1972) remains the best introduction to the plot.

The perilous state of the Catholic Church in Scotland troubled Propaganda fide. In 1653 the congregation re-organised the mission into a prefecture under the administration of William Ballantyne (or Bellenden). His authority extended only over the secular clergy. In 1677 Propaganda fide sent another visitor, Alexander Leslie. Among his many recommendations, he suggested that someone be designated as superior over all clergy, religious and secular, in the kingdom. If the religious resisted such an appointment, the superior should, at the very least, have the authority to examine their faculties. Propaganda assigned the Dominican Philip, Cardinal Howard, to supervise and accredit incoming missionaries. Henceforth all missionaries could “not exercise their faculties or offices beyond the limits marked out for them, except in cases of urgent necessity, and then with the license and permission of the superior for the time being.”¹²²

7 King James II

Under the glorious sun of York, the various religious administrations and structures that had functioned in the dark with various degrees of success emerged into the light. Even before James’s actual accession, Cardinal Howard successfully persuaded the Dominican general to restore provincial status to the English mission despite its having only two houses (Bornhem and Rome) instead of the required three. The cardinal had argued that the many different mission stations equalled one house. The Dominicans opened a friary in Lincoln’s Inn Fields in February 1687. The Carmelite General-Chapter, meeting in Rome in the spring of 1686, renewed Bede’s appointment as vice-provincial and sent more members to England. With an endowment from James Livingston, Earl of Newburgh, the Carmelites planned to establish a community somewhere on his property. The Carmelites did open a house in Barge Yard, Bucklersbury, in the city in July 1687. There, presumably in full habit, the Carmelites established the regular pattern of religious life. They had earlier (1686) converted their mission station in Floregate, Worcester, into a residence. The Franciscans opened a school in Putney in 1686; in November 1687, they acquired property in Lincoln’s Inn Fields. Construction of a religious house and chapel began immediately. Ten Franciscans in a brown habit and sandals observed the pattern of religious life, preached on Sundays, conducted catechism classes, and taught philosophy. By 1688 the size of the community had

122 Bellesheim, *History of the Catholic Church*, 4:127–34.

nearly doubled and the order opened a novitiate. The Franciscans opened residences or chapels in other parts of England but generally in the West Midlands and the Welsh Marches. The Benedictines returned to St James's Place in 1685; in 1687 they established a residence at St John's, Clerkenwell. By autumn of 1688, according to John Miller's calculation, there were at least 18 chapels in London alone and 247 religious establishments throughout England. Besides the Franciscan school in Putney, the English Jesuits opened two schools in London: Savoy and Fenchurch. At the former, Jesuit-Benedictine conflict resurfaced. Ten more Jesuit schools were established in other parts of the kingdom, in addition to one in Edinburgh at Holyrood Palace. Benedictines charted their return to Scotland either at the royal chapel at Holyrood or Perth. Jesuits loudly protested the former.¹²³ Jesuits too played a major role – perhaps a domineering one that would in fact have increased if Rome had conceded to James's demands that the Jesuit Edward Petre, already a privy councillor, be appointed bishop – at James's court and are blamed by many for the king's imprudent, aggressive promotion of Catholicism.¹²⁴

In Ireland, the Jesuits opened a "college of classical literature" in Dublin, and formulated plans for a major college in Athlone, the transfer of Trinity College, Dublin, to the Society, and the reopening of a novitiate, but all dreams collapsed with the fall of James and his defeat at the Boyne in 1690.¹²⁵ The first act of the Irish Parliament now entirely dominated by Protestants was the Bishops' Banishment Act of 1697 (9 Will. III, c. 1) whereby all bishops and religious were banished from the island. All must depart by 1 May 1698 with a death sentence as a possible punishment for a return. Two of the eight bishops still in Ireland departed. Mary of Modena, wife of the exiled James II, estimated that 700 religious had departed; others, like Archbishop Edward Comerford of Cashel, "have remained in cellars and cisterns, in mountains and caves."¹²⁶

Of more permanent significance for England was the appointment of John Leyburn as vicar apostolic in August 1685, approximately 50 years after Bishop Smith's flight to France. Leyburn received clear orders to forego any contact with and recognition of the Old Chapter. Despite some initial hesitation,

¹²³ Dilworth, *Scots in Franconia*, 200–01.

¹²⁴ Gumbley, *Obituary Notices of the English Dominicans*, 13; Zimmerman, *Carmel in England*, 293, 300–02, 334–35, and 347; Thaddeus, *Franciscans in England*, 161–62; Miller, *Popery & Politics*, 231–32, 245 n. 22, and 247; A.C.F. Beales, *Education under Penalty: English Catholic Education from the Reformation to the Fall of James II, 1547–1688* (London: 1963), 247–54.

¹²⁵ Fergus O'Donoghue, S.J., "Irlanda," in O'Neill and Domínguez, *Diccionario Histórico*, 3:2071.

¹²⁶ See J.G. Simms, "The Bishops' Banishment Act of 1697 (9 Will. III, c. 1)," *Irish Historical Studies* 17 (1970), 185–99.

the Jesuits and the Benedictines, at the request of James II, recognized his authority.¹²⁷ Leyburn naturally was more preoccupied with the secular mission than the religious ones. He divided England into four districts with rural deans. In 1688, Rome appointed three more vicars apostolic so that each district had its own bishop. Philip Ellis, O.S.B., was nominated for the Western District. With one exception (Charles Baggs, 1844–45), the vicar apostolic for the Western District was either a Benedictine or a Franciscan until the restoration of the hierarchy in 1850. A Dominican, Thomas Williams (1660–1740), served as vicar apostolic in the Northern District between 1725 and 1740. No Jesuit was ever nominated vicar apostolic or bishop in England.¹²⁸ The proliferation of Catholicism, or from a different perspective the growth of popery, seemed confirmed by the birth of Prince James in June 1688 and the consequent exclusion of his Protestant sisters, Mary and Anne. Catholic ascendancy added an ironic twist to any celebration of the centenary of Protestantism's triumph over the Armada of 1588. An appropriate celebration would have to wait until Protestant winds guided William of Orange to the English shores and blew to France James and his family. Destruction of the schools and chapels followed.¹²⁹

8 The 18th Century

Jacobitism, that is support for James's restoration or, after 1701, the accession of his son James the "Old Pretender," remained strong among Catholics and Protestant Tories, especially after the succession of the German Hanoverians in 1714. After the disaster of 1745, however, even the most devout Jacobites, a group that included all the original vicars apostolic, realized that peace had to be made with the government.¹³⁰

127 This recognition was not granted easily as Leyburn revived the earlier controversy by insisting that all religious obtain faculties from him.

128 Not all approved of religious serving in the hierarchy. Bonaventure Giffard, vicar apostolic of London, worked to prevent another religious from succeeding Bishop Ellis. See Nicholas Schofield and Gerard Skinner, *The English Vicars Apostolic, 1688–1850* (Oxford: 2009), 20–21.

129 Miller, *Popery & Politics*, 248–49; Beales, *Education under Penalty*, 255–62; McRedmond, *To the Greater Glory*, 97–98.

130 See Gabriel Glickman, *The English Catholic Community 1688–1745: Politics, Culture and Ideology* (Woodbridge: 2009) for a discussion of the fall of James, Catholic Jacobites, and their influence on the English Church.

Peace between the religious orders, who contested missions among themselves,¹³¹ and the bishops proved equally difficult as the latter still tried to bring the former under their jurisdiction. Roman curial decisions vacillated with each appeal. Propaganda fide elevated Scotland from an apostolic prefecture to an apostolic vicariate in 1694. Thomas Nicholson was ordained Bishop of Peristachium and returned to Scotland in 1695. By the end of the century, he was supervising ten Jesuits, four Benedictines, and 23 secular priests. A meeting of clergy in 1700 approved the regulations that the vicar apostolic drafted for the mission. One insisted that "Jesuits and regulars of every kind, are subjected to the bishop as regards hearing confessions, the cure of souls, and the administration of sacraments," in brief, "faculties." The Jesuits, notoriously exempt from the jurisdiction of the vicar apostolic, submitted to his authority in 1701. Scotland was divided into two districts in 1727.¹³²

From the beginning, religious superiors worried that the situations in the three kingdoms impeded or compromised the style and discipline dictated by their traditions and institute. Religious and secular clergymen were exposed to a myriad of temptations as they ministered often alone in different disguises and environments. Religious were separated geographically from communal life with its daily order and rhythm, generally far from their superiors. Temptations were rampant as were stories, true or not, of their lapses and adaptation of worldly behavior and customs. The 17th-century Benedictine Augustine Baker, for example, warned of the perils from women, from worldly persons, from exposure to pubs, theatre, etc.: "O misery of miseries for a monastic professed to live in a condition wherein he is in a manner driven to make even an Idoll one or more of that silly creature forgetting even his own Angelick dignity."¹³³ Benedictines carried money and played cards. Jesuits accused each other of wenching and drunkenness.¹³⁴

The Franciscans had received by a papal indult of July 1701 permission to reduce the fasting requirements; to wear secular clothes; to ride on horseback; and to receive and retain money. Thus, Franciscans had more money and possessions than friars generally did. Some bequeathed their possessions to relatives instead of the order. Subsequently it was decided that each Franciscan

131 Different orders won or lost missions to other congregations. Each loss made life more onerous. See Hugh Aveling, O.S.B., *Northern Catholics: The Catholic Recusants of the North Riding of Yorkshire 1558–1790* (London: 1966), 344–51.

132 Bellesheim, *History of the Catholic Church*, 4:145–74, 197–98, and 226–28.

133 As cited in Lunn, *English Benedictines*, 162.

134 Lunn, *English Benedictines*, 141 and 162; Miller, *Popery & Politics in England*, 41.

would leave at least half of his possessions and wealth to his community.¹³⁵ Such concessions worried the hierarchy and aggravated relations between bishops and religious. The most grievous perceived abuse in Ireland concerned religious and theological formation. For years, religious orders had been accepting candidates in Ireland. After an abbreviated formation, the candidates were ordained and professed. Thereafter they were sent to the Continent for more in-depth formation. This approach, unsatisfactory though it may have been, guaranteed the survival of the orders. Some bishops in the more rural districts even followed this course with their seminarians.¹³⁶ Appeals to Rome by the vicars apostolic resulted initially in decisions favorable to the religious with clear instructions that bishops were to have nothing to do with the internal matters of religious orders, including correction of any perceived violation. During the pontificate of Benedict XIV, decisions turned in favor of the bishops: *Emanavit nuper*, on 2 September 1745, decided that all regulars derived their faculties from bishops and vicars apostolic who might subject them to examination and review. In 1751 Propaganda fide decreed that no religious superior could admit anyone to profession within the kingdom of Ireland.¹³⁷

Pope Benedict XIV's *Apostolicum ministerium* (30 May 1753), more commonly known as *Regulae observandae in Anglicanis missionibus*, settled the simmering problem in the bishops' favor.¹³⁸ All religious now had to obtain episcopal approval before embarking on the mission. The bull legislated the traits, the spiritual formation, and the religious discipline demanded. An official visitor from each congregation and order should meet each missionary annually and afterwards discuss what he had learned with the vicar apostolic. Especially odious for the regulars was the 20th clause that required each religious living outside an established community of his order to return to the Continent every six years for a retreat of 15 days and three months of regular community life. To prevent evasion, faculties were granted for six years with renewal upon proof of the religious "sabbatical."¹³⁹

135 Joseph MacMahon, O.F.M., "The Silent Century, 1698–1829," in Bhreathnach, MacMahon, and McCafferty, *Irish Franciscans*, 86–87.

136 *Irish Communities in Early-Modern Europe*, ed. Thomas O'Connor and Mary Ann Lyons (Dublin: 2006), 61.

137 Fenning, *Undoing of the Friars*, vi, 24, 44, 278, and 385.

138 On the background, see Scott, *Gothic Rage Undone*, 63–76.

139 See Thomas M. McCoog, S.J., "Libera nos Domine?: The Vicars Apostolic and the Suppressed/Restored English Province of the Society of Jesus," in *Early Modern English Catholicism: Identity, Memory and Counter-Reformation*, ed. James E. Kelly and Susan Royal (Leiden: 2016), 81–101.

The bull's insinuation that religious superiors either ignored or failed to correct specific abuses especially angered them. The English provincial, Philip Carteret, requested testimonials on the witness and ministry of his men from each bishop lest anyone be suspected of failure. The Franciscan vicar apostolic of the Western District, Matthew Prichard, refused to approve the bull's promulgation and protested the means by which it was obtained.¹⁴⁰ Demands for dispensations followed as relations between religious orders and vicars apostolic became more strained.¹⁴¹

In the 18th-century, official persecution of Catholics was more fiscal than physical, despite an occasional anti-Catholic riot, e.g. the violent Gordon Riots (1780) caused by the reduction of the penal laws in 1778, as the movement for Catholic emancipation progressed.¹⁴² The First Relief Act in 1778 lifted penalties and burdens if a Catholic professed loyalty to King George III and repudiated the temporal power of the pope and Stuart pretenses. Catholics disagreed on the acceptability of the oath but the vicars apostolic pronounced it tolerable. Why this oath proved to be more acceptable than earlier formulations that denied similarly papal deposing power, would be worth exploring. A need to accommodate Catholics in the former French Canada after 1763, and a need to recruit Irish Catholic soldiers to the imperial army, provided practical grounds for relief acts. The Second Relief Act of 1791 allowed Catholic practices but not in public. Restrictions remained – the penal laws were not repealed until the 19th century – but Catholics who pronounced the oath had greater freedom.

In 1730 the Dominicans held their first chapter in Panton Street, Haymarket, and thus elected their first provincial. To satisfy demands of Dominican law, individual Dominicans were designated titular abbots to ensure the required number to constitute a chapter, a practice that continued until 1882. Chapters continued to meet for the election of a new provincial with the exception of 1746–50 when “the difficulties of the times” (most likely the ’45 Rebellion) prevented their meeting. During that period, they were once again governed by a vicar general.¹⁴³

Forty Franciscans ministered in England in 1758. Their college (and friary) in Douai flourished, and they had 11 other friaries within the kingdom. All told the Franciscans numbered circa 100. By the end of the century, the total fell to 48, including 24 in England. Expelled from Douai after the French revolutionary

140 Basil Hemphill, *The Early Vicars Apostolic of England 1685–1750* (London: 1954), 145.

141 See e.g. Hood, *From Repatriation to Revival*, 86.

142 See *The Gordon Riots: Politics, Culture and Insurrection in Late Eighteenth-Century Britain*, ed. Ian Haywood and John Seed (Cambridge: 2012).

143 Gumbley, *Obituary Notices of the English Dominicans*, 14–15.

government closed the friary and college, the Franciscans found refuge with the English Carmelites at Tongeren near Liège in September 1793. A year later they again fled the French armies, but this time the destination was London. All English Franciscans were now in the kingdom, where they made necessary adjustments, including permission to wear secular clothes. Numbers fell: 28 in 1806 and 21 in 1813. Attempts to increase vocations by establishing novitiates at Osmotherley and elsewhere failed.¹⁴⁴

Working in Hereford, Worcester, London (and the embassy chapels), and Buckinghamshire, Carmelites numbered 14 in 1702. The small school conducted in Buckinghamshire, by Fr Christopher of St Alexius (*vere* Charles Wharton) provided a considerable number of vocations so that by 1731 there were 16 on the mission. In 1755 the vicar provincial Simon Stock of the Blessed Trinity (*vere* Francis Blyth) drafted a detailed “state of the province” report. Principal concerns were twofold: lack of sufficient funds and lack of a novitiate. Too many young English friars – and too many Irish – wandered the kingdom without full employment or sustenance. Because the province did not have the resources to subsidize them, their lives were often miserable. The English Carmelites had often sought permission to open a novitiate. This time, after a considerable delay, it was finally granted. In 1773 the Carmelites purchased the former Jesuit college in Tongeren after the order’s suppression. Here the Carmelites welcomed the English Franciscans in 1793. In the following year, the Carmelites accompanied the Franciscans in their flight from the French.¹⁴⁵

The number of Benedictines in England declined in the 18th century; Geoffrey Scott estimates that the number fell from approximately 80 in 1700 to 40 or 50 by the 1790s. For the most part, superiors worked harmoniously with the missionaries despite the “strange liberties” some took with monastic principles. As the century ended, the French armies and the ideology of the revolution closed the Benedictine abbeys. The monks fled St Edmund’s, Paris, in late 1792. St Gregory’s at Douai was closed in February 1793; St Lawrence’s, Dieulouard, survived until the end of the year. Kloster Lamspringe was suppressed in 1802. The monks too sought refuge in their homeland.¹⁴⁶

English and Welsh Jesuits declined from 353 in 1710 to 302 in 1768; however, a greater number worked in the kingdom: 127 in 1710 to 134 in 1767.¹⁴⁷ Attrition did not threaten the province; the suppression of the Society did. Because of

144 Thaddeus, *Franciscans in England*, 118–19 and 122–28; Bellenger, *English and Welsh Priests 1558–1800*, 16.

145 Zimmerman, *Carmel in England*, 364–65, 367–69, 376–77, 381–82, and 384.

146 Scott, *Gothic Rage Undone*, 41–43 and 211–18; Hood, *From Repatriation to Revival*.

147 Holt, *English Jesuits in the Age of Reason*, 3.

the newsletters of the English Jesuit John Thorpe, the province indeed was in a privileged position to observe the tsunami approaching and thus had some time to make proper adjustments.¹⁴⁸ The English Jesuits moved the novitiate from Watten to Ghent and their college from St Omer to Bruges after the Society's expulsion from France in 1764; the Irish Jesuits lost their college in Poitiers. The English were expelled from colleges in Valladolid and Seville, and the Irish from Salamanca in 1767. The Irish Jesuits had been expelled from their college in Lisbon in 1759. After a controversial visitation, the Society was removed from the Irish College, Rome, in September 1772. Pope Clement XIV's brief *Dominus ac Redemptor* suppressed the Society universally on 21 July 1773. Only 19 Jesuits were in Ireland at the time.¹⁴⁹ There were 12 Jesuits in Scotland at the suppression. Scottish Jesuits were expelled from their college in Douai in 1764, Madrid in 1767, and Rome in 1773. The Scottish vicars apostolic, James Grant and John MacDonald, along with Bishop George Hay, Grant's coadjutor, accepted the submission of the ex-Jesuits and assigned them positions. But episcopal attempts to secure Jesuit financial assets were no more successful in Scotland than they were in England.¹⁵⁰

With the universal suppression in 1773, the English merged their college in Bruges with the theologate in Liège as the *Académie Anglaise*. As the winds of destruction blew stronger, the English pondered various ways by which they could protect themselves, their communal identity, their missions, and their assets from the vicars apostolic. They succeeded in maintaining a "loose" confederation between the different districts and the *Académie Anglaise*, a union strengthened with the relocation of the *Académie* from Liège to Stonyhurst in 1794 to escape the French armies. English attempts to amalgamate with the Society's remnant in White Russia (modern-day Belarus) finally succeeded in 1804 with the rebirth of the English province, an illegitimate birth in the eyes of the vicars apostolic.¹⁵¹

148 See Thomas M. McCoog, S.J., " 'Lost in the Title': John Thorpe's Eyewitness Account of the Suppression," in *The Jesuit Suppression in Global Context: Causes, Events, and Consequences*, ed. Jeffrey D. Burson and Jonathan Wright (Cambridge: 2015), 161–80.

149 McRedmond, *To the Greater Glory*, 121–22.

150 Edwards, *Jesuits in England*, 278–79; Burns, "Escocia."

151 McCoog, " 'Libera nos Domine' "; McCoog, *Promising Hope*; McCoog, " 'Est et Non Est': Jesuit Corporate Survival in England after the Suppression," in *Jesuit Survival and Restoration: A Global History, 1773–1900*, ed. Robert A. Maryks and Jonathan Wright (Leiden: 2014), 162–77; Whitehead, *English Jesuit Education*; Marek Inglot, S.J., *How the Jesuits Survived Their Suppression: The Society of Jesus in the Russian Empire (1773–1814)*, ed. and trans. Daniel L. Schlafly (Philadelphia: 2015).

As a direct result of the episcopal decision to shut down the acceptance of novices in Ireland, vocations declined. In 1750, there were 410 Franciscans, 176 Dominicans, 128 Augustinians, and 64 Carmelites. By 1767, totals had fallen to 231 Franciscans, 147 Dominicans, 88 Augustinians, and 34 Carmelites. Permission to accept a specific number of novices in each diocese as dictated by the bishop in 1771 did not reverse the decline.¹⁵²

Irish and Scottish establishments suffered and were often lost during the French Revolutionary Wars. Emperor Joseph II confiscated the Franciscan College of the Immaculate Conception in Prague in 1786, a fatality of his attempts to refashion the empire as an example of the Enlightenment ("Josephism"). Franciscan communities at Boulay and Louvain were destroyed by the French armies. By 1800 there were only 120 friars as the province languished amidst complaints regarding a lack of religious fervour. The decline persisted: in 1850 there were only 65.¹⁵³ The Scottish abbeys were gradually suppressed: Würzburg in 1803 and Erfurt in 1819, with Regensburg surviving until 1862 when the Benedictines moved the abbey to Fort Augustus, Scotland.¹⁵⁴

9 The 19th Century

The arrival of religious refugees, both native sons and French clerical émigrés, from the horrors of revolution and the atrocities of war,¹⁵⁵ contributed to the movement for Catholic emancipation. The Treaty of Paris that concluded the Napoleonic Wars in 1814 compensated British subjects for losses since 1793. The English religious houses destroyed by the French armies received £120,000, but the British government prevented the money from reaching the Catholic recipients because such a benefaction would have violated English law against support for "superstitious uses." Marble Arch, extensions to Buckingham Palace, and the Royal Pavilion, Brighton, are among projects possibly subsidized with Catholic money.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵² Fenning, *Undoing of the Friars*, vi, 24, 44, 278, and 385.

¹⁵³ MacMahon, "Silent Century," 81–83 and 96; Patrick Conlan, O.F.M., "Reforming and Seeking an identity, 1829–1918," in Bhreathnach, MacMahon, and McCafferty, *Irish Franciscans*, 104; Jennings, "Irish Franciscan College," 128–29.

¹⁵⁴ Ross, "Some Notes," 244.

¹⁵⁵ On the French émigré clergy, see Dominic Aidan Bellenger, O.S.B., *The French Exiled Clergy in the British Isles after 1789: An Historical Introduction and Working List* (Bath: 1986).

¹⁵⁶ Schofield and Skinner, *Vicars Apostolic*, 61.

Disruption of normal communications with Rome resulted in the establishment of a vice-commissioner for the English province of the Franciscans, an office that continued until normal service was resumed in 1827. Believing that an English novitiate would reverse the steady decline, the Franciscans opened one in Aston in 1818. The experiment failed: by 1826 no more novices were admitted in England. The decline continued. In 1841 Thomas Joseph Brown, O.S.B. (1798–1880), vicar apostolic for the Welsh District, was appointed visitor apostolic of the Franciscan province to determine its future.¹⁵⁷ The Carmelites also suffered.¹⁵⁸ The Dominicans continued their ministries, but their province did not thrive. After the Napoleonic wars, the Dominicans closed their school and house of formation at Bornhem and opened one at Hinckley, which became their center in 1825. Growth was gradual with the influx of novices to Hinckley. By 1850 the Dominicans were expanding throughout the kingdom.¹⁵⁹

The Benedictines slowly established themselves in England. After a 20-year hiatus at Acton Burnell, Shropshire, the monks from St Gregory's, Douai, settled at Downside in 1814. The monks of St Lawrence's, Dieulouard, initially joined their confrères at Acton Burnell. After a few other stops, they settled at Ampleforth in 1802. The Benedictines from St Edmund's, Paris, migrated to the ruins of St Gregory's, Douai, in 1818. There they remained until their relocation to Woolhampton in 1903.

Canonical queries regarding the actual status of the so-called restored English province undermined Jesuit elation. Until Rome provided authentic testimonies to this effect, the vicars apostolic considered the Society suppressed, and the candidates for ordination at Stonyhurst, the house of formation of the English Jesuits, as secular priests for use by the vicars in the mission. These canonical problems were a major reason why Irish Jesuits preferred to be part of the restored and recognized Sicilian province.¹⁶⁰ Even after the universal restoration of the Society in 1814, only Bishop John Milner recognized the Society in England. The other vicars apostolic, claiming the return of the Jesuits would impede and perhaps derail any possibility of Catholic emancipation, refused. Because the lords temporal and spiritual had to accept the Society's restoration for it to be effected, their refusal initiated another round in the ongoing conflict between Jesuits and the ecclesiastical hierarchy. And once again Rome wavered. Finally, with strong support from the Franciscan

¹⁵⁷ Thaddeus, *Franciscans in England*, 129–32.

¹⁵⁸ Zimmerman, *Carmel in England*, 385 and 388.

¹⁵⁹ Gumbley, *Obituary Notices of the English Dominicans*, 17, 18–19, 21, and 203–04.

¹⁶⁰ See McRedmond, *To the Greater Glory*, 133–57; Thomas J. Morrissey, S.J., "Ireland, England and the Restoration of the Society of Jesus," in McCoog, *Promising Hope*, 190–217.

Peter Collingridge, vicar apostolic of the Western District, and his coadjutor, the Benedictine Peter Baines, the province received a definitive decision in its favor by Pope Leo XII in 1829. Catholic Emancipation occurred in the same year but not for Jesuits and other religious. The 28th clause of the "Act for the Relief of His Majesty's Roman Catholic Subjects" legislated for the eventual suppression of all male religious orders through a series of regulations and restrictions.¹⁶¹ The law remained unenforced. The English Jesuit province numbered 109 members in 1829. It was in a stronger position than the other congregations as they awaited the "second spring."

On the eve of Catholic Emancipation, there were few religious working in Scotland. Bishop Hay, vicar apostolic for the Lowlands, admitted there was neither a convent of nuns nor any religious clergy in his annual report for 1804. On a more positive note, the number of secular clergy in the same district had increased to 28. The English Jesuits settled in Edinburgh in 1854; the Benedictines arrived at Fort Augustus in 1862. By 1890, 61 religious clergy worked in Scotland.¹⁶²

10 Conclusion

The so-called revisionist historiography has demonstrated the vitality of pre-Reformation Catholicism. No longer do we perceive the late medieval religious situation through the eyes of Protestant reformers who exaggerated decadent abuses to justify demands for purgation or, in the case of Henry VIII, confiscation of assets.¹⁶³ It was, of course, easier to close an abbey than to terminate religious life. The Lords of the Congregation proved to be more effective agents of destruction than the Tudor king. So few religious, especially members of the traditional orders, operated in Scotland that the species teetered on extinction. Within England a few religious remained hidden and dispersed throughout the kingdom after the suppression of the monasteries in the 1540s. Slowly and almost always in the penumbra of the Society of Jesus, the most numerous

161 See "An Act for the Relief of His Majesty's Roman Catholic Subjects (13 April 1829)," <http://www.historyhome.co.uk/peel/ireland/catheman.htm> (accessed on 26 August 2016).

162 Bellesheim, *History of the Catholic Church*, 4:269, 290–91, and 426.

163 The more classic expositions concerning the English church are Christopher Haigh, *Reformation and Resistance in Tudor Lancashire* (Cambridge: 1975); J.J. Scarisbrick, *The Reformation and the English People* (Oxford: 1984); Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, 1400–1580* (New Haven: 1992). For Ireland, see Henry A. Jefferies, "Why the Reformation Failed in Ireland," *Irish Historical Studies* 40 (2016), 151–70.

order in early modern England, older orders returned. In Ireland, especially in Gaelic areas outside the control of the Tudor administration, friars and monks lived among the ruins or in former religious houses now in the possession of Catholic nobles and gentry. Religious life in Wales, generally considered an appendix to the more significant English mission, never regained its medieval splendor. As the number of religious increased, some wandered into Wales, but most stayed along the Welsh Marches. The Jesuit College of St Francis Xavier that covered Wales and the Marches was one of the largest and best endowed colleges in the 17th century, but it – and the Jesuit mission to Wales in general – never recovered from the attack on Cwm and the destruction of the Popish Plot.

Much work is still required before we have a satisfactory understanding of the survival of male religious orders in the British Isles and Ireland. Traditional historiography centered on the “heroic” age, the era of the martyrs, thus being often guilty of Hugh Trevor-Roper’s justified accusation of turning a blind eye to the religiopolitical context.¹⁶⁴ We know more about the religious who died for their faith than we do about those who lived and struggled in its service. As Catholics within each kingdom were torn between religious orthodoxy and political loyalty, religious navigated the demands of their rule and the perils of their ministry.¹⁶⁵ Jesuits, proud of the flexibility and adaptability of their rule, opposed the arrival of the Benedictines (and presumably would have protested the English missions of other orders) as unfit agents. English Jesuits, unaware that their Belgian confreres complained similarly about them, argued that Benedictines would *de facto* cease to be Benedictines because of the necessary adaptations. English Benedictines did in fact abandon monastic stability for a more active life on the mission; Irish Franciscans tempered mendicant poverty, often naming their family as heirs. Augustine Baker cautioned his confreres and Belgian Jesuits warned their English brothers that they might inadvertently be abandoning the institute of their order. Each in its way had to address the proverbial “how far can you go?” without forfeiting religious identity. Too often historians overlook the demands that their religious life placed on regular priests and their subsequent problems at reconciling the restrictions of their institute with the exigencies of the mission. The orders, although occasionally collaborating in the face of a common enemy, more often considered

164 See his “Twice Martyred: The English Jesuits and Their Historians,” in H.R. Trevor-Roper, *Historical Essays* (London: 1957), 113–18.

165 I am currently researching “Being Jesuit in Early Modern England,” the Society’s adaptation of its “way of proceeding” to the demands of the mission.

each other as rivals eager to co-opt financial assets or mission stations at the expense of each other.

Growth, maintenance, and preservation were persistent concerns. The establishment of a Continental college or house of formation provided a stable focal point that attracted vocations to the different orders. The Irish practice of rapid ordination and profession with subsequent formation provided religious orders and some dioceses with needed personnel, but at what cost? Fearful of abuses and insufficiently trained clergy, the bishops eventually rescinded permission. Cancellation of the practice resulted in a rapid decline in the number of religious priests, one from which the Franciscans, for example, did not recover until the 20th century.

Of the three kingdoms, only Ireland retained a Catholic hierarchy. The bishops, however, because of medieval privileges, Tudor administration, and a rival Protestant hierarchy, had little control over the religious in their dioceses. Tension – and indeed conflict – between religious and secular clergy regularly surfaces within the Roman Church. John W. O'Malley, S.J., astutely points out that the decrees of the Council of Trent make no notice of episcopal grievances against religious orders. Subsequent to the council, some bishops welcomed religious orders as useful collaborators while others, including the saintly Carlo Borromeo, “tried to limit severely their activity and would have dispensed with their ministrations altogether if they could.”¹⁶⁶ The Society of Jesus seemed to thrive more in missionary lands with little if any episcopal supervision restraining or restricting their ministries. Other orders followed suit.¹⁶⁷ The transfer of England, Ireland, and Scotland to the new Propaganda fide resulted in the appointment of vicars apostolic for England and Scotland, and the consolidation of episcopal authority in Ireland. Despite earlier setbacks, the episcopacy eventually triumphed with Benedict XIV's *Apostolicum ministerium* in 1753, with momentous and disastrous consequences for religious orders. Whether one prefers a traditional, mono-national history of a specific religious order, an account that covers the three kingdoms, or a non-specific, comparative investigation, much work remains for current and future scholars.

166 *Catholic History for Today's Church: How Our Past Illuminates Our Present* (Lanham, Md.: 2015), 193. Scott makes the same point in *Gothic Rage Undone*, 7.

167 See Thomas M. McCoog, S.J., “Mission or Church, 1570–1640?,” in *Oxford History of British and Irish Catholicism*, vol. 1, ed. James E. Kelly and John McCafferty (Oxford: forthcoming).

Recusant Women Religious

The Communities in a National and International Context

Caroline Bowden

For early modern women in Britain, the decision to leave family to enter religious life was complicated, difficult, and possibly even dangerous to arrange. External constraints on the expression of the Catholic faith varied across time and place: families and individuals reacted in different ways; nevertheless between 1600 and 1800, more than 4000 individuals found their way to leave the secular world and enter a convent community.¹

1 Introduction: 16th Century

Following Henry VIII's dissolution of the monasteries (1536–39), the majority of English nuns dispersed with remnants of only two communities of nuns remaining together. One group of Bridgettines (a double house) from Syon Abbey outside London, led by Catherine Palmer fled to Flanders at some point in the 1540s and several small groups remained together in England in private houses.² Twenty-six Dominican nuns from Dartford, Kent survived together and were still receiving a pension in 1556. Mary I allowed the revival of both communities in 1556.³ As a result, in 1557 19 sisters and three brothers

1 The Arts and Humanities Research Council-funded project at Queen Mary University of London, *Who Were the Nuns?* (2008–12), studied the membership of the English convents in exile from 1600 to 1800. Where possible, the geographical origin of the nuns was noted and entered into the database. To find the locations, search the *Who Were the Nuns?* database using the following procedure: “Convent” as search heading, leave boxes blank and choose place association from the drop-down menu. The present chapter focuses mainly on women from England and Ireland mainly because they formed the majority of those entering religious life in this period, but also because few records have survived from those Scottish and Welsh women who entered.

2 The chronology of these events is not entirely certain. See E.A. Jones, *England's Last Medieval Monastery: Syon Abbey, 1415–2015* (Leominster: 2015), 54.

3 “Friaries: The Dominican Nuns of Dartford,” in *A History of the County of Kent*, vol. 2, ed. William Page (Vic. Hist.) (London: 1926), 181–90, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/kent/vol2/181-190>.

were re-enclosed at Syon, and in September 1558, seven Dominicans with Elizabeth Cressener as prioress returned to Dartford. However, Mary's death in November 1558 followed by Elizabeth I's accession put paid to their hopes of re-establishing monastic life for women on English soil: they joined forces to travel into exile. Both communities suffered hardship, and ultimately the Dominicans disbanded although the Bridgettines survived as a community in the Southern Netherlands.

Apart from records of brief appearances by individual women in conditions of secrecy, nuns were not part of the religious life of women in England during Elizabeth's reign.⁴ The activities of English nuns in Elizabeth's reign can be broadly broken down into three main strands: firstly, those who, like the Bridgettines, remained together following the Dissolution; secondly, women entering Continental convents as individuals; and thirdly, by the end of the 1590s, a small band of women gathered in Flanders under the leadership of Mary Percy, daughter of the executed Thomas Percy, 7th Earl of Northumberland, working towards the foundation of a new cloister specifically for English women. For Irish women, the search for the religious life led them to Spain following leads already established by their countrymen in that country. As well as these women who made contact with religious communities abroad were the small family groups that formed in different parts of England based in private houses, bringing religious women together to lead devout lives, some of whom later entered convents.⁵

In spite of the problems that the Bridgettines encountered as they attempted to find a settled location in the Southern Netherlands, an area disturbed by unrest, rebellion, and wars, their community was gradually able to attract a few recruits.⁶ However by 1578, they were financially desperate, and ten of the community were sent back to England to seek relief.⁷ When the community moved

4 Ann Hutchison, "Syon Abbey Preserved: Some Historians of Syon," in *Syon Abbey and Its Books: Religious Communities and Communication in Late Medieval and Early Modern England*, ed. E.A. Jones and Alexandra Walsham (Woodbridge: 2010), 228–51, particularly 231 and 234–38.

5 See Elizabeth Patton, "From Community to Convent: The Collective Spiritual Life of Post-Reformation Englishwomen in Dorothy Arundell's Biography of John Cornelius," in *The English Convents in Exile, 1600–1800: Communities, Culture and Identity*, ed. Caroline Bowden and James E. Kelly (Farnham: 2013), 19–32.

6 Jones, *Syon Abbey*, 63.

7 Jones, *Syon Abbey*, 65. See also Ann Hutchison, "Beyond the Margins: The Recusant Bridgettines," in *Studies in St. Birgitta and the Brigittine Order*, vol. 2, *Salzburg*, ed. James Hogg (Lampeter: 1993), 267–84; Betty S. Travitsky, "The Puzzling Letters of Sister Elizabeth Sa[u]nder[s]," in *Textual Conversations in the Renaissance: Ethics, Authors, Technologies*, ed. Zachary Lesser and Benedict S. Robinson (Aldershot: 2006), 131–45.

to Rouen in 1580, their situation improved, until that city too was afflicted by civil war. Bridgettine survival is an indication of the ability of the community to draw on the Catholic networks developing on both sides of the Channel for support in adversity. A lack of profession registers for the period makes it difficult to pin down numbers, but by 1584 when Seth Foster was persuaded by Abbess Bridget Rooke to join them, they were reduced to only one brother.⁸ Foster's arrival stabilized the community, and by 1587 the community consisted of 24 sisters and six brothers. Brother Seth Foster was ultimately responsible for the plan to take the community to Lisbon in 1594.

Other English women seeking to lead a monastic life followed the lead established by Elizabeth Woodford (1519–72), originally professed as a canoness at Burnham Abbey in 1519. In 1548 she entered the Flemish Augustinian convent of Saint Ursula's, Louvain.⁹ It was a movement that was slow to develop, only gaining momentum once news of the qualities of Margaret Clement (1557–1612), elected prioress at Saint Ursula's in 1570, spread among the English Catholic community: 17 English candidates professed there between 1593 and 1606.¹⁰ The authors of the later Chronicle looked back on their time at the Flemish house, recording the strangeness of daily life in a foreign convent, suggesting that for them it was second best; ultimately a convent specifically for English Catholic women was their ideal. Such was the size and determination of the group at Saint Ursula's that they were able to make a successful English foundation nearby in 1609 that quickly attracted aspirants, with 11 professing before 1616.

A few other individual women can be traced in local convents in the period. For instance, Joanna Berkeley (155/6–1616) left home in Gloucestershire and entered a French Benedictine convent in Reims in September 1580. She remained there for 17 years before being approached to act as abbess for the new English cloister being formed in Brussels.¹¹ At the Poor Clares in Saint-Omer before the end of the century, at least four English women professed, with one of their number, Mary Gough (1597–1613), becoming abbess of the convent opened for English women in Gravelines in 1608.

8 Jones, *Syon Abbey*, 66.

9 Canonesses lived enclosed but differed from contemplative nuns in that they incorporated active elements of the religious life into their daily practice. The English Augustinian canonesses in exile established boarding schools for girls and looked after neighbors in need. They were governed by prioresses.

10 Victoria Van Hyning, "Clement, Margaret (1539–1612)," in *ODNB*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/105818>.

11 Jaime Goodrich, "Berkeley, Joanne [Name in Religion Joanna] (1555/6–1616)," in *ODNB*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/105817>.

By the end of the 16th century, there is evidence of a growing interest in the religious life among English women, which had been fostered in a number of ways. One example was set during Elizabeth's reign when English Catholics established male institutes on the Continent: beginning with the foundation of the English College, Douai, in 1568 to train secular priests for the mission, followed by four other establishments before the end of the century.¹² In addition, English Jesuits established a mission to England in 1580, expanding their influence among Catholic families and bringing news of Continental convents. For instance, several women of the Vaux family of Harrowden Hall, including sisters Eleanor and Anne, devoted time and money, risking their lives to serve key members of the mission such as Henry Garnet, Robert Southwell, and John Gerard.¹³ Many of the priests became family chaplains. For instance, all four daughters of Thomas Wiseman (d. 1585) and Jane Vaughan (d. 1610) of Braddocks in Kent were brought up in a religious household, where they also learned Latin, before joining convents before the end of Elizabeth's reign.¹⁴ Jane Wiseman as a widow was known to be an active priest harbinger and the mother of nuns in exile. Convent sources refer to a range of childhood experiences in England of religious upbringing leading aspirants towards the religious life.¹⁵

Networks of Catholics such as members of the Babthorpe and Constable families¹⁶ in Yorkshire, jailed as a result of their committed support for chaplains, priests, and schoolteachers, provided role models and encouragement,

12 Mark Netzloff, "The English Colleges and the English Nation," in *Catholic Culture in Early Modern England*, ed. Ronald Corthell et al. (Notre Dame, Ind.: 2007), 236–60 and 237.

13 See Jessie Childs, *God's Traitors: Terror and Faith in Elizabethan England* (London: 2015), particularly 145–50, 166–73, and 337–53.

14 Claire Walker, "Wiseman [*née* Vaughan], Jane (d. 1610)," in *ODNB*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/69040>. Jane and Bridget Wiseman professed at Saint Ursula's, Louvain while Anne and Barbara professed with the Bridgettines sometime before they left Rouen in 1594.

15 See, for example, the conversion narrative of Catherine Holland in C.S. Durrant, *A Link between Flemish Mystics and English Martyrs* (London: 1925), 271–305. Many of the lives featured in the collection of Carmelite lives edited by Nicky Hallett and Katrien Daemen-de Gelder refer back to childhood, often highlighting maternal influences on religious practice; Hallett (ed.), *Lives of Spirit: An Edition of English Carmelite Auto/Biographies of the Early Modern Period* (Aldershot: 2007); and Daemen-de Gelder (ed.), "Short Collections [...] with some few particulars of our dear deceased Religious," in Bowden, *English Convents in Exile*, part 2, vol. 4, *Life Writing II*, ed. Daemen-de Gelder (London: 2013).

16 J.T. Cliffe, "Babthorpe Family (*per.* c.1501–1635)," in *ODNB*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/71868>. See also Claire Walker, "Lawson [*née* Constable], Dorothy (1580–1632)," in *ODNB*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/69034>.

drawing others into their orbit.¹⁷ Mary Ward (1609–45) in her autobiographical writing acknowledged the influence of the women in this family group in her religious formation.¹⁸ The continuing influence of these committed families is reflected in the names associated with the English religious communities overseas in the recusant period.

Finally, at the end of the century, it became clear that the Protestant succession was to continue under James VI of Scotland, son of the executed Mary, Queen of Scots. This added impetus to create an appropriate separate Catholic religious life for women. In spite of regulations forbidding Catholics to send children abroad for education or to join religious houses, numbers of women and girls were already crossing the Channel for just these purposes as we can see above. In the process, English Catholicism was being drawn towards Continental Counter-Reformation influences, for women as well as men.

The situation for Irish women was even more challenging. Andrea Knox has demonstrated that by the end of the 15th century, Irish women were leaving their homes to establish communities with a focus on girls' education in Spain, a country that had long-standing links with Ireland.¹⁹ Knox shows how these small communities included both Irish and Spanish members, and in the period before the Council of Trent, they followed the Irish tradition of not insisting on enclosure.²⁰ Their buildings contained libraries and *scriptoria* with texts in a range of languages including Irish, Spanish, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. Irish Dominican girls' schools in Spain were held in high regard by expatriate Irish and Spanish families, with the nuns creating many of the texts used to educate their pupils. Knox writes that, paradoxically, the nuns used rules regarding *clausura* to secure their libraries against inspection by the Inquisition and continued to generate Irish translations and the use of the vernacular in their schools. Bronagh McShane's current research expands our

17 For the Yorkshire network, see Sarah Bastow, "‘Worth Nothing, but Very Wilful’: Catholic Recusant Women of Yorkshire, 1536–1642," *RH* 25 (2001), 591–603; Peter Lake and Michael Questier, *The Trials of Margaret Clitherow: Persecution, Martyrdom and the Politics of Sanctity in Elizabethan England* (London: 2011); Claire Walker, "Clitherow {née Middleton}, Margaret [St. Margaret Clitherow] (1552/3–1586)," in *ODNB*, <https://doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/5692>.

18 Susan O'Brien, "Ward, Mary (1585–1645)," in *ODNB*, <https://doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/28699>. Ward lived with the Babthorpes at Osgodby and Babthorpe between 1600 and 1606.

19 Irish Dominican nuns founded a convent in Bilbao in 1499; Andrea Knox, "Her Book-Lined Cell: Irish Nuns and the Development of Texts, Translation and Literacy in Late Medieval Spain," *Nuns' Literacies in Medieval Europe: The Kansas City Dialogue*, ed. Virginia Blanton, Veronica O'Mara, and Patricia Stoop (Turnhout: 2015), 67–86.

20 See Knox, "Her Book-Lined Cell," 73.

knowledge of Irish women involved in religious life in Ireland in the 16th century: although numbers were small, she argues, they did form the basis for the creation of new institutions in the following century.²¹

2 Foundation Movement: New Institutions in Exile

By 1597 a small group of young Englishwomen led by Lady Mary Percy (1600–42)²² gathered in Brussels with the purpose of opening a specifically English convent.²³ They were well connected and supported by the Archdukes Albert and Isabella who ruled the Southern Netherlands on behalf of Spain. The archdukes, already known for their philanthropy towards convents in their territory, expressed interest in supporting the English plans. By 1598 when it opened, the Benedictine convent had obtained all necessary permits, promises of enough financial support, and its first candidates for distinctive membership. Mary Percy welcomed the archdukes' support but was careful to avoid appearing to be in the pocket of the Spanish lest the identity of the new cloister as English be compromised. It was a fine balance: the endorsement by high-status individuals was valuable, but independence would appeal to those anxious to foster English Catholicism for women that was identifiably distinctive. The role played by women in the foundations has been underplayed in the past by historians who have tended to emphasize the contribution of the men involved: as more manuscripts are studied, the significance of women in the foundation movement becomes more apparent.

A total of 21 enclosed English convents opened in the Southern Netherlands and France; the last of the new foundations was made in 1678 by Carmelites in Hoogstraten, Flanders, with a final offshoot in Port Tobacco, Maryland in 1790.²⁴ One Irish convent was founded by the Dominicans at Belem, just outside Lisbon, in 1639.²⁵ A second was created when the English, unable to

21 Bronagh A. McShane, *Irish Women in Religious Orders 1530–1700* (Woodbridge: forthcoming).

22 Dates following names of members of English communities are dates of profession and death as given in the Who Were the Nuns? database.

23 Caroline M.K. Bowden, "Percy, Lady Mary (c.1570–1642)," in *ODNB*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/66980>.

24 See Caroline Bowden (ed.), "American Connections," in Bowden, *English Convents in Exile*, part 2, vol. 6, *The Convents and the Outside World*, ed. Carmen M. Mangion, 139–289.

25 Honor McCabe, *A Light Undimmed: The Story of the Convent of Our Lady of Bom Sucesso, Lisbon, 1639–2006* (Dublin: 2007). According to historian Dom Patrick Nolan, the English Benedictine convent at Ypres became Irish on the death of Abbess Marina Beaumont in 1682, and the first Irish abbess was elected in 1686. The first Irish sister professed at Ypres in 1700; see Patrick Nolan, *The Irish Dames of Ypres* (Dublin: 1908).

attract enough members to the Benedictine foundation at Ypres, handed it over to the Irish in 1682. Only one convent (at Pontoise) closed before 1800, suffering from serious financial problems that became insurmountable. The English Bridgettines, settled in Lisbon in 1594, remaining there until the 19th century. All of the new foundations came under the reforming measures enacted by the Council of Trent and indeed made their own contributions to the changing experience of religious life for women in the period through their writing and translations, often distributed outside their own communities.²⁶ Enclosure was required by the 1563 decree, which also specified that all communities for women should be sited in the center of towns. The communities in exile appear to have embraced enclosure as a mark of their commitment to the religious life, taking great pains to secure the enclosure and putting in place precise rules to prevent unauthorized access or egress.²⁷ Clausturation did, at times, hamper attempts to generate the revenue needed to support the communities, but there are few complaints about enclosure recorded in convent documents. The enclosure kept the communities separate but did not isolate them from their neighbors: they were part of transnational networks.

In addition to these enclosed convents were the houses of the Mary Ward Institute, whose history and religious life were very different from the cloistered communities. Mary Ward's foundation arose out of her vision for a new form of religious life for women based on living unenclosed, teaching and catechizing, and like the Jesuits, coming under the direct authority of the papacy.²⁸ In doing so, she challenged Tridentine regulations for women religious requiring enclosure, and her Institute was more like the new Continental apostolic congregations such as the Ursulines (1535) and Visitandines (1610). These congregations were themselves undergoing their own struggles with authority in their attempts to lead an active rather than contemplative religious life.²⁹ In the first decade of the 17th century, Ward was already attracting followers and traveled back from Saint-Omer to London to engage in missionary work with

26 See Marie-Louise Coolahan, "Nuns' Writing: Textual Mobility and Transnational Networks," in Phillippy (ed.), *History of Early Modern Women's Writing* (Cambridge: 2018), 257–75.

27 For a discussion, see chap. 2, "Embracing Enclosure," in James E. Kelly, *English Convents in Catholic Europe, c.1600–1800* (Cambridge: 2020).

28 For an account of the foundation, see, for example, Mary Wright, *Mary Ward's Institute: The Struggle for Identity* (Sydney: 1997), and Henriette Peters, *Mary Ward: A World in Contemplation* (Leominster: 1994).

29 For a comparative discussion of the Mary Ward sisters and the Ursulines, see Laurence Lux-Sterritt, *Redefining Female Religious Life: French Ursulines and English Ladies in Seventeenth-Century Catholicism* (Farnham: 2005).

women. At the same time, she established a small community with a school at Saint-Omer in Flanders. Ward followed a Jesuit model in her *Ratio Instituti* of 1615, the basis of her foundation. She planned that the new Institute should consist of small communities teaching girls, following a curriculum appropriate for laywomen as well as for the religious life. As early as the first decades of their existence, they established some important schools for girls in several countries: most importantly for their subsequent history in 1627 in Munich, Bavaria. However, they were seen as a challenge to papal authority and suppressed in 1631.

Nevertheless, by living as lay teachers in informal communities and with the strong support of Maximilian I, Duke of Bavaria (1573–1651), from 1635 they were able to continue their educational work with girls in the school they founded. The Institute continued to attract members and survived. Research by present members of the community has identified the names of 169 English women who joined the small houses established across Europe. Among the early houses and schools opened in Continental Europe were those founded in Paris around 1650 and in Augsburg by Mary Poyntz (ca. 1619–67) in 1662. In contrast to the enclosed communities, lists of members constructed from the larger houses show that Ward's Institute gradually included more local members and became an international organization, although the English origins of the Institute still survive in references to "The English Ladies" or "Maria Ward" in the names of the schools they founded. They were the first English women religious to open houses and schools in England, first in Hammersmith, near London in 1669, and later outside the walls of York at the Bar Convent in 1686. Both schools attracted daughters of elite Catholic families, suggesting that the Institute managed to overcome the double negative effect of the papal suppression and proscription by the English state. The school at Hammersmith was given up at the end of the 18th century, but the Bar Convent school continued until the middle of the last century. The constitutions of the Institute were eventually given formal recognition by the papacy in 1703, and the rehabilitation of the reputation of their foundress was secured when she was granted papal approbation in 1909.

Irish Catholic women looking to enter the religious life at home faced particular challenges. As a result of the English invasion of Ireland and persecution of those who wished to continue to follow the Catholic faith, they too, as we have seen above, had to go into exile to be able to enter religious communities. The solutions they found represent a range of approaches to religious life for women in exile in the period. Some entered English convents: a basic search of the membership of the English convents reveals 87 names with Irish connections – certainly, as Marie-Louise Coolahan cogently

argues, an underrepresentation.³⁰ Existing Irish contacts with the Iberian Peninsula led to separate foundations for Irish women in Spain and later Portugal.³¹ The membership of eight convents (six Dominican and two Poor Clares) established by Irish women in Spain and studied by Andrea Knox was not exclusively Irish. A number of women were identified by Knox as “*beatas*” rather than as nuns: like the beguines of Flanders, they lived chaste lives in devout communities but were not bound by other vows. The foundation of the Dominican convent that opened in Lisbon in 1639 was led by Fr Dominic O’Daly and financed by a wealthy Portuguese widow, Iria de Brito. It was originally conceived for Irish women, although early in the planning Daly agreed to include Portuguese members.³² The dual combination continued throughout the recusant period.³³ The transfer of the English Benedictine convent at Ypres to Irish women in 1682 created a second permanent Irish enclosed convent in Continental Europe, which survived there until driven out by the impact of war in 1914.³⁴

Coolahan has argued that Irish communities founded in the first half of the 17th century in Ireland tended to be small and mobile: for instance, the Dominican houses founded at Galway (1647), Wicklow, and Cabra; and by the Poor Clares at Dublin (1629) and Galway (1642).³⁵ Membership numbers are difficult to pin down, and no full survey has yet been undertaken. The Cromwellian occupation of Ireland caused nuns to leave the country in 1653, although some returned following the Restoration of Charles II in 1660. Further problems arose during the Jacobite and Williamite Wars in Ireland, and in 1698, the Dublin Parliament exiled all Catholic bishops and religious. However, nuns were not treated as harshly as priests, and several houses were able to continue in spite of raids. The 18th century saw the beginnings of one of the new style of religious congregations with the foundation of a teaching order in Ireland by Nano Nagle (1718–84), initially under Ursuline regulations but from 1775 as Presentation Sisters. This created educational opportunities

30 Marie-Louise Coolahan, “Archipelagic Identities in Europe: Irish Nuns in English Convents,” in Bowden, *English Convents in Exile*, 211–28.

31 Andrea Knox, “Women of the Wild Geese: Irish Women Migrants in Spain, 1750–1775,” *Immigrants and Minorities* 23 (2005), 143–59, esp. 143–44.

32 McCabe, *Light Undimmed*, 34–35 and 39–43.

33 See membership lists in McCabe, *Light Undimmed*, 245–48.

34 There was an attempt to return to Dublin in 1688, invited by James II, but his defeat at the Battle of the Boyne in July 1690 ended their plans. Nolan, *Irish Dames of Ypres*.

35 Marie-Louise Coolahan, *Women, Writing, and Language in Early Modern Ireland* (Oxford: 2010), 64 and 80–81. See also Bronagh Anne McShane, *Irish Women in Religious Orders, 1530–1700* (forthcoming).

for poor Irish women not previously available to them.³⁶ However, numbers of women religious in 18th-century Ireland remained small: 120 nuns in 11 houses. The dramatic rise in numbers came after 1800, and by 1850, there were 1500 nuns in 95 houses.³⁷

2.1 *The Impact of Exile*

How did exile affect these new convents? From the outset, the new institutions needed to form relationships that intersected a number of local communities, ecclesiastical and secular. Although on one level the English convents can be seen as enclaves of Englishness in a foreign land, formed with the intention of keeping their membership separate, their daily existence depended on relationships that they cultivated with their neighbors as well as maintaining contact both with those in the home country and expatriates.³⁸ Managing such complex networks depended on the capabilities of convent leaders and required considerable skills to maintain. Initially, the new institutions needed legal documents to establish their rights to secure their property and take members: support at the highest levels served to reinforce their reputation and respectability, thus drawing in recruits and supporters. In the course of this period, we can see a number of convent superiors working in the early days with the representatives of the Spanish monarchy in Brussels, in the middle of the century with the Stuarts in exile, and later with members of the French court and also with the Spanish monarchy as rulers of Portugal, while maintaining a degree of independence from all of them. Over the period, it seems that through careful management, the communities succeeded in retaining a sense of their own national identities while maintaining transnational networks and relationships.

As exiles, the convents were supported both by expatriate Catholic communities and also families still in the mother country where they owned property and businesses. Letter writing maintained links with families, benefactors, supporters, and, as James Kelly has identified, with male religious of other institutions.³⁹ It seems from the number of survivals that there appears to have

36 Rosemary Raughter, "Pious Occupations: Female Activism and the Catholic Revival in Eighteenth-Century Ireland," in *Religious Women and Their History: Breaking the Silence*, ed. Rosemary Raughter (Dublin: 2005), 25–49.

37 Figures quoted from Maria Luddy, "Convent Archives as Sources for Irish History," in Raughter, *Religious Women and Their History*, 99.

38 See for instance, Laurence Lux-Sterritt, "Appartenance et singularité des couvents anglais en exil sur le continent: L'exception anglaise," *Revue de la Société d'études anglo-américaines des XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles*, 76 (2019), para. 32. <https://doi.org/10.4000/1718.3658>; and James E. Kelly, *English Convents and Catholic Europe* (Cambridge: 2020), chap. 6.

39 Among surviving correspondence are letters from the Aston-Thimelby, Conyers, and Huddleston of Sawston families and Kitty Witham, all edited by Victoria Van Hyning,

been an understanding that house rules on the number of letters that could be written and received were not strictly limited to the single item per annum envisaged in the constitution for choir nuns at Louvain.⁴⁰ Senior members recognized that in order to earn a reputation that would attract well-qualified members with substantial endowments, they could not be isolated.

Surviving chronicles from the English convents generally admit when times were hard: and the communities drew on the support of locals to survive the lean patches. Some of them faced difficulties in finding appropriate accommodations, adapting and constructing premises to the specialist requirements of enclosed convents in areas constantly ravaged by war. For instance, the Benedictines decided that the frontier port of Boulogne was, after all, untenable for the foundation they made in 1652 and moved the community to Pontoise in 1658, suffering some serious financial losses as a result.⁴¹ The Augustinians at Louvain retreated from their convent and went to stay at their daughter-house at Bruges when their own convent was occupied by Imperial troops in 1635.⁴² A gunpowder explosion that severely damaged the convent in 1654 in Gravelines was graphically described in the annals.⁴³ The Rouen convent described in their chronicle for 1668 how they experienced all the problems associated with plague and the regulations governing quarantine, which led them into some tangled decision-making over preserving the sanctity of the enclosure.⁴⁴ The economic downturn of 1709 in Paris and the resulting

in Bowden, *English Convents in Exile*, part 1, vol. 3, *Life Writing I*, ed. Nicky Hallett, 263–312; and James E. Kelly, “Jesuit News Networks and Catholic Identity: The Letters of John Thorpe to the English Carmelite Nuns at Lierre, 1769–89,” in James E. Kelly and Hannah Thomas (eds), *Jesuit Intellectual and Physical Exchange Between England and Mainland Europe, c.1580–1789: “The World is Our House”?* (Leiden: 2018), 337–60. See also Bronagh McShane, “Visualising the Reception and Circulation of Early Modern Nuns’ Letters,” *Journal of Historical Network Research* 2 (2018), 1–25, e-ISSN: 2535-8863.

40 Clare Walker, “‘Doe Not Suppose Me a Well Mortified Nun Dead to the World’: Letter-Writing in Early Modern English Convents,” in *Early Modern Women’s Letter Writing, 1450–1700*, ed. James Daybell (Basingstoke: 2001), 162.

41 For initial doubts, see Bowden (ed.), “The foundation of Bullogne written by my Lady Mary Knatchbull,” in Bowden, *English Convents in Exile*, part 2, vol. 5, *Convent Management*, ed. James E. Kelly, 244–47; M.J. Rumsey (ed.), “Abbess Neville’s Annals of Five Communities of English Benedictine Nuns in Flanders, 1598–1687,” in *Miscellanea V* (CRS) 6 (London 1909), 1–72, esp. 48–50.

42 For the siege of Louvain in 1635, see Reading, Berkshire, Douai Abbey Library and Archives, archives of the Priory of Our Lady, Kingston-near-Lewes, Sussex, Chronicles of the Augustinian Canonesses of Louvain, 393–409, Box WMLC, MS C2.

43 “A Letter from the Chronicle of the Poor Clares at Gravelines [...] in Hallett, *Life Writing I*, 315–17.

44 Caroline Bowden (ed.), Rouen Chronicles, in Bowden, *English Convents in Exile*, part 1, vol. 1, *History Writing*, ed. Bowden, 88–119.

extraordinary rise in the price of food was duly recorded in the chapter book of the Augustinians as they discussed how to manage the crisis.⁴⁵

Most of the convents came under the authority of the local bishop, who generally ruled that convents should be sited within cities. Lisbon appears to be the only city where both the Bridgettines and the Irish Dominicans were granted permission to build outside the city center. The Dunkirk Benedictines built their convent in the main square of the town; most of the others were not far away from town centers within the defensive walls. The existence of the convent buildings could not be hidden from sight, even if the members were out of the public gaze behind the enclosure walls. The barrier was porous: chronicles describe how senior members of the convents interacted with their neighbors. For instance, the nuns offered assistance when they could or invested in local municipal schemes for improvements. It should not be surprising then, that at moments of crisis, the exiles were able to draw on the goodwill of their neighbors. For instance, at Lisbon after a catastrophic fire in 1651, the Bridgettines were offered accommodation by the Franciscan community close by and stayed there for five years.⁴⁶ At a time of dearth, both the Ghent Benedictines and the Augustinians in Bruges were permitted by the town authorities to beg in the streets for alms. Neighbors led by the governor of the town came to assist the Poor Clares at Gravelines in 1626 when a serious fire broke out, and managed to restrict its spread and save the church.⁴⁷

Being in centers of population could be seen as an advantage. Attending Mass in the convent church provided an opportunity for visitors, whether travelers or locals, to witness, albeit briefly, the practice of religious life in the convent. Even Protestant travelers included convent visits in their tours of Europe and, argues Liesbeth Corens, “showed deep respect for the women they encountered.”⁴⁸ Carefully positioned choir stalls enabled the choir nuns to remain hidden behind a heavy grille while occupying the same building as lay people.⁴⁹ At the Augustinians in Bruges, the choir nuns were located

45 Caroline Bowden (ed.), *Extracts from Augustinian Chapter Book*, in Kelly, *Convent Management*, 364.

46 Jones, *Syon Abbey*, 82.

47 Much Birch, Herefordshire, Poor Clare Monastery, MS Gravelines Chronicle, 150–53. I am grateful to the community for permission to quote from their manuscript.

48 Liesbeth Corens, “Catholic Nuns and English Identities: English Protestant Travellers on the English Convents in the Low Countries, 1660–1730,” *RH* 30 (2011), 446.

49 The rules governing the daily life of choir nuns required them to remain unseen by the seculars. Choir nuns performed the full office and had their own work such as writing, praying, teaching, or other tasks relating to convent management. Lay sisters performed manual work and in some convents were permitted to go outside the enclosure to carry out convent business.

upstairs; elsewhere the enclosed nuns were placed at an angle. Several Protestant English visitors on the Grand Tour commented on the beauty of the singing. Such visits fulfilled a number of purposes, most importantly raising awareness of the convents in exile, indicating their seriousness of purpose, displaying (albeit out of sight) the numbers of women who had chosen to commit themselves to the religious life, and underlining their reputation. Attending church, visitors were made aware of the rich gifts presented to the English nuns, all of them carefully recorded in benefactors' books: among them silver candlesticks with wax candles, altarpieces, richly embroidered hangings and vestments often derived from clothing, gowns, monstres, relics, and reliquaries.⁵⁰ The combination of visual and aural spectacle on feast days would have been impressive.

Living in exile, the nuns drew on the culture and expertise available in their surroundings when commissioning painters, silversmiths, builders, printers, musicians, and others for their buildings, books, medical care, and many other needs. The sense in which these convent communities were "little self-enclosed Englands" was in practice limited.⁵¹ Christopher Highley has much to offer in his discussions about the significance of English Catholic religious institutes in exile, but he does women a disservice by the weight he gives to what he describes as "self-imposed internal sequestration."⁵² This view misrepresents the intentions of the religious communities and misunderstands one of the key reasons for the emphasis on English members for English convents: that is, the terms of the foundation agreements insisted on by the local authorities before granting permission for the new institutions. There was a positive side to the separation too: the wish to preserve Catholicism for English women. The surviving Irish Dominican convent at Belem, near Lisbon, is a striking example of how a community was influenced by the host culture in their buildings, the choice of decoration, and objects for the interiors. For instance, a fine silver tabernacle in the church featuring 12 scenes from the Song of Songs by local painters dating from the 18th century links the spirituality of the local community to the heart of the nuns' church.⁵³ The buildings and interiors covered with fine blue *azulejo* tiles drew their inspiration from indigenous styles and workmanship and can be compared more effectively with other convents in Lisbon

50 These were carefully recorded in benefactors' books; see Kelly, *Convent Management*, 23–25 and 141–70.

51 Christopher Highley, *Catholics Writing the Nation in Early Modern Britain and Ireland* (Oxford: 2008), 182–83.

52 Highley, *Catholics Writing the Nation*, 183.

53 McCabe, *Light Undimmed*.

rather than convents in Ireland.⁵⁴ At Louvain the Augustinian canonesses purchased an altarpiece, a triptych from the Antwerp artist Gaspar de Crayer (1582–1669), with money from an English benefactor with local connections whose niece had entered the cloister.⁵⁵ A study of the account books, diurnals, and chronicles suggest most craftsmen employed by the nuns were local, with some English exiles among musicians, translators, and authors. These connections enriched the cultural practices of the communities and brought them within the ambit of European Counter-Reformation Catholicism.

A study of the book collections indicates local influences, with several foreign languages in frequent use in the convents: most commonly French, and in Lisbon, Portuguese.⁵⁶ Knox and Coolahan have demonstrated that Irish (written and spoken) was important in their convents in the Iberian Peninsula. Few nuns knew enough Latin to be able to read devotional texts with understanding; reading church fathers or theological works in Latin would have been rare indeed. However, all choir nuns were taught sufficient Latin in the novitiate to become familiar with the liturgy and to read appropriate liturgical texts in Latin fluently. The ability to read, understand, and write French was much more common. Evidence of more advanced linguistic skills can be seen in a number of surviving compilations or collections made by individual nuns from their reading in French: this argues strongly that the original reading was being made in that language, and that some nuns wrote French fluently.⁵⁷

Surviving books show that the convents in exile commissioned books from local printers when needed. For instance, the Bridgettines in Lisbon commissioned a new edition of the Bridgettine Breviary from a local printer, Galraão, in 1690, anticipating that its use would once more be authorized.⁵⁸

54 I am indebted to the Dominican sisters in Lisbon for their hospitality in September 2015, especially to Sister Aedris for her guided tour and explanations of the buildings. The Irish sisters left their convent in 2016, and it is now looked after by a trust.

55 Until he died, Mr Evans, a merchant of Antwerp, left a series of benefactions to the nuns on account of his niece Anne Evans and two others who entered. A substantial portion of his gifts were for paintings in the church commissioned from de Crayer; see Douai, Priory of Our Lady, MS Louvain Accounts, f24v.

56 For a discussion of the significance of language learning, see Emilie K.M. Murphy, "Exile and Linguistic Encounters: Early Modern English Convents in the Low Countries and France," *RQ* 73 (2020), 132–64, doi: 10.1017/rqx.2019.493.

57 Durham, Durham University Library, Special Collections, PCD Poor Clare Notebooks 8, 19, 20, 21, 30, and 0725 all have substantial elements in French. Cecily Cornwallis, who acted as convent scribe for many years, wrote four of these manuscripts.

58 On their arrival at Lisbon, they were required to use the Roman Breviary as specified in the Council of Trent; *Officia propria sanctorum et aliarum festivitatum Ordinis Salvatoris, vulgo S. Birgittae* [...] (Lisbon: 1690). Forty-two copies survive in Special Collections, Exeter University Library, of which 21 are unbound.

The convents all wanted to have printed versions of their rule and constitutions in the vernacular for general use. Jaime Goodrich has demonstrated how closely the nuns were involved in the preparation of the edition of the Benedictine rule and constitutions printed by Ioos Doods in Ghent in 1632.⁵⁹ The books were then handed to each new member to be learned by heart and perhaps to become the subject of “collections” of extracts for meditation and reflection. The newly translated rule for the Poor Clares, together with a life of Saint Catherine of Bologna, was printed in English for them at Saint-Omer in 1621, with *Declarations and Ordinances* the following year. Elizabeth Evelinge (1623–68), herself a member of the Gravelines convent, translated the life of Saint Catherine and the *Declarations* into English. In this way, argues Goodrich, Evelinge shows that the exilic convent communities were writing as well as reading communities, generating their own texts for the religious life.⁶⁰ Coolahan has described the writing of the Irish Poor Clares in similar terms, arguing that their texts “share important stylistic and generic features with ... male models of devotional and history writing.”⁶¹

As can be seen in this glimpse here, recent studies of English convent writing demonstrate the intellectual qualities of many of the choir nuns who were able to support their own religious life, adding to the texts proposed by convent leaders and spiritual directors.⁶² The publication of foundational texts was important on several levels: not only did it provide a solid grounding for new members, but it could also influence the direction taken by convent communities. For instance, their detailed knowledge of the constitutions gave the nuns at Gravelines confidence to challenge the Franciscan friars led by Fr Christopher Davenport (ca. 1595–1680) in their tussle over leadership of the community. It was a bitter struggle at times, but those nuns who opposed Franciscan spiritual direction and referred back to the rule as their authority managed ultimately to prevail. The community was divided; those like Elizabeth Evelinge who favored supervision by the Franciscans went to a

59 Jaime Goodrich, “Nuns and Community-Centered Writing: The Benedictine Rule and Brussels Statutes,” *Huntington Library Quarterly* 77 (2014), 287–303.

60 Jaime Goodrich, “‘Ensign-Bearers of Saint Clare’: Elizabeth Evelinge’s Early Translations and the Restoration of English Franciscanism,” in *English Women, Religion, and Textual Production, 1500–1625*, ed. Micheline White (Farnham: 2011), 83–100.

61 Coolahan, *Women, Writing, and Language*, 101.

62 See, for example, Heather Wolfe, “Dame Barbara Constable: Catholic Antiquarian, Advisor, and Closet Missionary,” in Corthell, *Catholic Culture in Early Modern England*, 158–88.

new convent founded at Aire in 1629, and Abbess Elizabeth Tyldesley (1610–54) was restored at Gravelines.⁶³ Goodrich argues that Evelinge's translations are "not just important for their ability to shed light on the role of learning at English convents beyond the Cambrai Benedictines, but also for their capacity to transform our understanding of how women reshaped the conventions of verbal chastity expected by their contemporaries."⁶⁴

Music was of particular importance to the Benedictine and Augustinian communities. Chronicles show that musicians were engaged to teach instrumental music, singing, and probably also to write music. Research into the writing and performance of music in the English convents is still in its very early stages, although it is clear that a substantial amount of music has survived in the archives. Andrew Cichy has discussed music in three of the new communities in the 17th century: the Benedictines in Brussels, and Augustinians at Louvain and Bruges.⁶⁵ He has shown that while plainchant formed the core of conventual repertoire, other music was also performed. Chronicles refer to music performed for special occasions such as jubilees and at clothing ceremonies. Sharing a common form of liturgy (Roman Office) with their neighbors brought them within the orbit of Counter-Reformation influences. In this way, Cichy points to a connected cultural identity for the new convents, adopting some local practices combined with the skills and experience they brought from home.

Few of the English convents began life with a significant material endowment, and they remained responsible for raising their own funds. The requirement that they should not become in any way dependent on the local population who had their own convents to support was written into the agreements governing their foundations, although that did not stop locals from acting as patrons and benefactors and providing emergency support in crises. Raising and managing funds in exile was always more difficult: there is plenty of evidence of ingenuity among senior convent leaders and the astute assistance of some male agents over the exile period, as well as crises when convents relied on divine providence to rescue them financially.⁶⁶ The early years saw a rush of professions that brought them substantial capital from dowries and

63 Caroline Bowden, "Les Clarisses anglaises d'Aire-sur-la-Lys (1629–1799): Stratégies d'une survie," *Études Franciscaines*, n.s., 5 (2012), 263–82.

64 Goodrich, "Ensigne-Bearers of Saint Clare," 100.

65 Andrew Cichy, "Parlour, Court and Cloister: Musical Culture in English Convents during the Seventeenth Century," in Bowden and Kelly, *English Convents in Exile*, 175–90.

66 Richard G. Williams (ed.), *Mannock Strickland, 1683–1744: Agent to English Convents in Flanders: Letters and Accounts from Exile* (CRS) 86 (Woodbridge: 2016).

benefactors; this allowed spending on the construction of specialized buildings and investments for the future that would generate income. Often started in domestic accommodation, the communities made do with very limited facilities. Keen to demonstrate their commitment to follow the spirit of the rule, they had little or nothing in the way of creature comforts. Expansion and improvements to the buildings continued, as the means to pay for them arrived. Three particularly fine conventual buildings of the recusant period still stand: the Irish convent Bom Sucesso at Belem, Portugal, described above; the Augustinian convent at Bruges whose chapel was finished by 1740, complete with dome and fine altarpiece; and in England, the Bar Convent, York opened by the Mary Ward sisters in 1686. It is still on its original site with buildings dating mainly from 1760 to 1790. Descriptions and images of other convents show how much was lost as a result of events associated with the French Revolution. Apart from Pontoise, which was closed and sold at auction in 1786, all the English convents managed to survive fluctuating fortunes: oscillating between periods of hardship when they had to live hand to mouth, and periods when they were able to complete major building projects and gather significant collections of books, paintings, and precious liturgical objects. References and images in surviving manuscripts allow for partial reconstruction of some of the holdings.

Supporting themselves financially in exile presented challenges to enclosed communities, especially those like the Benedictines whose lay sisters were also enclosed.⁶⁷ The convents accepted responsibility for their own financing although they were not always successful at meeting their needs. Dowries underpinned all the foundations, even for those orders that had previously been mendicant like the Poor Clares. The dowry paid by both choir nuns and lay sisters varied across the convents, with some of the wealthiest applicants for the choir bringing substantial sums, a few up to £3000. These were invested in a range of financial instruments, including local authority bonds and the low-interest finance houses known as *monts-de-piété*. However, other sources of income were needed to support daily needs, which had to be raised by the members themselves.⁶⁸ There were a number of strategies, and senior members of the convents appear to have had a clear sense that there was a correlation between the financial support of patrons and the reputation of a community. Abbess Elizabeth Timperley (1654–1703) of the Blue Nuns in Paris secured

67 See discussion by Kelly, *Convent Management*, 1–14.

68 For a discussion of work and finance, see James E. Kelly, *English Convents* (Cambridge: 2020), 99–128; and Claire Walker, *Gender and Politics in Early Modern Europe: English Convents in France and the Low Countries* (Basingstoke: 2003), 74–101.

the support of the prior of the Benedictines, who wrote to assure a wealthy patron whose support was wobbling that “I have the honour allsoe to bee well acquainted with their French freindes and Benefactours who have a very great est[e]me of them.”⁶⁹ The impact of loss of reputation is probably easier to see when we examine the impact of scandal in the Brussels Benedictine convent lasting over 20 years in the early 17th century, which not only drove away potential recruits (only three professed in a 20-year period) but failed to attract benefactors.⁷⁰ Exile removed the communities from close contact with their most important support base: the extended families and connections of their members, leaving them open to financial challenges, particularly in unsettled times.

2.2 *Reputation and Recruitment*

Reputation was key to the long-term success of each convent: both senior members on the one hand and the families of aspirants on the other understood what it meant. There was a clear view expressed by families and visitors that these convents in exile were attempting to lead the kind of religious life envisaged by the founders and that high standards were maintained over time. Notes from chapter meetings show that senior members were careful to ensure that aspirants fitted the criteria established for members in order to find candidates who would fit their communities. Internal documents with instructions for officeholders in the convents indicate that training and education was provided for choir novices to enable them to participate fully in the liturgy in Latin, read the texts that would allow them to seek to fulfill the goals of their religious life, and contribute to the daily cultural life of the convent in multiple ways. Chapter books and chronicles record how unsuitable candidates were “let go” before profession, many of them advised that they were not suited or perhaps not strong enough. Often it appears to have been kindly done: part of the awareness, perhaps, of the delicacy needed to maintain networks of supporters. Convent leaders consciously attempted to ensure that community identity remained as close as possible to the intentions of their founders throughout the recusant period.⁷¹

Work is generally these days associated with financial reward. By contrast, in early modern convents, understandings of the meaning of “work” varied across

69 Prior Joseph Shirburne to Roger Palmer, 1st Earl of Castlemaine, 15 September 1675, about the Conceptionists where his nieces were boarders; quoted in Bowden (ed.), “The Dispute at the Conceptionist Convent, Paris, 1675,” in Kelly, *Convent Management*, 429.

70 See Jaime Goodrich, “Authority, Gender, and Monastic Piety: Controversies at the English Benedictine Convent in Brussels, 1620–1623,” *BCH* 33 (2016), 91–114.

71 See Bowden (ed.), “Practical Convent Management and Leadership,” in Kelly, *Convent Management*, 223–86.

the orders, and a further distinction was made between choir nuns and lay sisters. For contemplative choir nuns, work might be prayer that was undertaken in return for benefactions: Claire Walker refers to “spiritual recompense.”⁷² Other work undertaken by choir nuns might be for the benefit of the community, such as scribal activity in the scriptorium. Cecily Cornwallis (1688–1737) at the Poor Clares in Rouen generated hundreds of pages of books in her meticulously neat hand before her death.⁷³ Some communities generated income by producing goods for sale. Evidence survives of high-quality paper cutouts, silk flowers, and vestments. Other items for sale included seeds, lace, embroidery, and peppermints. However, earnings on such enterprises were not enough to meet daily convent expenses. For the canonesses who combined the active and contemplative, it was more advantageous financially to combine the religious life with attracting boarders or schoolgirls: although here the problem was preserving the sanctity of the enclosure while allowing outsiders a taste of the religious life. Chapter and council meetings report on the difficulties of making ends meet while remaining within the spirit of the constitutions. For the Mary Ward sisters living unenclosed, there were other ways of combining the need to earn money and serving their neighbors. For example, besides the successful schools, the name of the Mary Ward sisters is attached to two apothecary’s shops in Bavaria: the first in Munich and another in Burghausen, which opened in the 18th century. Their existence came about as a result of the presence of trained pharmacists in the community, which led to them opening shops where locals could obtain medicines. However, education remained the main work of the Institute.⁷⁴

Being enclosed and in exile meant that the communities had to devise their own practical strategies to make contacts and attract both recruits and benefactors.⁷⁵ Four convents used the services of the Catholic lawyer Mannock

⁷² Walker, *Gender and Politics*, 87.

⁷³ For examples of Cecily Cornwallis’s scribal activities, see, for example, MSS Rouen Chronicle, vols. 1 and 2, published in Bowden, *History Writing*, esp. the image on 293, together with a copy of the Gravelines chronicle and a copy of the Rouen profession book. All manuscripts remain with the community. Also see a number of spiritual texts for meditations at Durham, Special Collections, including 7, 19, 34, and 48. The catalog is available online at reed.dur.ac.uk/xtf/search. The collection code is GB-0033-PCD.

⁷⁴ I am indebted to Sister Magdalen O’Neile, I.B.V.M., and other members of the communities in England and Germany for this reference. The name has survived, adapted during the First World War when *Englische* became unacceptable to “Engel-Apotheke”: the Angel Pharmacy chain.

⁷⁵ Laurence Lux-Sterritt explores these aspects of conventual life for the Benedictine communities in *English Benedictine Nuns in Exile in the Seventeenth Century: Living Spirituality* (Manchester: 2017).

Strickland (1683–1744), who acted as financial agent between 1712 and 1744 for the Benedictines at Brussels and Dunkirk, Dominicans in Brussels, and Augustinians in Louvain.⁷⁶ Strickland chased up money owing to the nuns, executed foreign exchange transactions, and extracted rights due to the convents. For two convents in the period, he raised nearly £10,500 each. Although English Catholic bankers occasionally appear in manuscripts involved in transactions, there are few references to anyone else with Strickland's role in financial matters. Fr Edward Lutton at the Augustinians in Paris, who acted very effectively as combined confessor and almoner, perhaps comes nearest.⁷⁷ Family chaplains moved back and forth across the Channel with information about the communities. Epistolary family networks like the Thimelby/Aston coterie and the Huddlestons of Sawston in Cambridgeshire passed on news from family members already cloistered.⁷⁸ Very few aspirants arrived at the door of a convent without an introduction. Occasionally, family chaplains recommended particular communities. For instance, Clementia Skinner was recommended to Saint Monica's in Louvain, where she professed in 1625, by "a Jesuit who lived at her Aunt Smiths," because she did not have a preference nor know how to choose.⁷⁹ These kinds of activities help to explain how the Mary Ward sisters continued to attract members in spite of the 1631 suppression.

A table showing recruitment patterns in the English enclosed convents over the whole period shows significant variation in professions by decade across individual convents even within the same order.⁸⁰ This suggests that there were a number of factors influencing aspirants and their families. For instance, although external factors such as the English civil wars and their aftermath in the mid-17th century made it difficult to move funds out of England and interrupted communications, for several convents such as the Carmelites in Antwerp, the Benedictines at Ghent, and the Augustinians in Paris, these

76 Richard G. Williams (ed.), *Letters from the convents to Strickland*, in Kelly, *Convent Management*, 171–222, and Williams, "Strickland, Mannock John (1683–1744)," in *ODNB*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/64936>.

77 On Edward Lutton (1638–1713), see A.F. Allison, "The English Augustinian Convent of Our Lady of Syon at Paris: Its Foundation and Struggle for Survival during the First Eighty Years, 1634–1713," *RH* 21 (1993), 451–96, particularly 469–85, and Anstruther, 3:55–56.

78 Helen Hackett, "Women and Catholic Manuscript Networks in Seventeenth-Century England: New Research on Constance Aston Fowler's Miscellany of Sacred and Secular Verse," *RQ* 65 (2012), 1094–124; and Victoria Van Hyning, "Exchanges of Letters," in Hallett, *Life Writing* 1, 263–306. See also the Huddleston letters: Ely, Cambridgeshire Archives, K488/C1.

79 Adam Hamilton (ed.), *The Chronicle of the English Augustinian Canonesses Regular of the Lateran at St. Monica's at Louvain*, vol. 2 (London: 1906), 24–25.

80 See Table 4.1 below.

decades were periods of high recruitment. It has been argued that reduction of penalties against Catholics in 18th-century England reduced the need for institutions in exile to satisfy demand for Catholic education for girls and convents, leading to a reduction in girls and women going abroad. However, the table shows only a slow and uneven decline from the 1740s, with numbers at the Sepulchrines holding up well over four decades, while the Poor Clares at Aire had their highest profession rate per decade ever in the 1770s. Variations over time within orders suggest that potential recruits were influenced by internal factors such as news seeping out from the convent about conditions there and the quality of leadership of particular superiors: strong leaders tended to attract more candidates.

3 How Significant Were the Exilic Communities?

This short summary can do no more than suggest a few ways in which the convents influenced religious life for Catholic women from the British Isles during the recusant period: much more remains to be said of these important religious institutes. The enclosed English convents attracted members (around 3900 in the database) and supporters from most of the elite Catholic families in Britain whose interconnectedness can now be seen in the family trees published on the *Who Were the Nuns?* website and discussed by Katharine Keats-Rohan.⁸¹ Within convents were aunts, cousins, mothers, daughters, and even grandmothers, as well as more distant kin. These extended family networks were essential to the survival of the convents. Families varied considerably in their practice of choosing cloisters. A few, like the Gascoigne family from Yorkshire, focused on one house over a long period of time; others, such as the East Anglian Bedingfields, the Sheldons, and the Petres, spread across a number of houses even within the same generation.⁸² As expected, many members came from families who also supported the male institutions in exile and, like Mother Mary Augustina More (1753–1807) in Bruges, were connected

81 See <http://wwtn.history.qmul.ac.uk/search/search.html>. For information in print, see Katharine Keats-Rohan, *English Catholic Nuns in Exile, 1600–1800: A Biographical Register* (Oxford: 2017).

82 William Joseph Sheils, “Bedingfield [Bedingfeld] Family (per. 1476–1760),” in *ODNB*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/68203> and Robert G.E. Wood, “Petre Family (per. 1633–1801),” in *ODNB*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/64188>.

to martyrs.⁸³ The membership lists of the convents include already familiar surnames such as Percy, Howard, Plowden, Caryll, and Arundell.

In addition, it is now possible to identify members whose families had uncertain or mixed religious affiliation. Some of these, such as Richard Weston, 1st Earl of Portland (d. 1635), performed significant roles at the court of Charles I, ending his career as lord treasurer.⁸⁴ There were open rumors of his Catholicism, especially as his wife Frances Waldegrave was from a leading Essex Catholic family. Portland was only the first of the family to act as benefactor to the English convents, donating money for building to the Louvain Augustinians.⁸⁵ His granddaughters were brought up Protestant, but all three were converted at the Rouen convent as schoolgirls and later entered there. The career of their father Jerome, 2nd Earl of Portland (1605–63) in the English court demonstrates that being associated with the convents in exile was not necessarily the end of all political or social influence in the home country. Although the majority of members of the English convents were from Catholic landed families, surviving sources show a range of occupations recorded – for instance, Elizabeth Newlin (1737–86), the daughter of an Anglican clergyman in Sussex, and two members at Gravelines whose fathers are described as “yeoman”: Mary Booth (1657–59) and Helen Barrow (1758–63). Mary Dennett (1749–81), who professed as Christina of the Sacred Heart with the Sepulchrines at Liège, was a choir nun with a complicated religious background, who went on to have a distinguished career in the convent. Her Protestant father died, and her mother returned to her original Catholic faith in which she brought up her children.⁸⁶ Scholastica Higginson (1671–1730) of Lancashire, a convert, defied her Protestant parents to join the Pontoise Benedictines and was professed as a lay sister.

Even among the communities described as “English” cloisters, there were other nations represented as members: among the names of professed nuns (choir and lay) are a minority of Irish, Scottish, and Welsh. The *Who Were the Nuns?* database records 22 members with Scottish connections and 40 with links to Wales. The latter increases by five, if Monmouthshire with the Morgan

83 Geoffrey Holt, “More, Elizabeth [Name in Religion Mary Augustina] (d. 1807),” in *ODNB*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/76343>.

84 Brian Quintrell, “Weston, Richard, 1st Earl of Portland (bap. 1577, d. 1635),” in *ODNB*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/29126>.

85 Douai Abbey, Berkshire, Collection of Priory of Our Lady, Lewes, benefactors’ book, Louvain P2, 1–2.

86 *History of the New Hall Community of Canonesses Regular of the Holy Sepulchre* (Roehampton: 1899), 49.

family is included with Wales. A number of locals (mainly as lay sisters) were invaluable to the convents in terms of languages spoken, local contacts, and practical skills in marketing. A steady trickle of women and girls from North America began to arrive early in the 18th century, mostly from Maryland, with a few from West Indian islands. Conditions in Maryland in the period had become increasingly difficult for Catholics with the passing of discriminatory laws. Like the English, if they wanted a Catholic education or to follow the religious life, Marylanders had to go into exile. The first transatlantic arrival noted among the members is Mary Digges (1722–57), who entered at Liège in May 1721, and by 1786, 56 young women with American connections had professed at 16 different convents. An interesting family story remains to be investigated around the profession of five daughters of Isidore Lynch, originally of Cork, Ireland, and his wife Judith Meade from a planter family in Montserrat. Three of the daughters professed with the Irish Benedictines at Ypres and two with the Sepulchrines at Liège. By the end of the century, enough support had been gathered for a group of four Carmelite choir nuns, led by Marylanders Bernadina Matthews (1755–1800) from the Carmel at Hoogstraten and Fr Charles Neale (1751–1823), a former Jesuit, to travel in the opposite direction. They departed in May 1790 in order to open the first English convent in America at Port Tobacco, near Baltimore, Maryland, a community that survives in the area to this day.

As well as providing spiritual homes for a substantial number of Catholic women and their daughters from the British archipelago, the convents in exile were able to serve the Catholic community in exile in other ways.⁸⁷ One important function, possible even for enclosed communities, was to provide a safe haven or other support in times of need, whether caused by political events or other forms of crises. There are several instances where convents took in boarders who appeared to have been experiencing personal problems.⁸⁸ Senior leaders of the convents involved themselves directly in Stuart politics on a number of occasions. For instance, Abbess Mary Knatchbull (1628–96) at Ghent decided to involve herself in the activities of the future Charles II in exile in the 1650s; other communities received royal visits in May 1692, such as that of Dowager Queen Catharine of Braganza (1638–1705), traveling from England to Portugal, received by the Poor Clares in Rouen.⁸⁹ The Rouen chronicles refer

87 Documents illustrating the spiritual life of the English enclosed convents may be found in Bowden, *English Convents in Exile*, part 1, vol. 2, *Spirituality*, ed. Laurence Lux-Sterritt.

88 See, for example, accounts of a mother and daughter in 1658 both seeking separations from their husbands while living as boarders, in Bowden, *Chronicles of Nazareth*, 45–49.

89 Caroline M.K. Bowden, "Knatchbull, Mary (1610–1696)," in *ODNB*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/refodnb/66452>; discussed in Claire Walker, "Loyal and Dutiful Subjects: English Nuns and Stuart Politics," in *Women and Politics in Early Modern England, 1450–1700*, ed. James

briefly to the assistance in the form of lodgings they provided “to our Catholick friends” after the revolution of 1688 when some of them were forced to leave England.⁹⁰ Some of the convents were always more closely involved with the Stuarts than others, and the failure of the 1745 rebellion altered the political perspective, with a general acceptance that the Hanoverians were permanently established.

For the convent leaders, there were always compromises to be made and fine lines to be drawn between allowing boarders and patrons access to convent space without compromising the peace and sanctity of the enclosure. Prioress Lucy Herbert (1693–1744) permitted members of her family to reside in the convent in Bruges. It brought benefits in terms of donations and candidates for profession, but there were obviously drawbacks. According to the chronicles, following her death in 1744, her successor as prioress immediately decided that no new boarders were to be admitted into the cloister.⁹¹ As with most schemes for earning money for the community, a constant eye had to be kept on balancing need against intrusion. On the whole, the boarders, like chaplains, occupied rooms within convent precincts but outside the enclosure, and as a result had more contact with the outside world. At the same time, they were expected to attend part of divine office and thus moved between the secular and religious worlds, and were able to observe and report on both. The schools established in a number of convents further widened the network of contacts, with some of them attracting Protestant schoolgirls as well as Catholic.⁹² Schools were established by Mary Ward sisters in Munich, Hammersmith, and York; the canonesses at Liège, Bruges, and Paris; and the Blue Nuns in Paris. They were of particular importance to English Catholics, with curricula designed to attract parents of girls who had no intention of entering religious life, as well as those thinking of becoming nuns. The schooling of English Catholic girls in convent schools, whether they attended one of the English convent schools or one of the French convent boarding schools, was another way of bringing

Daybell (Aldershot: 2004), 228–42. For Catharine of Braganza at Rouen, see Bowden, *History Writing*, 329–40.

90 Bowden, *History Writing*, 325.

91 Bowden, *Chronicles of Nazareth*, 322–24.

92 On the role of Irish convents and schooling, see Andrea Knox, “Nuns on the Periphery? Irish Dominican Nuns and Assimilation in Lisbon,” in *Catalonia and Portugal: The Iberian Peninsula from the Periphery*, ed. Flocel Sabaté and Luís Adão da Fonseca (Bern: 2015), 311–26; for English convents and schooling, see Caroline Bowden, “Convent Schooling for English Girls in the ‘Exile’ Period 1600–1800,” in Morwenna Ludlow, Charlotte Methuen, and Andrew Spicer (eds), *Churches and Education* (Studies in Church History) 55 (Cambridge: 2019), 177–204.

English Catholicism closer to the continental experience. Schools established by the English convents appealed to local parents as well as English; and unlike membership of the convents, there were few restrictions on the ethnicity of those attending. Even enclosed convents could be closely bound in to their neighborhoods through their pupils and families.

Following nearly a century of foundations, the 18th century was a period of consolidation with only one new foundation: the Carmel in Maryland in 1790. In Europe convent schools continued to attract pupils, recruitment of members was largely steady, and there is no evidence of the great turmoils or scandals of the previous century. Even in the 1790s, professions remained in double figures for the Augustinians at Louvain and the Sepulchrines at Liège. The convents appear to have been widely accepted in their communities. The failure of the Pontoise community in 1786 appears to have been the result of a combination of financial problems that they brought with them when they moved from Boulogne in 1658, combined with a long decline in the numbers of entrants and the consequent loss of capital injection from dowries. Surviving members were dispersed to other communities and the results of the auction used to clear debts. Other communities continued to attract some new members, although they were replacing deaths rather than expanding in size.⁹³ However, there was little sense of the end of an era.

4 The End of Exile?

By the end of the 18th century, a number of factors came together to drive the exiled nuns in Flanders and France away from the convents they had created and to consider uprooting themselves to home soil. It is clear that there had been some profound shifts in attitudes and expectations on both sides of the Channel in the latter part of the exile period that influenced decisions taken in the convents at the end of the 18th century.⁹⁴ Firstly, they included challenges to monastic life from influential philosophers of the Enlightenment led by Diderot (1713–84), particularly focusing on enclosed communities, seen as inward-looking and having no social purpose.⁹⁵ Such negativity led to the closure of the indigenous contemplative houses in the Southern Netherlands by Joseph II in 1782. We can see this discussed in the Bruges chronicle where the

93 See figures in Figure 4.1 and Table 4.1.

94 Tonya Moutray, *Refugee Nuns, the French Revolution, and British Literature and Culture* (Abingdon: 2016), 62–68.

95 Moutray, *Refugee Nuns*, 22 and 62.

English nuns recognized that their school allowed them to argue the case for their survival.⁹⁶ In any case, English convents contended that they should not be subject to laws made to close down local communities. Carmen Mangion has shown how similar arguments were used by the English convents in France when the revolutionary government suppressed French religious houses in 1792.⁹⁷ It did not stop the revolutionaries from imprisoning English nuns in Paris in the cloister of the Augustinian canonesses between November 1794 and March 1795 and confiscating precious objects, but at least they did not suffer the fate of 16 French Carmelites of Compiègne who were sent to the guillotine on 17 July 1794. Written retrospectively and inserted into their chronicle, the Augustinian account of this period vividly illustrates daily life for several hundred women imprisoned in the middle of the revolution with close proximity to death.⁹⁸ The canonesses remained in central Paris throughout the revolution, saved by the execution of Maximilien Robespierre on 28 July 1794, only leaving France in 1911.

The English government offered a safe haven and pensions, but was England really home, and was it safe? It was not long since Catholics in London had been threatened by mob violence in the Gordon Riots of 1780 – could England really take them in and protect them? The convents were the beneficiaries of a changed climate of opinion and a change in the law with the passing of the second Relief Act in 1791, which legalized Catholic worship in England. However, Mangion argues that it does not seem from the documents she has studied for the 1790s that the English nuns were preparing to leave Paris any-time soon and that it was the impact of the Revolutionary Wars that tipped the balance. In fact, the Augustinians in the Rue Fossés Saint-Victor remained in Paris throughout the Revolution. Some communities experienced greater hardship in the removal than others. For instance, at Rouen and Cambrai soldiers invaded the English convent buildings, and the nuns were able to save very few of their belongings. On the other hand, in 1794 at Liège, the canonesses anticipated what was coming and made an orderly retreat with the belongings carefully packed in boxes, allowing them to bring much of their cultural heritage with them to England. However, as for the other communities, the experience of the journey was very hard. At Aire, the Poor Clares stayed put until 1799 because they did not feel immediately threatened. For others, the journey as refugees having to cross the Channel, experiencing roughness of manners,

96 Bowden, *Chronicles of Nazareth*, 431.

97 Carmen Mangion, "Avoiding 'Rash and Imprudent Measures': English Nuns in Revolutionary Paris, 1789–1801," in Bowden and Kelly, *English Convents in Exile*, 247–64.

98 Augustinians of Paris, "Diurnall," in Mangion, *Convents and the Outside World*, 351–56.

extortion, cruelty, and dishonesty, was very similar to the plight of refugees today. Settling in England was for the nuns complicated, disruptive, and raised questions regarding their sense of identity.⁹⁹ Support for the refugee nuns came from a number of sources. Existing patronage networks including members of old Catholic families, such as the Jerninghams, Arundells, and Gages, brought offers of accommodation. J.P. Coghlan, the Catholic printer with two daughters at the Poor Clares in Aire, offered material help with the removal and with finding temporary accommodation in London.¹⁰⁰ Some assistance came from within the communities of nuns themselves; for instance, the convent at Hammersmith founded by the Mary Ward sisters in 1669 provided a base for the refugee Benedictines from Dunkirk, who were themselves able to open a school to earn money for their own support. Other communities found England less welcoming and reported hostile acts against them. Some nuns did not venture out in their habits for fear of being spat on.

For some communities the sojourn in England was to be temporary – for instance, the Augustinians from Bruges voted to leave Hengrave Hall in Suffolk and return to their old home as soon as circumstances created by the Peace of Amiens (1802) permitted. It was not that they felt unwelcome; alterations had been made to the house by the Gage family, they had permission to wear their habits, and they received many visitors to their services in the chapel. So, why did they leave England? They missed their “beloved” convent, its surroundings, and their neighbors: it was where they felt at home. In spite of the passage of relief acts, legislation continued to restrict their ability to recruit new members and schoolgirls with Protestant fathers. It was uncertain whether they would be able to survive in England. For other communities, remigration to England had allowed them to make new beginnings. The complexity of the ending reflects the variety of the exile experience. This dislocation cost many of the communities dear. They lost not only their homes and the lives of some of their elderly and frailer members, but also many of their books, documents, and cultural heritage. The Sepulchrines were unusual in their orderly removal, losing only one of their boxes. For some communities, the dislocation continued well into the 19th century as uncertainty led to a drop in numbers, and amalgamations took place. Both Irish communities continued in Europe: the Dominicans remained in Lisbon until 2016 and the Benedictines were at Ypres until the outbreak of war in 1914. In Lisbon the English Bridgettines suffered the effects of the Napoleonic Wars and found themselves lodged with the Irish

99 See Moutray, *Refugee Nuns*, for discussion of this period.

100 Bowden, “Les Clarisses anglaises d’Aire-sur-la-Lys,” 279–81.

Dominicans for a time: their journey to England happened in two stages in the 19th century. The Augustinian Canonesses remained in Paris throughout the Revolution, only moving to the suburbs in the mid-nineteenth century when displaced by major construction works in the city.

The question was: was it coming home or starting again? It was not the kind of “homecoming” that many had envisaged, and in some convents there was a reluctance to give up what they had created in exile. Some communities found suitable premises in England quite quickly, but for others it was a process of adjustment that lasted half a century before they found or built accommodations where they settled permanently.

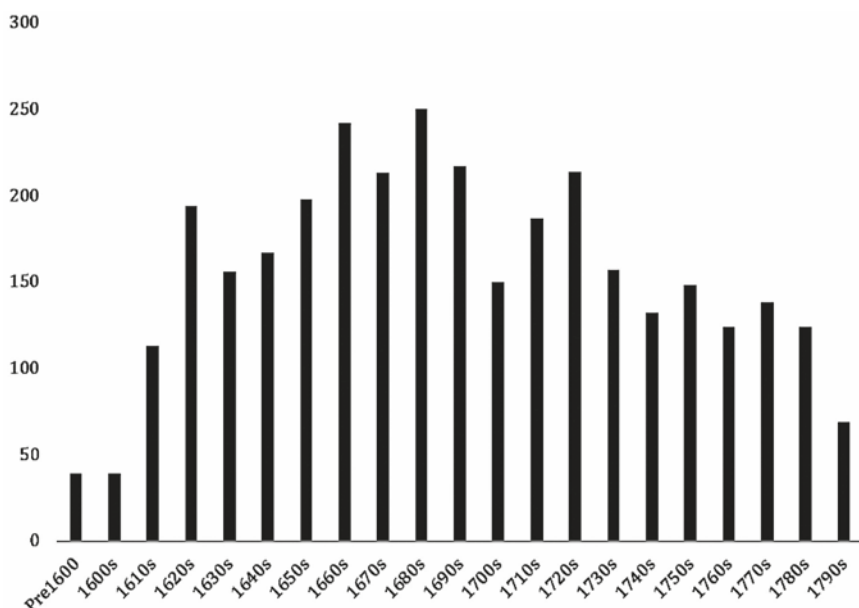


FIGURE 4.1 Professions at the enclosed convents during the exile period

TABLE 4.1 Professions at the enclosed convents during the exile period

	bef 1600	1600s	1610s	1620s	1630s	1640s	1650s	1660s	1670s	1680s	1690s	1700s	1710s	1720s	1730s	1740s	1750s	1760s	1770s	1780s	1790s	TOTALS
Augustinians					8	3	21	12	8	27	17	14	12	16	7	13	10	4	10	7	7	196
Bruges																						
Augustinians	25	3	27	45	12	3	15	15	11	16	14	13	17	18	13	8	6	9	5	9	11	295
Louvain																						
Augustinian			1	1	17	24	17	15	12	22	19	11	7	11	2	4	5	6	9	6		189
Paris																						
Benedictines	1	27	31	19	2	1	19	9	3	3	8	3	10	6	10	7	10	1	3	9	4	186
Brussels																						
Benedictines				21	10	19	13	4	9	9	10	10	6	6	3	4	6	4	4	4	1	143
Cambrai																						
Benedictines								5	11	8	11	7	5	12	9	11	8	3	6	2	1	99
Dunkirk																						
Benedictines				16	36	26	21	24	2	10	5	11	15	16	14	5	5	4	6	7	2	225
Ghent																						
Benedictines							2	14	4	8	4	1	2	1	1	2	3	6	3	6	1	58
Paris																						
Benedictines							9	28	28	10	6	3	8	9		4	7	1	8			121
Pontoise																						
Benedictines																						
Ypres								1		2	1	8	6	5	12	2	1	0	4	9	3	54

TABLE 4.1 Professions at the enclosed convents during the exile period (*cont.*)

	bef 1600	1600s	1610s	1620s	1630s	1640s	1650s	1660s	1670s	1680s	1690s	1700s	1710s	1720s	1730s	1740s	1750s	1760s	1770s	1780s	1790s	TOTALS
Bridgettines	10	9		5	5	8	6	8	3	9	12		4	7	8	7	4	3	7	6	2	133
Carmelites		2	16	19	23	8	4	5	6	6		6	6	6	6	3	7	4	2	5	1	135
Antwerp							1		2	8	6	4	5	4	5	4	8	4	3	5	1	60
Carmelites																						
Hoogstraten																						
Carmelites						11	3	7	8	5	5	4	5	2	4	6	4	4	2	7	7	80
Lierre																						
Conceptionists							10	13			3	7	3	7	5	9	4	3	4	4	1	73
Dominicans							9	11	6	3	7	6	3	8		9	3	3	1	4	5	75
Franciscans			37	19	22	11	12	13	15	9	6	10	14	16	7	9	15	4	6	6		231
Poor Clares			8	6	4	12	10	8	8	8	8	7	6	10	3	8	8	18	2			126
Aire																						
Poor Clares						1	7	14	19	20	5	7	14	8	9	6	4	2	2			118
Dunkirk																						
Poor Clares	3	42	34	20	17	9	20	14	24	23	11	21	18	3	11	9	9	2	4			294
Gravelines																						
Poor Clares					1	9	20	23	21	21	2	13	15	10	7	9	14	10	5	1		181
Rouen																						
Sepulchres					14	21	10	10	11	6	8	13	15	5	8	8	15	25	15	15		199
TOTALS	39	39	113	194	156	167	198	242	213	250	217	150	187	214	157	132	148	124	138	124	69	3271

Catholic Laywomen

Activist Piety, Agency, and Strategic Resistance

Colleen M. Seguin

Laywomen's prominence in the maintenance and promotion of early modern English Catholicism has long been acknowledged. John Bossy argued that "to a considerable degree, the Catholic community owed its existence to gentlewomen's dissatisfaction at the Reformation settlement of religion, and ... they played an abnormally large part in its early history."¹ Multiple local studies have demonstrated women's predominance in the legal and ecclesiastical records of recusancy.² With their religion under siege, women attained exceptional influence within post-Reformation Catholic households. In Yorkshire in 1592, Fr John Mush stated, "that the gentlemen were much fallen off, but the gentlewomen stood steadfastly to" their commitment to Catholicism and its priests.³ Early modern Protestants also frequently remarked on the devotion of women to Catholicism, an indication for them of the religion's allure for the credulous and superstitious. Bossy noted the "active and proselytising" recusancy of many married women and contended that Protestantism's changes to ritual, closing of convents, and rejection of a priesthood that might ally with women could have rendered the new faith less appealing than the old.⁴ Alexandra Walsham

1 John Bossy, *The English Catholic Community, 1570–1850* (London: 1975), 153 and 158.

2 For example, see Sarah L. Bastow, "'Worth Nothing, but Very Wilful': Catholic Recusant Women of Yorkshire, 1536–1642," *RH* 25 (2001), 591–603; William J. Sheils, "Household, Age and Gender among Jacobean Yorkshire Recusants," in *English Catholics of Parish and Town, 1558–1778: A Joint Research Project of the Catholic Record Society and Wolverhampton University*, ed. Marie B. Rowlands (CRS Monograph Series) 5 (London: 1999), 139–42; Constance Fraser, "Recusant Wives, Widows and Daughters," *Northern Catholic History* 33 (1992), 3–8; Emma Watson, "Disciplined Disobedience? Women and the Survival of Catholicism in the North York Moors in the Reign of Elizabeth I," in *Discipline and Diversity: Papers Read at the 2005 Summer Meeting and the 2006 Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society*, ed. Kate Cooper and Jeremy Gregory (Rochester: 2007), 295–306.

3 London, PRO/TNA, SP 12/242/122.

4 Bossy, *English Catholic Community*, 157–58. On the Catholic contemplative tradition's appeal for some women, see Christine Newman, "The Role of Women in Early Yorkshire Recusancy: A Reappraisal," *Northern Catholic History* 30 (1989), 13–16. On Catholicism's intellectual appeal for women, see Claire Cross, "The Religious Life of Women in Sixteenth-Century Yorkshire," in *Women in the Church*, ed. WJ. Sheils and Diana Wood (Oxford: 1990),

argues that women's prominence among the recusant ranks occurred because of a "natural division of labour in the management of dissent" in which female religious resistance was less risky for familial fortunes than men's.⁵ In contrast, Michael Questier asserts that, "pressure, statutory as well as social, militated against female dissidence."⁶

While understandings of the motivations behind women's fervor for Catholicism vary, there is agreement that recusancy was a realm in which women were dominant. Bossy went so far as to famously call the period ending ca. 1620 a "matriarchal era."⁷ One might assume that there would have been a flowering of scholarship on this topic when women's history gained more prominence within the historical profession in the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s. Yet Marie Rowlands's classic 1985 article stands nearly alone from that era; the study of early modern Catholic women was much slower to attract academic interest than was that of their Protestant contemporaries.⁸ Interest in Margaret Clitherow and Mary Ward always maintained some foothold in Catholic scholarship, but the broader population of recusant women lagged behind in drawing attention from modern historians of women. The last two decades have seen enormous growth in the scholarship on English nuns as well as a great deal of publication on Catholic women writers, notably advanced by the work of Frances Dolan and her discussion of Catholic women in the Protestant imagination.⁹

In part, the neglect of laywomen who are not authors stems from the understandable appeal of searching for "agency" in the history of women, as a corrective to an unrelenting narrative of oppression. The challenge here is what "counts" as agency for modern scholars; for some, religious belief, particularly Catholic belief, can be seen as a retrograde affront to autonomy. Ken Jackson and Arthur Marotti assert that for many years, "lower-profile Catholic women, especially nuns, were not deemed worthy of attention because they

320. On Protestantism's negative effects on single women, see Retha Warnicke, *Women of the English Renaissance and Reformation* (Westport: 1983), 178–81.

5 Alexandra Walsham, *Church Papists: Catholicism, Conformity and Confessional Polemic in Early Modern England* (London: 1993), 81.

6 Michael C. Questier, *Conversion, Politics and Religion in England, 1580–1625* (Cambridge, Eng.: 1996), 148. See also Peter Lake and Questier, *The Trials of Margaret Clitherow: Persecution, Martyrdom and the Politics of Sanctity in Elizabethan England* (London: 2011), 20–22.

7 Bossy, *English Catholic Community*, 158.

8 Marie B. Rowlands, "Recusant Women, 1560–1640," in *Women in English Society, 1500–1800*, ed. Mary Prior (New York: 1985), 149–80.

9 On nuns, see chap. 4 in this volume. Frances E. Dolan, *Whores of Babylon: Catholicism, Gender, and Seventeenth-Century Print Culture* (Ithaca: 1999), 4.

didn't conform to modern expectations about the most commendable forms of female agency."¹⁰ Phyllis Mack notes that the 18th-century Quaker women whom she studies "defined agency not as the freedom to do what one wants but as the freedom to do what is right. ... [A]gency implied obedience as well as the freedom to make choices and act on them."¹¹ Amy Hollywood argues that we should think critically about "feminist historiography's emancipatory presumptions." In reference to Mechthild of Magdeburg, Hollywood notes, she "desires freedom, but a very different freedom from that sought by modern feminisms."¹² Mack and Hollywood's caveats are helpful to keep in mind when studying recusant women; agents whose desire "to do what is right" meant to fulfill their traditional female religious duties by any means possible within a new context of persecution. Their situation can be usefully compared to that of Muslim and crypto-Jewish women in early modern Spain.¹³ All are case studies of how women coped when religious and governmental authorities perceived their traditional, quotidian activities as dangerous. So, too, these cases illustrate the unusual opportunities for female religious activism under persecution, in which women might take on unprecedented and unanticipated responsibilities.¹⁴ Without eliding the reality that in the Morisca and conversa experiences Catholics were the persecutors, and in the recusant experience Catholics were the persecuted, it is worth noting the similarities among these women's lots. For example, Mary Elizabeth Perry poses a series of questions about Moriscos that could profitably be applied to recusants as well. She writes:

How did Moriscos survive in an increasingly hostile environment, and how did they attempt to preserve their culture? How did traditional gender roles change in the context of oppression? What insights can the lives of these women provide in a study of minority strategies for surviving among hostile and suspicious neighbors? How did women lead

10 Ken Jackson and Arthur F. Marotti, "The Turn to Religion in Early Modern English Studies," *Criticism* 46 (2004), 171.

11 Phyllis Mack, "Religion, Feminism, and the Problem of Agency: Reflections on Eighteenth-Century Quakerism," *Signs* 29 (2003), 156.

12 Amy Hollywood, "Gender, Agency, and the Divine in Religious Historiography," *Journal of Religion* 84 (2004), 528.

13 On the situation of persecuted Catholic women in Japan, see Haruko Nawata Ward, *Women Religious Leaders in Japan's Christian Century, 1549–1650* (London: 2016).

14 For further development of this point, see Lisa McClain, *Divided Loyalties? Pushing the Boundaries of Gender and Lay Roles in the Catholic Church, 1534–1829* (New York: 2018).

and energize resistance against oppression? How did they transform the home into a space of resistance?¹⁵

The following discussion will shed light on these questions through assessment of Catholic/recusant women's public image, legal status, work as priest harborers, roles as wives and mothers, and participation in print culture.

1 Anti-Catholic Caricatures and Crises

Early modern English Protestants held a variety of images of recusant women, none of them either flattering or accurate, many of them salaciously fixated on their relationships with priests. These stereotypes demonstrated contempt in various ways. Some particularly decried Catholic women's presumed ignorance and gullibility, which were believed to render them sexual and financial victims of predatory priests, particularly Jesuits.¹⁶ In contrast, others feared the seemingly dangerous ungodly alliance between women and Catholic clerics, seeing it as a threat to the patriarchal authority of husbands and the political authority of the state. As Frances Dolan argues, "often fantasies and representations linked Catholics and Catholicism to disorderly women."¹⁷ Popular suspicions of the Stuart queens and their Catholicism, especially the religious practices of Henrietta Maria, enhanced fears of potential conspiracies between Catholic women and their clerical allies.¹⁸ Prosecution for recusant conduct was geographically and chronologically erratic. Years of relative calm evaporated quickly in times of perceived national crisis – specifically, during the time of the Armada, Gunpowder Plot, Civil Wars, and Popish Plot.¹⁹ In 1588, as fears of Spanish invasion peaked, "English Catholicism was subject to something

15 Mary Elizabeth Perry, *The Handless Maiden: Moriscos and the Politics of Religion in Early Modern Spain* (Princeton: 2005), 5. See also Renee Levine Melammed, *Heretics or Daughters of Israel? The Crypto-Jewish Women of Castile* (Oxford: 1999).

16 Arthur E. Marotti, "Alienating Catholics in Early Modern England: Recusant Women, Jesuits and Ideological Fantasies," in *Catholicism and Anti-Catholicism in Early Modern English Texts*, ed. Marotti (London: 1999), 1–34.

17 Dolan, *Whores*, 4.

18 On Henrietta Maria, see Dolan, *Whores*; Caroline Hibbard, "Henrietta Maria in the 1630s: Perspectives on the Role of Consort Queens in Ancien Régime Courts," in *The 1630s: Interdisciplinary Essays on Culture and Politics in the Caroline Era*, ed. Ian Atherton and Julie Sanders (Manchester: 2006); Hibbard, "A Cosmopolitan Court in a Confessional Age: Henrietta Maria Revisited," in *Catholic Culture in Early Modern England*, ed. Ronald Corthell et al. (South Bend, Ind.: 2007), 117–34.

19 Dolan, *Whores*, 4–5.

close to a terror.”²⁰ The situation for Catholic women ran the gamut from the legal proceedings the recusant Dorothy Burgoyne’s Hertfordshire neighbors launched against her in order to bring her into line with their understanding of religious conformity, which she seemed to delight in frustrating, to the hanging of Margaret Ward for her assistance with a priest’s prison escape.²¹ Ward was one of about 32 Catholics executed for religion in 1588.²² The dramatic events of 1605 are well known. Governmental officials interrogated many of the prominent female family members and friends of the plotters and their associates (real or imagined). The less prominent case of Eleanor Jackson, who appeared before the Durham Consistory Court in December 1605, demonstrates the credulity that could arise in communities at times of crisis. Jackson was a desperately poor Catholic mother resident in remote Bishop Auckland whose accusers deemed her “a runner uppe and downe from papiste to papiste.”²³ Her years of recusant conduct combined with several cryptic utterances she made – some at alehouses – before the revelation of the Gunpowder Plot persuaded her neighbors that she was an active conspirator. Along with denials of her culpability, Jackson lamented that she and her coreligionists “were but made stone bridges to walke over and be troden on, and she hoped they should have libertie of conscience or ells they should be hanged and driven out of the lande and eased of their sorow.”²⁴ By April, Eleanor Jackson “‘being an obstinate recusante, and no doubt privie to their hellish plot, and a great carrier of newes from house to house,’ had cut her own throat in Durham gaol.”²⁵

During the Stour Valley Riots in 1642, crowds plundered the homes of the extremely wealthy Catholic Elizabeth Darcy, Countess Rivers. She fled for her life, incurring alleged losses of at least £100,000.²⁶ Five months later, Parliament ordered Suffolk authorities to remove arms from Hengrave Hall,

20 Michael Questier, “Conformity, Catholicism and the Law,” in *Conformity and Orthodoxy in the English Church, c.1560–1660*, ed. Peter Lake and Questier (Woodbridge: 2000), 251.

21 Questier, “Conformity,” 251–56. On Ward, see Robert E. Scully, S.J., *Into the Lion’s Den: The Jesuit Mission in Elizabethan England and Wales, 1580–1603* (Saint Louis: 2011), 262–64; and Roland Connelly, *The Women of the Catholic Resistance: In England, 1540–1680* (Edinburgh: 1997), 71–74.

22 Scully, *Lion’s Den*, 232.

23 Joseph B. Gavin, “Reverberations in Durham: The Case of Eleanor Jackson and the Gunpowder Plot,” *RH* 11 (1972), 303.

24 Gavin, “Jackson,” 303.

25 Gavin, “Jackson,” 304.

26 Francis Young, *The Gages of Hengrave and Suffolk Catholicism, 1640–1767* (CRS Monograph Series) 8 (London: 2015), 10; Lyn Boothman and Richard Hyde Parker (eds), *Savage Fortune: An Aristocratic Family in the Early Seventeenth Century* (Suffolk Records Society) 49 (Rochester, N.Y.: 2006), lx–lxi.

where the countess's sister, the widowed recusant Lady Penelope Gage, resided. Gage indicated that she was given advance warning and that upon their arrival, officials "made great apologies to me at theyr coming inne, saying they hoped I would pardon theyr unwilling employment, and that they wer forced to what they did." Gage replied that "the armes had been 100 yeares in catholike's hands, and never hurt a finger of any body, and I wished they never might."²⁷ She further decried the fact that, "We are daily threat[e]ned by the common sort of people, and for our defence have nothing left us."²⁸

The fictitious Popish Plot (1678), the Meal Tub Plot (1679), and the Warming Pan Scandal (1688) marked a decade of Protestant anxiety about James Stuart's Catholicism, both before and after he took the throne. So, too, distrust of Catholic queens was paramount. For example, one element of the Popish Plot was the claim that Catherine of Braganza sought to poison her husband, Charles II. In 1688, Protestant fear of a Catholic male heir to the throne lay at the root of the warming pan myth that Mary of Modena's pregnancy was feigned and that she planned to foist someone else's child into the position of heir apparent. Both the queen's Catholic "fertility counselor and midwife," Elizabeth Cellier and the poet Aphra Behn, predicted in print that the child would be a boy, further stoking suspicions.²⁹ The earlier experiences of Cellier, while far from typical, demonstrate both the continuing threats Catholic women faced and those they were believed to pose. A Catholic convert deeply embedded in her religious community, with a particular devotion to imprisoned Catholics, Cellier repeatedly was deemed threatening by mainstream opinion. She was accused and acquitted of treason for involvement in the Meal Tub Plot. In response, she quickly self-published *Malice Defeated*, "a self-justifying account of" her trial that also accused officials of torturing Catholic prisoners in Newgate.³⁰ She was convicted of libel and heavily fined. Copies of Cellier's book were burned while she was placed on the pillory on three different occasions, enduring verbal and physical assaults.³¹ Across a century, such distrust and legal harassment of recusant women – from commoners to queens – peaked at moments of political crisis. Catholic women functioned within a complex and changeable legal climate that required careful assessment and response.

27 Young, *Gages*, 8.

28 Young, *Gages*, 9.

29 Dolan, *Whores*, 208; Rachel Weil, *Political Passions: Gender, the Family and Political Argument in England, 1680–1714* (Manchester: 1999), 93.

30 Dolan, *Whores*, 161.

31 Dolan, *Whores*, 162.

2 The Legal Context

In the new climate of clandestinity within which Catholic women had to operate, nearly all of the widely acknowledged, traditional responsibilities of “ideal” early modern women were rendered illegal in the face of changes to post-Reformation English law. What proved particularly challenging for the English government to negotiate was the accepted legal identity of the *feme covert* and its fraught relationship with authorities’ desire to make someone responsible for the potentially incendiary activities of Catholic wives.³² The assertion of Thomas Cooper, bishop of Winchester, in 1585 that “no man whose wife is a recusant is sound himself,” nicely captures the assumption of many early modern authorities in church and state that husbands’ reputations were irredeemably tainted by association with their wives’ recusant conduct.³³ Some conformist men surely were angered by the suspicion that their wives cast upon them and by their refusal to submit to patriarchal authority in matters of religion. Church papists exploited the doctrine that husbands and wives were one in the eyes of the law; while husbands were under pressure to conform, wives’ inability to control property of their own rendered their nonattendance at church less risky for familial fortunes.

The proceedings of the York Commission for Causes Ecclesiastical make clear that as early as 1577, authorities had begun to use recognizances to legally fine wives for their recusancy in order to discipline such women, earn income from their intransigence, and “avoid violating coverture unnecessarily.”³⁴ Widely perceived as thorns in the sides of the English church and state, recusant wives’ activities were areas of increasing concern. As John Watson, bishop of Winchester, noted in 1580, the recusant wives of his diocese were unrepentant about their rejection of church attendance. They “do not only contynue obstinate by refusing ... but also do use at their ordinary meetings among themselves unreverende speeches of the Relligion nowe established defacing the same as much as in them lieth.”³⁵ By 1581, the Act to Retain the

32 Jennifer Binczewski notes the complicated status of widows and argues that, although unmarried, “... widows had a sort of cultural, social, and economic coverture.” Binczewski, “Power in Vulnerability: Widows and Priest Holes in the Early Modern English Catholic Community,” *BCH* 35 (2020), 22.

33 PRO/TNA, SP 12/185/17.

34 Karen S. Peddle, “In the Name of the Father: The Elizabethan Response to Recusancy by Married Catholic Women, 1559–1586,” *Feminist Legal Studies* 15 (2007), 309 and 325.

35 J.D. Hanlon, “These Be but Women,” in *From the Renaissance to the Counter-Reformation: Essays in Honor of Garrett Mattingly*, ed. Charles Carter (New York: 1965), 374–75.

Queen's Majesty's Subjects in Their Due Obedience contained elements contradictory to the doctrine of coverture, including a £20 penalty levied upon wives who did not attend church. Ultimately, this provision was left out of the final version of the statute, but as Karen Peddle points out, that reality in no way "prevent[ed] the Commissions for Causes Ecclesiastical from continuing to address wifely recusancy via the recognizance."³⁶ In fact, the commission did not stop taking recognizances from husbands for the conformity of their spouses until one and a half years after the enactment of the statute.³⁷ In yet another attempt to pressure men into making their wives attend church, by 1586 the commission began using them again, despite the fact that recusancy cases were by that point to be handled in the common law courts.³⁸

In 1610, in a 91-to-88 vote, the House of Commons decided to tender the Oath of Allegiance to married women in An Act for the Administration of the Oath of Allegiance and the Reformation of Married Women Recusants. The legislation also stated that if a recusant wife was a recidivist who refused to conform, she was to be imprisoned without bail. Furthermore, a man with a Catholic spouse was barred from holding public office.³⁹ This state of affairs placed more pressure for religious conformity on married women than on single ones.⁴⁰ Over time, the early modern English government developed legislation prohibiting Catholic baptism, education, religious vocations, marriage ceremonies, and burial rites, as well as the possession of Catholic books and religious objects. In particular, authorities sought to eradicate the presence of Catholic clerics in England.

3 Priest Harboring

By far the best known, even legendary, contribution of recusant laywomen to early modern English Catholicism was in sheltering priests.⁴¹ In the years after 1585, when Catholic clerics risked torture and execution for treason if captured on English soil, the role of women, particularly gentry and noblewomen, in

³⁶ Peddle, "Name," 324.

³⁷ Peddle, "Name," 325.

³⁸ Peddle, "Name," 325.

³⁹ Rowlands, "Recusant Women," 155–56.

⁴⁰ Questier, *Conversion*, 147.

⁴¹ On the spiritual elements of these relationships, see Ellen A. Macek, "‘Ghostly Fathers’ and Their ‘Virtuous Daughters’: The Role of Spiritual Direction in the Lives of Three Early Modern English Women," *CHR* 90 (2004), 213–35.

hiding priests in their homes and providing them with financial resources in support of their ministry was of paramount importance; they “provided much of the secular infrastructure of the English mission,” even though they, too, could face execution if discovered.⁴² The opportunities provided by widowhood’s “unique degree of independence” made widows, especially prosperous ones, prominent in this activity.⁴³ Although they “are still difficult to recover from existing records,” Rowlands points out that Catholic working women were also “numerous” and actively engaged in the support of clerics. Examples of such women hiding priests include an unnamed shopkeeper in Newcastle upon Tyne; Mrs Williams, who ran an alehouse in Oxford; and Agnes Rawson, an innkeeper in Yorkshire.⁴⁴ Women ran safe houses for clerics, secretly fed them when they were in hiding, secured supplies of “Mass stuff” and sacramentals, and sparred with pursuivants. In this climate of persecution, both women and priests had crucial roles to play in the maintenance of Catholicism. As the Jesuit historian Henry More noted in reference to the work of Anne Dacre Howard, Countess of Arundel, with her confessor Robert Southwell, he managed to “slip away on occasion, with her approval, to bring assistance to others. Both could take credit for this work of spiritual usefulness, for while he bore the burden of toil and danger, she carried the entire expense.”⁴⁵ Forging such partnerships with the clerics on whose work Catholic religious practice largely depended was a source of pride for many women. As Anne Line famously stated, “I am sentenced to die for harboring a Catholic priest, and so far I am from repenting for having so done, that I wish, with all my soul, that where I have entertained one, I could have entertained a thousand.”⁴⁶ All of the recusant women who are canonized – Line, Margaret Clitherow, and Margaret Ward – were executed for assisting priests. What Peter Lake and Michael Questier say of Mary Ward, Clitherow, and Luisa de Carvajal y Mendoza could be applied more broadly to many female priest harborers:

42 Laurence Lux-Sterritt, “‘Virgo Becomes Virago’: Women in the Accounts of Seventeenth-Century English Catholic Missionaries” *RH* 30 (2011), 538.

43 Binczewski, “Power,” 7.

44 Marie B. Rowlands, “Harbourers and Housekeepers: Catholic Women in England, 1570–1720,” in *Catholic Communities in Protestant States: Britain and the Netherlands, c.1570–1720*, ed. Benjamin Kaplan et al. (Manchester: 2009), 207.

45 Francis Edwards (ed. and trans.), *The Elizabethan Jesuits: Historia Missionis Anglicanae Societatis Jesu (1660) of Henry More* (London: 1981), 238.

46 Robert E. Scully, S.J., “The Lives of Anne Line: Vowed Laywoman, Recusant Martyr, and Elizabethan Saint,” in *Devout Laywomen in the Early Modern World*, ed. Alison Weber (London: 2016), 285.

Through their close association with martyrs and priests, associations forged in the charged and inherently unhierarchical conditions provided by the mission field and the service of the Church under the cross, these women were able to gain access to ... reserves of holiness and spiritual power and use them to legitimate and fuel their own careers as godly women and agents of reformation.⁴⁷

"Unhierarchical conditions" rendered the traditional patriarchal household an inadequate model for recusant women's relationships with priests and with their husbands, given that the exigencies of persecution at times place laywomen and men alike in "a quasi-sacerdotal role."⁴⁸

Women visited prisons and comforted priests as they prepared for execution.⁴⁹ A woman might even act as a "mentor" or "tutor" towards clerics, encouraging them to stiffen their religious resolve.⁵⁰ Bonds among women, their confessors, and clerical colleagues continued even after death. Clitherow and other women went on barefoot pilgrimage to Knavesmire, a site of clerical executions in 1582 and 1583. In the only known biography of a priest written by a recusant woman, Dorothy Arundell provided a remarkable account of her experience of visiting the site of the execution of her confessor, John Cornelius, in 1594:

Being moved by an extraordinary urge to revere the sacred head of the Father, I headed there, and having come fairly close to it, about an arrow's flight away, I saw it crowned with light, exactly like the Moon as I have often seen it.

47 Lake and Questier, *Clitherow*, 205.

48 Alexandra Walsham, "Translating Trent? English Catholicism and the Counter-Reformation," *Historical Research* 78 (2005), 308. On Catholic households, see Walsham, "Holy Families: The Spiritualization of the Early Modern Household Revisited," in *Religion and the Household*, ed. John Doran, Charlotte Metheun, and Walsham (Woodbridge: 2014), 148–60; J.C.H. Aveling, "Catholic Households in Yorkshire, 1580–1603," *Northern History* 16 (1980), 85–101; Patrick McGrath and Joy Rowe, "The Elizabethan Priests: Their Harbours and Helpers," *RH* 19 (1989), 209–33; Colleen Seguin, "Ambiguous Liaisons: Catholic Women's Relationships with Their Confessors in Early Modern England," *Archive for Reformation History* 95 (2004), 156–85.

49 Sarah Covington, "Consolation on Golgotha: Comforters and Sustainers of Dying Priests in England, 1580–1625," *JEH* 60 (2009), 284–85.

50 Michael Mullett, " 'So They Become Contemptible': Clergy and Laity in a Mission Territory," in Kaplan, *Catholic Communities*, 44–46.

She further recalled, “the closer I got to it the more plainly the crown of light appeared to me. I stopped there and beheld it on horseback for about a quarter-hour, until I was stopped from going further by passers by.”⁵¹ From 1595 until 1630, Anne, Countess of Arundel, kept a gold-plated bone from the foot of her confessor, the martyred Robert Southwell, in a reliquary that she wore around her neck and found beneficial for her health.⁵² In 1626, Henrietta Maria famously prayed at Tyburn, the site of many executions of recusants. Stealthy reclamation of executed coreligionists’ mutilated remains was a common practice. The Spanish noblewoman and missionary to the English, Luisa de Carvajal, was the most well-known claimant of martyred priests’ corpses. She and her assistants gathered their dismembered bodies, reverently processed and preserved them, and distributed them as relics to coreligionists in England and on the Continent.⁵³

For their part, priests like John Gerard treasured mementos from their deceased penitents, in his case, the coverlet of Line.⁵⁴ Assured of her sanctity, John Mush invoked the religious intercession of the deceased Clitherow. The bonds between clerics and recusant women were often amiable and mutually beneficial. As Gerard noted, Line “gave up her soul to God in company with the Jesuit martyr, Father Filcock, who had often been her confessor and had always been her friend.”⁵⁵ Some priests, like the confessors of Clitherow; Lady Magdalen Montague; Anne, Countess of Arundel; and Dorothy Lawson, relayed their activities in manuscript and print as formal “lives” that constitute “a post-Reformation subgenre” of Catholic literature, preserving biographies of these women for a broad readership well into the future.⁵⁶

As the legal strictures against Catholics became less rigorous after 1688, female harborers became housekeepers: an important role, yet clearly less replete with dramatic confrontations and sacrifices.⁵⁷ Yet it is important to remember that even in the most perilous times of the penal period tensions over household authority, behavior, and resources – ranging from the minor to

51 Elizabeth Patton, “Dorothy Arundell’s *Acts of Father John Cornelius*: ‘We Should Hear from Her, Herself – She Who Left a Record of It in These Words,’” *ANQ: A Quarterly Journal of Short Articles, Notes, and Reviews* 24 (2011), 57.

52 C.A. Newdigate, “A New Chapter in the Life of B. Robert Southwell, S.J.,” *The Month* (March, 1931), 251.

53 Glyn Redworth, *The She-Apostle: The Extraordinary Life and Death of Luisa de Carvajal* (Oxford: 2008), 210–13.

54 Scully, “Line,” 284.

55 Scully, “Line,” 285.

56 Frances E. Dolan, “Reading, Work, and Catholic Women’s Biographies,” *ELR* 33 (2003), 328.

57 Rowlands, “Harbourers,” 209–10 and 211.

the potentially disastrous – sometimes emerged between Catholic women and priests. Some women chose to protect their children or their familial finances and rejected any opportunities for priest harboring at all. Intense pressure of various kinds, as in the case of Anne Bellamy's apparent sexual assault while in prison for religion, could pit a woman's fears for her own future against the need to protect a priest; Bellamy betrayed both Fr Robert Southwell and her family. Furthermore, given the reality of the frequently hostile relationship between secular clerics and Jesuits, women with particularly fervent allegiance to one of those groups might not be equally willing to assist all priests. For a variety of reasons, women did not always perceive offering support for priests as a risk worth taking.⁵⁸

4 Married Women

In the area of marriage Catholics also engaged in constant assessment of the worldly risks versus spiritual rewards of following their proscribed religious practices.⁵⁹ Obtaining a Catholic wedding ceremony was challenging, since marriages conducted by priests of necessity had to be clandestine ones. Although it is difficult to arrive at more than rough overall estimates of how many Catholics actually had Catholic weddings, there is some suggestive evidence. Fr Nicholas Postgate stated that he married 226 recusant couples in Yorkshire between 1631 and 1665.⁶⁰ Likewise, at least 45.9 per cent of all women listed as recusants in the northwest of England in 1678 and 1679 married their coreligionists clandestinely.⁶¹

The bonds of Catholic matrimony could include mutual endurance of penalties for religion. In 1584, Sir Gervase Clifton wrote a moving letter to Edward Manners, 3rd Earl of Rutland, stating that he had met with

58 Seguin, "Ambiguous Liaisons," 182–83.

59 For sustained discussion of Catholic marriages, see Colleen Seguin, "‘Addicted unto Piety’: Catholic Women in England, 1590–1690" (PhD diss., Duke University, 1997), chap. 2; and McClain, *Divided Loyalties*, chap. 5. On the enduring importance of religious and dynastic priorities in Catholic marriage-making, see Kate Gibson, "Marriage Choice and Kinship among the English Catholic Elite, 1680–1730," *Journal of Family History* 41 (2016), 144–64.

60 Hugh Aveling, "The Marriages of Catholic Recusants, 1559–1642," *JEH* 14 (1963), 83.

61 Michael J. Galgano, "Out of the Mainstream: Catholic and Quaker Women in the Restoration Northwest," in *The World of William Penn*, ed. Richard S. Dunn and Mary Maples Dunn (Philadelphia: 1986), 122.

Sir Thomas Stanhope at Southwell with my Lord Archbishop, and at my departure from him he said he would come to Clifton, and he would have me and all my whole house, man, woman and child, at the church ... I would be sorry his coming should tend to grieve or molest my wife ... And if he should commit her, I would take such part of straitness as she has; for she is my wife and I am bound to her and she to me during life, and [I] would not leave her company as long as she keeps herself a true woman to her Prince.⁶²

A rather different example from a century later demonstrates that Catholic couples engaged in pursuits clearly not designed to uphold the state religion would be punished together for their conduct. John and Anne Heyes of Culcheth were recusant alehouse keepers who “frequently suffer[ed] servants and neighbors to stay tipping in time of divine service and at unseasonable times in the night.” In 1681, local constables ordered the couple to “forbear brewing and selling any ale or beer for the space of three years” as punishment for the disrespect that they had shown towards Protestant church services, a penalty with presumably devastating financial impact.⁶³ In extreme cases, Catholic couples might even choose Continental exile over attempting to follow their faith in England.

In theory, marriages were to occur among socially equal coreligionists; clerics of all stripes fulminated against interfaith unions. Yet in practice, marriages often crossed confessional boundaries. In 1638, the Catholic widow Mary Cole, a servant of the recusant Sir Francis Petre of Cranham Hall, Essex, came before the attorney general Sir John Bankes to answer charges against her. Allegedly, while speaking among the servants in her master’s house, “touching marriages between Protestants and papists, and one of the company demanding why it might not be, in regard the King had matched with a Catholic, the said Mrs. Cole said, if she were as the Queen she would hang the King for dealing so hardly with papists.”⁶⁴ Clearly a comment like Cole’s, smacking as it did of treason, would land her in trouble. What is additionally striking about this encounter, though, is the picture it paints of an informal gathering of servants in a

62 HMC Rutland, vol. 1, Report 12, App. Pt. 4, 166.

63 Galgano, “Out of the Mainstream,” 124. For another recusant couple who fell under governmental suspicion for their work together, see the 1615 case of the evangelizing dance teachers, Robert and Anne Hindmers, in Gašper Jakovac, “A Dancer Made a Recusant: Dance and Evangelization in the Jacobean North East of England,” *BCH* 34 (2018), 273–303.

64 PRO/TNA, SP 16/393/24.

recusant home in which participants freely bandied about the possibility of interfaith marriage.

Sometimes marriages that began as Protestant ones became interfaith when women converted. The butcher's wife, martyr, and saint, Margaret Clitherow, is the most famous example. Such conversions also occurred much higher on the social spectrum, as the cases of Elizabeth Cary, Lady Falkland, and others show, causing great concern to governmental and ecclesiastical officials. As Edward Hoby famously queried in 1609 in his letter "To All the Romish Collapsed Ladies, of Great Britanie,"

Why should you be so respectlesse of those worthy Gentlemen, your husbands, as to cause their honors to be eclipsed, their loyalty suspected, and their advancement hindred, by your recusancie? How do you think he should be reputed wise, who can no better order his owne house? How should he be held fit for government in the State, who cannot bring those that are so neere him to the conformitie of the Church?⁶⁵

The Protestant anxiety over threats to social order so evident in this passage was enhanced by the complicated presence of resident priests in many Catholic households. Such coresidence was challenging, and at times Catholic clerics intruded on relationships between spouses.⁶⁶ Seen by Protestants as inveterate seducers of women who threatened men's control over their wives, priests qualified the wifely obedience that recusant women owed to "heretical" spouses. As Henry Garnet asserted in 1593, "God is to be obeyed before husband or any other." Furthermore, "Your husbands over your souls have no authority, and over your bodies but a limited power: but your heavenly spouse can condemn both unto everlasting fire, or reward both with everlasting bliss."⁶⁷ Neither Hoby's portrayal of recusant wives nor Garnet's limitations on Protestant patriarchs' power over their recusant spouses depicted

65 Dolan, *Whores*, 70. Hoby engaged in a pamphlet debate with the apostate minister Theophilus Higgons. An anonymous "Catholique lady" penned a response to Hoby, defending female freedom of conscience. See Arnold Hunt, "The Lady Is a Catholic: Lady Lovell's Reply to Sir Edward Hoby," *RH* 31 (2013), 411–37; and Christine Peters, "Religion, Household-State Authority, and the Defense of 'Collapsed Ladies' in Early Jacobean England," *SCJ* 45 (2014), 631–57. Hunt and Peters differ in their attribution of authorship of the anonymous manuscript.

66 For an extreme example, see Seguin, "Ambiguous Liaisons," 163–64. See also Seguin, "Addicted unto Piety," 105–06.

67 Henry Garnet, *A Treatise of Christian Renunciation*, in vol. 47 of *English Recusant Literature, 1558–1640*, ed. D.M. Rogers (Menston, Yorkshire: 1970), 83 and 145.

interfaith families as the ideal “little commonwealths” so beloved of Protestant didacticists.

5 Motherhood

Ideally, early modern marriages were to produce children. Like Protestant women, Catholic women had a traditional duty to ensure successful births and then baptize, catechize, and educate their children, ultimately settling them into a religiously grounded, stable adult life. Yet for recusants, the fulfillment of each of these quotidian responsibilities was fraught with challenges. Catholic couples struggling to conceive encountered official prohibition of their religion's solutions for such problems – such as prayers for the intercession of saints or the Blessed Virgin Mary and pilgrimages to holy sites. Nevertheless, Catholics persisted in these forbidden practices. A deck of unflattering playing cards depicted Mary of Modena praying before a statue of Our Lady of Loreto for a male infant. To the chagrin of his Protestant subjects, James II partook in a pilgrimage to St Winefride's Well, Holywell in 1686 to pray for a son.⁶⁸ All women sought assistance to cope with the fears and pain of childbirth. For centuries, an extraordinarily rich world of sacred objects (agni dei, sacred girdles, varied relics) as well as prayers to St Margaret and other – especially female – saints helped them to do so until reformers prohibited these practices.⁶⁹ Acutely aware of how “popish” habits died hard, ecclesiastical officials sought to turn “midwives into shock troops of reform” as early as the 1530s.⁷⁰ In 1571 Archbishop Edmund Grindal of York inquired as to whether or not the midwives of his diocese used “any charms or unlawful prayers, or invocations in Latin, or otherwise.”⁷¹ Midwives were forbidden to allow, much less encourage, Catholic prayers – or to perform or obtain Catholic baptisms – an especially serious concern for church officials. Churchwardens' presentments make clear that some Catholic parents resisted pressures to bring their children to the parish church for baptism and were imprisoned for it. After 1606, the English government imposed a significant fine for evading Protestant baptism.⁷² Some

68 Dolan, *Whores*, 153–55.

69 Mary E. Fissell, “The Politics of Reproduction in the English Reformation,” *Representations* 87 (2004), 67.

70 Fissell, “Reproduction,” 57.

71 Fissell, “Reproduction,” 69.

72 Lucy Underwood, *Childhood, Youth and Religious Dissent in Post-Reformation England* (New York: 2014), 13.

parents skirted the law by having mothers give birth away from their home parishes, making the circumstances of the baptism of their children harder for authorities to uncover.⁷³

Early modern childbirth was often fraught with danger, an occasion in which women turned to religion for solace. Yet some Catholic mothers found themselves particularly in need of the comforts of their traditional religious devotions since in extreme cases the rigors of legal harassment or imprisonment could lead to miscarriage, premature birth, or maternal death. For example, in 1613, Lady Blunt lamented that because of the “pressures, and troubles” of religious persecution “for I can impute it to nothing else, I miscarried of my child, and might then (if God had so pleased) ended those miseries with my own life.”⁷⁴ Emilia Blundell spent time incarcerated with her newborn son, Nicholas, who was “born or at least suckled in prison, where his parents lay ... on account of their faith.”⁷⁵ Such women would welcome the attendance of midwives who were coreligionists. Dorothy Vavasour, a doctor’s wife from York, ran an unofficial maternity hospital that provided Catholic baptisms in the 1570s.⁷⁶ Elite women such as Anne, Countess of Arundel, and Dorothy Lawson were well-known for their avocations as midwives. Yet as Marie Rowlands notes, the fact that professional midwives had to swear in the ecclesiastical courts to uphold mandated religious conduct could place Catholic working women in serious quandaries. So, too, midwives were often expected to go to the parish churching ceremonies for newly delivered mothers; for some, such church attendance could be problematic.⁷⁷ Churching in itself was understood by some as a rite of purification and by others as a ceremony of thanksgiving.⁷⁸ Speaking before the High Commission in 1570, Mrs Lacy of Sherburn in Yorkshire stated:

that holy bread was good, and the world was good when the same was used, and that praying to Our Lady and the other saints was good, and she would use the same, and that she would use in the making of crosses

73 Underwood, *Childhood*, 11–19.

74 London, Westminster Diocesan Archives, A ser., vol. 12, no. 65, p. 140.

75 Peter Davidson et al., “The Harkirk Graveyard and William Blundell ‘the Recusant’ (1560–1638): A Reconsideration,” *BCH* 34 (2018), 30–31.

76 Foley, 3 233–35.

77 Rowlands, “Harbourers,” 208.

78 David Cressy, “Purification, Thanksgiving and the Churching of Women in Post-Reformation England,” *P&P* 141 (1993), 106–46.

upon the font stones at such time as she coming into the church to be purified of her children.⁷⁹

Mrs Lacy apparently had no qualms about being churching by a Protestant minister, but she planned to participate in her own way, interpreting the practice within a constellation of forbidden religious behaviors to which she was devoted. Churching could be more an indication of commitment to sociability and community rather than theology. For example, in Madeley, Shropshire, from 1672 to 1686, not only did Catholic women participate in churching, but the minister willingly performed the ritual even if their children had not been baptized in his church.⁸⁰

As their children grew older, early modern mothers were expected to be actively concerned with their religious education, particularly that of their daughters.⁸¹ The *Life* of Dorothy Lawson makes clear her enthusiastic involvement in the catechization of her children, servants, and neighbors alike.⁸² Lawson's concern for the spiritual development of her servants was also a "mothering function" in which she assumed responsibility for the religious formation of individuals who were her dependents, a common situation for elite women. Support for religious education ranged from informally exposing very young children to Catholic prayers and books to hiring a Catholic layman or sheltering a priest to serve as tutors for older children. In some cases, laywomen themselves actively supported and managed secret Catholic schools. For example, Anne Line ran "a schoolroom of sorts" for young girls in London in the 1590s.⁸³ In 1626, Anne Mostyn allowed a small Jesuit school to be established in her household in Holywell.⁸⁴ In 1635, Sir Francis Coke was sent to investigate the well-known priest harborer Anne Vaux, who was suspected of maintaining a school at Stanley Grange in Derbyshire "where sons of persons of quality are brought up under the tutorage of the Jesuits."⁸⁵ Coke reported that her establishment could accommodate as many as 50 people. In 1674, the unmarried Dalton sisters of Aldcliffe Hall in Lancashire affixed a stone onto their home that proclaimed, "We are Catholic virgins: We scorn to change with

79 Cross, "Religious Life," 317.

80 Sheils, "Household, Age and Gender," 225.

81 On catechizing in general, see Underwood, *Childhood*, chap. 3.

82 William Palmes, S.J., *Life of Mrs. Dorothy Lawson, of St. Anthony's, near Newcastle-upon-Tyne, in Northumberland* (1851).

83 Scully, "Line," 282.

84 Colleen Seguin, "Cures and Controversy in Early Modern Wales: The Struggle to Control St. Winifred's Well," *North American Journal of Welsh Studies* 3 (2003), 10–11.

85 Lux-Sterritt, "Virgo," 543.

the times." Their resident confessor likely ran a "junior seminary" for boys there in the 1680s and 1690s.⁸⁶ By 1710, Alice Harrison ran a school of as many as 100 students in Fernyhalgh, Lancashire.⁸⁷ Although Mostyn was the only one of these school-keeping women who was a mother in a biological sense, clearly all of them believed that they had a responsibility to teach religion and basic academic skills to the next generation of Catholics.

Some families sent their children abroad for education in convents and seminaries, patently illegal conduct after 1585.⁸⁸ Not all youth sent to the Continent were intended to pursue a religious vocation, although many did. Postulants and lay girls often received educations together. The broad curriculum of the Augustinian convent school at Bruges included writing, spelling, casting of accounts, needlework, French, history, Latin, and religion: skills that would serve both lay girls and religious well in the future.⁸⁹ The Augustinian and Sepulchrine orders in particular saw their missions as going beyond solely creating more nuns, striving "both to educate girls to be good Catholic wives and mothers and to recruit new members."⁹⁰ Catholic laywomen, particularly pious widows, could live as lay boarders in Continental convents, some for sustained periods.⁹¹ Catholic mothers usually supported their daughters in the choice of a religious vocation, in many cases not only providing the required dowry but also giving money or goods over many years. Female servants who sought to join convents might receive moral and monetary support from their mistresses in the form of a dowry or other gifts.⁹² Catholic mothers also influenced their sons' decisions to attend seminaries. Nearly a quarter of the young men entering the English College at Rome credited their mothers with their conversion and religious vocation, at times in defiance of their conformist

86 Jane Stevenson, "Women Catholics and Latin Culture," in Corthell, *Catholic Culture*, 63–64.

87 Rowlands, "Harbourers," 211.

88 On laywomen's financial support of convents, see James E. Kelly, "Essex Girls Abroad: Family Patronage and the Politicization of Convent Recruitment in the Seventeenth Century," in *The English Convents in Exile, 1600–1800: Communities, Culture and Identity*, ed. Caroline Bowden and Kelly (Aldershot: 2013), 33–51; on legislation forbidding Catholic education, see Dolan, *Whores*, 140–44.

89 Caroline Bowden, "‘For the Glory of God’: A Study of the Education of English Catholic Women in Convents in Flanders and France in the First Half of the Seventeenth Century," *Paedagogica Historica* 35 (1999), 81.

90 Caroline Bowden, "Community Space and Cultural Transmission: Formation and Schooling in English Enclosed Convents in the Seventeenth Century," *History of Education* 34 (2005), 381.

91 Bowden, "Community Space," 383–84.

92 For examples of Katherine Petre's generosity in such cases, see Kelly, "Essex," 42–43.

fathers.⁹³ In general, mothers were reliable sources of spiritual and material support when their children sought to enter religious life.

Occasionally, however, families fervently opposed religious vocations. Sometimes the reasons were emotional – such as the bleak prospect of never seeing a beloved child again. At other times, the reasons were financial and legal. Alatheia Talbot Howard, Countess of Arundel, and her conformist spouse, Thomas, 21st Earl of Arundel, had raised their grandson, Philip. In 1645, when he was 16, he decided to become a Dominican. His outraged grandmother wrote to Cardinal Francesco Barberini about what she called her grandson's "childish whim." She argued that:

both the divine and natural law appear to me to have been transgressed under the pretext of the holy vocation of a child; and for these reasons, I hope that the shameful cunning of a friar who under the cover of counsel given to my grandson, acquires fresh property for his order ... and the indiscreet zeal of a child risking the life of his grandfather who has always been very fond of him, and the ruin of a family, will not be permitted.⁹⁴

Invoking the popular Protestant image of predatory Catholic clerics, the countess asserted that religious rationales were no compensation for the legal and financial penalties that her family potentially would incur as a result of Philip's actions. Ultimately, after Innocent X personally interviewed the boy, he was allowed to become a Dominican. While there is no record of the countess's response to this decision, the earl disowned his grandson, who ultimately had a highly successful ecclesiastical career.

The majority of Catholic youth were to enter into marriage – ideally unions that were parentally approved. Elite Catholic women who were married had varying levels of involvement in their offspring's marriage negotiations. Catholic widows had much greater influence, although if their children were minors, their situation often was complicated by the legal realities of wardship. In such situations, the monarch appointed a guardian to manage the estate and oversee the child's upbringing, education, and marriage negotiations.⁹⁵ Different strategies could help mothers to retain power. Some mothers arranged for sympathetic crypto-Catholic or Protestant relatives to attain their children's wardship. In 1595, the widowed Lady Elizabeth Vaux bought her seven-year-old son's

93 Patricia Crawford, *Women and Religion in England, 1500–1720* (London: 1993), 60–61.

94 *Dominicana: Cardinal Howard's Letters, English Dominican Friars, Nuns, Students, Papers and Mission Registers* (CRS) 25 (London: 1925), 14–15.

95 Dolan, *Whores*, 138. See also Underwood, *Childhood*, chap. 4.

wardship from Richard Frampton, a servant of William Cecil, Lord Burghley.⁹⁶ For their part, Catholic relatives could try to limit women's input in marriage negotiations. In 1608, the widow Agnes Wilford Throckmorton expressed her irritation at her father-in-law Thomas Throckmorton's failure to consult her about plans for her son Robert's marriage. She stated that his conduct " 'did not a littell greave me ... that I shoulde be made a stranger in thes procedinges' and asked him to consider whether 'it wolde not greve a mother that hath broght a childe into the worlde with grefe, paine, and danger of my life, to have aney caus geven to thinke that I shoulde be made a stranger in his bestoinge.'"⁹⁷ Agnes Throckmorton's ongoing involvement in her children's lives was apparent in the mid-1620s when she wrote to her adult sons in order to express her concern that they were involved in horseracing. As she wrote, that information was "very Carfully kept from me till all the Contrye talketh of It that Papists hath so much monis that thaye run It a waye."⁹⁸ For Throckmorton, Catholic mothers' responsibilities both to monitor their children's conduct and to maintain a familial image unlikely to attract undue attention from the authorities were enduring ones.

6 Print Culture

Catholic laywomen have received the most modern academic attention from literary scholars. Catholic women actively participated in early modern print culture as readers, subjects, patrons, printers, distributors, and authors of recusant manuscripts and books. Given their erratic access to priests, recusant women may have been exceptionally dependent on texts for religious guidance. Women's accounts of conversion to Catholicism or decisions to join convents often noted the influence of reading in their processes of spiritual discernment.⁹⁹ The hagiographical, usually clerically authored, "lives" of Catholic women were widely read. Textual dedications reveal Catholic women's activities as literary patrons, although as Susannah Brietz Monta notes, "the study of

96 Patrick Doyle, "Catholics and the Court of Wards," *London Recusant* 1 (1971), 87.

97 Susan Cogan, "Reputation, Credit and Patronage: Throckmorton Men and Women, c.1560–1620," in *Catholic Gentry in English Society: The Throckmortons of Coughton from Reformation to Emancipation*, ed. Geoffrey Scott (London: 2016), 77.

98 Jan Broadway, "Agnes Throckmorton: A Jacobean Recusant Widow," in Scott, *Catholic Gentry in English Society*, 140.

99 Dolan, "Biographies," 331. On Catholic women's reading, see Lisa McClain, *Lest We Be Damned: Practical Innovation and Lived Experience among Catholics in Protestant England, 1559–1642* (New York: 2004), 49–50.

Catholic women patronesses ... has hardly begun.”¹⁰⁰ The material assistance that Anne, Countess of Arundel, extended to the English mission included her support of the establishment of an illegal printing press at one of her residences on which Robert Southwell's *Epistle of Comfort* was printed in 1587.¹⁰¹

Analysis of an inventory of smuggled recusant books from the same year demonstrates the striking prominence of women of gentry status as “intended or confirmed” recipients of these texts. In particular, Agnes Alford both received a primer and was responsible for distributing roughly one-third of the books in the inventory, about 200 volumes.¹⁰² Constance Aston Fowler's manuscript verse miscellany from 1630s Staffordshire demonstrates her work “as a kind of literary agent” involved in collecting, preserving, and circulating both secular and religious verse among her family and friends.¹⁰³ In 1686, a letter from Elizabeth Cornwallis to William Sancroft, archbishop of Canterbury, lamented the financial pressures faced by those who commissioned or carried out the printing of Catholic texts if those books were seized by the authorities.¹⁰⁴

Frances Dolan's assertion that “Catholicism was a spur to women's writing” is amply borne out by the diversity of early modern Catholic women's literary production in print – mother's legacies, plays, translations, theological treatises, poetry, tracts, and novels alike.¹⁰⁵ The most well-known Catholic or crypto-Catholic laywomen writers – Elizabeth Grymston, Elizabeth Cary, Jane Owen, Aphra Behn, Elizabeth Cellier, Jane Barker, and Elizabeth Inchbald – have inspired a vast, rich scholarly discourse. As Jenna Lay notes, “Catholic

100 Susannah Brietz Monta, “Anne Dacre Howard, Countess of Arundel, and Catholic Patronage,” in *English Women, Religion, and Textual Production, 1500–1625*, ed. Micheline White (Aldershot: 2011), 59.

101 Monta, “Anne Dacre Howard,” 65.

102 Earle Havens and Elizabeth Patton, “Underground Networks, Prisons and the Circulation of Counter-Reformation Books in Elizabethan England,” in *Early Modern English Catholicism: Identity, Memory and Counter-Reformation*, ed. James E. Kelly and Susan Royal (Leiden: 2017), 165 and 178. On Catholic women as distributors of cheap print, see Christine Peters, *Patterns of Piety: Women, Gender and Religion in Late Medieval and Reformation England* (Cambridge, Eng.: 2003), 159–60.

103 Helen Hackett, “Women and Catholic Manuscript Networks in Seventeenth-Century England: New Research on Constance Aston Fowler's Miscellany of Sacred and Secular Verse,” *RQ* 65 (2012), 1094. Hackett differs from Deborah Aldrich-Watson in her attribution of authorship for parts of the miscellany. See Deborah Aldrich-Watson (ed.), *The Verse Miscellany of Constance Aston Fowler: A Diplomatic Edition* (Tempe, 2000).

104 Alison Shell, “Intimate Worship: John Austin's *Devotions in the Ancient Way of Offices*,” in *Private and Domestic Devotion in Early Modern Britain*, ed. Jessica Martin and Alec Ryrie (Aldershot: 2012), 274–76.

105 Frances Dolan, “English, Women, Writing, Catholicism,” *Tulsa Studies in Women's Literature* 31 (2012), 243.

women offered their own texts as alternatives to those that cast them as relics or renegades rather than writers.”¹⁰⁶ In so doing, they left a corpus of works that are receiving a great deal of attention in the modern academy.

7 Conclusion

As perusal of the footnotes of this essay indicates, the study of Catholic English laywomen is no longer in its infancy. Going forward, some fruitful new avenues for research present themselves. Scholars could profitably both deepen and broaden their analyses of Catholic women. Peter Lake and Michael Questier’s study of Margaret Clitherow demonstrates how painstaking contextualization even of one of recusancy’s “usual suspects” can yield new insights. So, too, Questier’s discussion of Lady Magdalen Montague contextualizes her within her family and its entourage, rendering that archetypal recusant “matriarch” as a much more complex individual than merely a static emblem of Catholic survival.¹⁰⁷ Jennifer Binczewski’s work on widows makes evident the importance of marital status as a category of historical analysis.¹⁰⁸

Expanding the analysis of Catholic laywomen beyond the level of nobility and gentry would give the field more breadth, as would more historical studies of Catholic women that move into the 18th century.¹⁰⁹ Giada Pizzoni’s

106 Jenna Lay, *Beyond the Cloister: Catholic Englishwomen and Early Modern Literary Culture* (Philadelphia: 2016), 3. Selected works include: on Grymeston, Megan Matchinske, “Gendering Catholic Conformity: The Politics of Equivocation in Elizabeth Grymeston’s *Miscelanea*,” *Journal of English and German Philology* 101 (2002), 329–57; on Cary, Heather Wolfe (ed.), *Elizabeth Cary, Lady Falkland: Life and Letters* (Cambridge, Eng.: 2001); on Behn, Alison Shell, “Popish Plots: *The Feign’d Curtizans* in Context,” in *Aphra Behn Studies*, ed. Janet Todd (Cambridge, Eng.: 1996), 30–49, and Janet Todd, *Aphra Behn: A Secret Life* (London: 2017); on Cellier, Dolan, *Whores*, chap. 4, and Lisa McClain, “Neither Single nor Alone: Elizabeth Cellier, Catholic Community, and Transformations of Catholic Women’s Piety,” *Tulsa Studies in Women’s Literature* 31 (2012), 33–52; on Barker, Kathryn King, *Jane Barker, Exile: A Literary Career, 1675–1725* (Oxford: 2000), and Tonya Moutray McArthur, “Jane Barker and the Politics of Catholic Celibacy,” *Studies in English Literature* 47 (2007), 595–618; and on Inchbald, Annibel Jenkins, *I’ll Tell You What: The Life of Elizabeth Inchbald* (Lexington, Ky.: 2003).

107 Michael C. Questier, *Catholicism and Community in Early Modern England: Policy, Aristocratic Patronage and Religion, c.1550–1640* (Cambridge, Eng.: 2006), esp. chap. 7.

108 Binczewski, “Power.”

109 Marie Rowlands and Emma Watson’s work is noteworthy for inclusion of working women. Rowlands further cites the paucity of research on 18th-century Catholic Englishwomen; Rowlands, “Harbourers,” 212. Karen Gevirtz notes that, “As with women’s involvement with English Catholicism, literary studies is producing the greatest amount of scholarship in 18th-century English Catholicism,” Gevirtz, “Recent Developments in

analysis of the Catholic widow Helena Aylward's career as a merchant (1705–14) demonstrates how different the trajectory of Catholic women's history might look after a number of such case studies.¹¹⁰ An entrepreneurial woman like Aylward, less personally defined or obviously hindered by her religious affiliation, was an active participant in burgeoning commercial culture. Heeding Pizzoni's call for a "third way" of studying Catholic women, moving beyond the convent and the household to include business and economic activity, would increase understanding of Catholic women's experiences.¹¹¹

Along with historicizing "agency," more depth and breadth of analysis would greatly enhance assessment of how early modern Catholic women fit (and did not fit) into broader patterns of women's roles within persecuted religious communities across time and space. Such approaches would help to place English Catholic laywomen squarely into the mainstream of the study of women's history – where they belong.

17th and 18th-Century English Catholic Studies," *Literature Compass* 12 (2015), 54. Gevirtz notes the importance of Clare Haynes's work on Mary Howard, Duchess of Norfolk, as helpfully moving the study of Catholic women into the 18th century; Gevirtz, "Recent Developments," 48; Haynes, "Of Her Making: The Cultural Practice of Mary, 9th Duchess of Norfolk," *Tulsa Studies in Women's Literature* 31 (2012): 77–98.

110 Giada Pizzoni, "Mrs Helena Aylward: A British Catholic Mother, Spouse and Businesswoman in the Commercial Age (1705–1714)," *BCH* 33 (2017), 603–21, esp. 606–07 and 610–11 on the historiographical contributions of this study.

111 Pizzoni, "Aylward," 621.

Catholic Nobility and Gentry from Reformation to Emancipation

Susan M. Cogan

The nobility and gentry were the landed elite and the powerbrokers of early modern social and political worlds in early modern England. Both groups included wide variations in titles, prestige, and wealth. Throughout the early modern period, members of these upper-status groups struggled to create and maintain their reputations and their fortunes during a time of widespread change. Elites consolidated land, diversified their agricultural operations, and engaged in new forms of economic development such as mining. When successful, these strategies could grow both family fortune and prestige, which in turn moved members of the family closer to the center of state power.

Nobility and gentry comprised a small percentage of the population, yet in the post-Reformation period, they controlled much of the land. Although a demographic minority, these families were the social, economic, and political elite. As the “landed” class, they wielded authority over most of the people who lived on their lands. Late medieval and early modern nobility and gentry collected rents and other fees; arranged for repair of local infrastructure such as roadways and bridges; and marshaled tenants to service in trained bands. Noble and gentry households were also expected to offer munificence and benevolence to the tenants on their estates. Catholics might have regarded this action as distribution of alms, and Protestants as a form of communal charity; either way, the action of distributing relief in the form of food or small change underscored the authority of the elite household and the reputation of the noble or gentry family.

While it might be tempting to think of the nobility and gentry as a monolithic landed class, in reality those groups were quite diverse. They were unevenly distributed throughout the realm, which resulted in differing relationships to power in the counties they inhabited. Their economic profiles displayed wide variation too, both in net income and geographic distribution. Noble families tended to enjoy far richer revenues than did members of the gentry; in the early 1640s, the average net income for a noble family was £5000

per annum.¹ At the same time, annual income for knights (the upper gentry) varied by county, from an average of £1097 in Yorkshire to an average of £873 in Kent.² In early 18th-century Northumbria, noble and gentry estate revenue ranged between £500 and £9000 per annum, roughly in keeping with noble and gentry revenues elsewhere in the realm.³

Noble families were hierarchically divided into five strata: duke, marquess, earl, viscount, and baron. As the title closest to the monarch, dukedoms were rare, and sometimes nonexistent. For example, following the execution of Thomas Howard, 4th Duke of Norfolk for treason in 1572, England had no dukes at all until 1623, when James I created George Villiers the duke of Buckingham. For most of Elizabeth's reign, the majority of nobility were at or below the rank of earl, and some of the most powerful families were viscounts and barons. Anthony Browne, 1st Viscount Montague, for instance, was head of one of the most powerful south-coast families in the late 16th century.⁴ Beginning in the early 17th century, wealthy families with gentle and noble aspirations could buy their way into a lesser order of the nobility, the baronetcy, and hope that would serve as a launchpad to more distinguished noble titles.

Demographically, the 16th and 17th centuries saw rapid growth in the upper-status groups, especially the gentry. During the 16th century in particular, the gentry grew so quickly that modern historians have dubbed the period the "rise of the gentry."⁵ As Felicity Heal and Clive Holmes have noted, it is difficult, if not impossible, to calculate the numbers of early modern gentry, in part because the definitions became so amorphous during that period of rapid

1 Felicity Heal and Clive Holmes, *The Gentry in England and Wales, 1500–1700* (Stanford: 1994), 13–14; Lawrence Stone, *The Crisis of the Aristocracy, 1558–1641* (Oxford: 1965), 762.

2 Heal and Holmes, *Gentry in England and Wales*, 13–14.

3 Leo Gooch, "The Religion for a Gentleman": The Northern Catholic Gentry in the Eighteenth Century," *RH* 23 (1997), 546; Robert D. Hume, "The Value of Money in Eighteenth-Century England: Incomes, Prices, Buying Power – and Some Problems in Cultural Economics," *Huntington Library Quarterly* 77 (2015), 377 and 410.

4 On the other hand, William Vaux, 3rd Baron Vaux's financial ineptitude meant that despite his social prominence, he was economically poorer than some of his gentry neighbors, such as the Montagus of Boughton. Sir Thomas Tresham placed Vaux's income at £600 per annum in 1592. London, BL, Add. MSS 39828, fol. 172; see also Godfrey Anstruther, *Vaux of Harrowden: A Recusant Family* (Newport: 1953), 214–15.

5 R.H. Tawney, "The Rise of the Gentry," *Economic History Review* 11 (1941), 1–38; Tawney, "The Rise of the Gentry: A Postscript," *Economic History Review*, n. s., 7 (1954), 91–97; H.R. Trevor-Roper, "The Gentry, 1540–1640," supplement 1, *Economic History Review* (1953); Lawrence Stone, *The Crisis of the Aristocracy, 1558–1641* (Oxford: 1965). For a summary of the debate, see J.H. Hexter, "Storm over the Gentry: The Tawney–Trevor-Roper Controversy," *Encounter* 10 (1958), 22–34, republished in Hexter, *Reappraisals in History: New Views on History and Society in Early Modern Europe* (London: 1961).

change.⁶ Still, from 1500 through the mid-17th century, the gentry quadrupled in most English counties, and in some regions grew even more exponentially.⁷ In all areas, this demographic change outpaced overall population growth.

To be a member of the gentry required certain levels of income, landholding, and behavior that demonstrated one's possession of gentle values and virtues. Like the nobility, this group was not monolithic but included hierarchical designations that marked a male head of household's military service, government service, or birthright. The gentry included knights, esquires, and gentlemen although these designations were not as rigid as the titles of the nobility. Knighthoods were conferred by the monarch as an acknowledgement of service and a symbol of one's honor, and were held for life, but were not inherited by the next generation. Early in her reign, Elizabeth I conferred knighthoods on several young gentlemen: in 1575, during a three-week stay at Kenilworth in Warwickshire, the queen knighted William Cecil, Lord Burghley's eldest son, Sir Thomas Cecil; Sir Henry Brooke, a younger son of George Brooke, Baron Cobham; Sir Thomas Stanhope, the son of a knight; Sir Arthur Bassett, the sheriff of Devon; and Sir Thomas Tresham, grandson of a knight, and who would soon move from religious conservatism to full recusancy.⁸ Esquire was a designation given to the eldest sons of knights, younger sons of nobles, holders of Crown office, and others as designated by the monarch. The designation of "gentleman" was more amorphous, since that status depended not just on land and local influence, but also on the performance of gentle and noble virtues, and recognition of one's position by peers and subordinates alike.⁹ By the early 17th century, the gentry as a status group was very much in flux. The precipitous growth of the 16th century had reached a point wherein a man could claim gentle status based on an education in the universities or the Inns of Court and a bit of wealth. In the early 17th century, James I revived the medieval hereditary title of baronet, the highest strata of the upper gentry and a bridge to the lesser nobility.

As the influence of urban centers grew, and wealth and property ownership with it, professionals and urban elites also claimed membership in the

6 Felicity Heal and Clive Holmes offer a discussion of the benefits and drawbacks of using landholdings or annual income as barometers of gentle status, since those markers varied so widely by region. See Heal and Holmes, *Gentry in England and Wales*, 12–15.

7 Heal and Holmes, *Gentry in England and Wales*, 11–12.

8 Elizabeth Goldring et al. (eds.), *John Nichols's The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth I: A New Edition of the Early Modern Sources*, vol. 2 (Oxford: 2014), 263.

9 Anthony Fletcher, *A County Community in Peace and War: Sussex, 1600–1660* (London: 1975), 26–27.

gentry. By the end of the 17th century, non-landed urban professionals, including lawyers, physicians, academics, and clergy counted among the ranks of the gentry.¹⁰ Still, a man needed community affirmation of his status in order to successfully claim the status of even the lesser gentry. For example, Thomas Lucas of Stratford-upon-Avon spent part of his youth in service to the Ferrers of Baddesley Clinton, Warwickshire. By 1598 he had caused enough trouble in town with various sorts of rabble-rousing that many of his neighbors gave depositions against him, in hopes that the town officials would force him to reform or eject him from the community. He disappeared from Stratford for several years and on his return called himself Sir Thomas Lucas, gentleman. His old enemies refused to accept his new status, citing his history of bad behavior. In 1611, they revived the petitions they had made in 1598, perhaps both as a reminder of his ungentlemanly behavior and as a device to shame him, and demanded that the town fathers force him to stop pretending to a higher status than he deserved. But Lucas carried on behaving as a gentleman and at his death in 1625 left bequests as a gentleman would, including an endowment for a new grammar school.¹¹ Clearly, Lucas was aware that in order to claim he was a gentleman, he had to behave like one.

Most counties had prominent Catholic families of noble or gentry status. These families were often religiously diverse, having members who were recusant Catholic, conformist Catholic, and varying degrees of Protestant, both within the confines of one generation and across several generations. As a result, strict classification as a “recusant family” is impossible. The Throckmortons of Coughton, Warwickshire, were one of the most religiously diverse Catholic families, with members ranging from radical Catholics to radical Protestants, and everywhere in between. The Catesbys, with branches of the family and estates in Northamptonshire and Warwickshire, were similarly diverse, as were the Nevills of Nevill Holt in Leicestershire.¹² Even the Hastingses of Leicestershire, who are typically considered Puritan-leaning Protestants, had several Catholics in their ranks: George, 4th Earl of Huntingdon; his wife, Dorothy Porte Hastings; George’s brother Walter; and

10 For a more complete discussion of the nobility and gentry in the Elizabethan period, see Janet Dickinson, “Nobility and Gentry,” in *The Elizabethan World*, ed. Susan Doran and Norman Jones (Abingdon: 2011), 285–300.

11 Stratford-upon-Avon, Shakespeare Center Library and Archive, DR37/83/52 (1598), DR37/2/83/60 (1611), DR37/2/125/16d (1613).

12 Bernard Elliot, “A Leicestershire Recusant Family: The Nevills of Nevill Holt,” pt. 1, *RH* 17 (1984), 173–80.

their mother, Katherine Pole.¹³ Furthermore, few of these families remained entirely within their county boundaries, and when they moved – whether via land acquisition or marriage – their influence moved with them into other counties and regions. The Vavasours of Yorkshire, for example, had branches of the family in the Midlands, some of whom were servants, tenants, and friends of the recusant Treshams of Rushton, Northamptonshire, in the 16th and 17th centuries.¹⁴ Through marriage, the Throckmortons migrated into Yorkshire and Surrey and were spread thick through the Midlands. Through marriage of their daughters, the Treshams expanded their connections into Essex, Sussex, Surrey, and throughout the Midlands.

Some of the most notable family names in the study of recusancy were nobles such as the Somerset earls of Worcester; the Howard earls of Northampton; the Percy earls of Northumberland; the earl of Oxford; the Browne viscounts Montague; Dacre barons of Gilsland and Greystoke; the Vaux barons of Harrowden; the Arundells of Wardour Castle; the Talbot earls of Shrewsbury; and from the early 17th century, the Gascoignes of Yorkshire. Among the principal Catholic gentry were the Vavasours and Middlemores, with seats in Yorkshire; Lancashire families such as the Blundells, Cliftons, and Percys; Midlands families including the Ardens, Babingtons, Brudenells, Catesbys, Digbys, Erdeswicks, Nevilles, Stonors, Treshams, Throckmortons, and Wintours; in Essex the Audleys, Petres, and Wisemans; the Pierreponts in Nottinghamshire; the Jerninghams in Norfolk; and in Sussex, the Cottons, Gages, and Shelleys. While this list is by no means exhaustive, it provides a sense of the geographic breadth of Catholic adherence after the Reformation.

Post-Reformation Catholic nobility and gentry lived out their beliefs with differing degrees of compliance to secular and religious authorities. Some elite worshipped privately at home and also conformed to the Protestant state church, while recusants refused to attend any Protestant services. Of those, some were loyal to the English Crown and state while others were loyal to the pope in Rome. Some Catholics, usually recusant ones, grew into extremism and worked toward the reinstitution of Catholicism in England through the removal of their Protestant monarchs. Those plots threatened not only the monarch but also the social fabric of the realm. Plots began early in Elizabeth's reign, peaked during the 1580s, and continued sporadically through the late 17th century.

13 Claire Cross (ed.), *The Letters of Sir Francis Hastings, 1574–1609* (Frome: 1969), xviii. One of Dorothy Porte Hastings's nephews, John Gerard, was a Jesuit working on the English mission. See Norman L. Jones, *The English Reformation: Religion and Cultural Adaptation* (Oxford: 2002), 45.

14 HMC, *Report on Manuscripts in Various Collections*, vol. 3 (London: 1904), 43–123, *passim*.

Under Elizabeth, the most significant threats were the Throckmorton and Babington Plots, in 1583 and 1586, respectively – so named for the family members who orchestrated plans to assassinate Elizabeth and place Mary, Queen of Scots on the English throne.¹⁵ This type of intrigue continued under James VI/I, the result of dashed Catholic hopes for toleration from the new Stuart king. When in the first few years of James's reign it became clear that James would not grant the liberties Catholics sought, a small group of frustrated radicals conspired to blow up the king and members of Parliament at the opening of Parliament on 5 November 1605. Although it failed, the Gunpowder Plot was the most serious Catholic threat to the Protestant state since the failed plots of the 1580s. Furthermore, the plot cast suspicion on some of the same families that had been involved in plots two decades earlier: the Throckmortons and Abingdons in particular. The Gunpowder Plotters included members of notable gentry families, including the Catesbys, Wintours, Percys, Digbys, and Treshams, and more still knew of the conspiracy. The majority of English Catholics did not tilt toward the extremism exhibited by successive generations of plotters. Rather, they hoped to live in concord with their neighbors, displaying the noble and gentle virtues of good neighborhood. Further plots and alleged plots threatened that sense of concord in the 17th and 18th centuries. The Popish Plot, although fabricated, sparked fear among Protestants and drove an increase in anti-Catholic sentiment until it was exposed as fraudulent in 1681. The anti-Catholic persecution that resulted from the Popish Plot was perhaps the worst until the Gordon Riots in 1780.

1 Catholic Nobility and Gentry

Noble and gentry families were crucial to the survival of post-Reformation Catholicism, since their wealth, property, and personal connections provided the infrastructure on which the Catholic clergy and laity relied. Anti-Catholic legislation accelerated in the 1580s due to the arrival of the Jesuits in 1580 and

15 Recent research has called into question the veracity of the Arden-Sommerville Plot as a Catholic intrigue. Cathryn Enis and Glyn Parry have argued that the Arden-Sommerville Plot was manufactured by Robert Dudley, 1st Earl of Leicester, in an attempt to destroy the powerful Warwickshire family of the Ardens. See Enis, "The Dudleys, Sir Christopher Hatton and the Justices of Elizabethan Warwickshire," *Midland History* 39 (2014), 1–35; Enis, "Edward Arden and the Dudley Earls of Warwick and Leicester, c.1572–1583," *BCH* 33 (2016), 170–210; Parry, "Catholicism and Tyranny in Shakespeare's Warwickshire," in *The Oxford Handbook of the Age of Shakespeare*, ed. R. Malcolm Smuts (Oxford: 2016), 121–38.

also to the string of plots against the monarch and government that plagued the following decade. Fines for absence from church increased during this decade as well; with legislation in 1581, the fine rocketed from 1s. per week to £20 per month. Just for hearing Mass, one risked a fine of 100 marks and imprisonment for up to a year.¹⁶ The penalties made it difficult, if not impossible, for lesser-status Catholics to continue to exercise their consciences by refusing to attend Protestant services and thus drove many Catholics into conformity with the state church. The nobility and gentry could afford the fines or had the skills and connections to reduce them. Those abilities, combined with large houses, extensive lands, large households, local authority, and the means for travel, meant that the nobility and gentry were integral to the function of post-Reformation Catholicism in a Protestant realm.

First and foremost, Catholic nobility and gentry had the authority and resources to act as lay leaders in their local Catholic communities. They could shield their tenants and servants from persecution and thereby provide a haven of sorts to lesser-status Catholics seeking a spiritually sympathetic place to live. This is not to say that Catholic landlords only had Catholic tenants; indeed, estates had tenants that ranged across the doctrinal spectrum. But for middling- and lesser-status people who adhered to the traditional faith, tenancy on a Catholic lord's land could supply important, and sometimes lifesaving, patronage connections, financial relief, protection from local officials or aggressive neighbors, and religious life. In the process, Catholic nobility and gentry established their estates and the domicile at the heart of the estate as centers of local Catholic communities. That would not change until the 19th century, when Catholic Emancipation resulted in a shift in power from gentry leadership to that of English Catholic bishops.

Throughout England, noble and gentry families had large houses that allowed for religious practice, and for Catholics, the continuation of Catholic practice. Manor homes, castles, and urban townhouses contained worship spaces that varied in size from modest chapels to substantial churches. In the late 16th and early 17th centuries, Magdalen Browne, Viscountess Montague, was well known even among Protestant local authorities for maintaining a large chapel and three resident priests in the family home in Battle, Sussex. The space allowed for a full choir, the performance of rituals like baptisms, and daily Mass and prayer. According to Lady Montague's biographer, up to 120 laity gathered for Mass in Montague's house at Battle, which was celebrated with "singing and musical instruments, and sometimes also with a

¹⁶ 23 Eliz. 1, c. 1; *Statutes of the Realm*, 4:657.

deacon and subdeacon" – hardly a clandestine operation.¹⁷ In the Midlands, the Throckmorton house at Coughton Court, Warwickshire, contained a small chapel in the Tudor-era gatehouse, in which priests continued to say Mass after the Reformation. In the late 18th century, Sir John Courtenay Throckmorton built a large chapel in the south wing at Coughton Court; it was used by the family and on some feast days also by the local Catholic population. After a new Catholic church was built on the estate in the mid-19th century, the chapel was repurposed as a reception room called the Saloon.¹⁸ At the same time, the Throckmortons renovated and built anew on their Buckland and Weston estates. The Treshams updated the chapel in their seat at Rushton Hall, Northamptonshire, in the 1570s, in keeping with Catholic themes, thus indicating that the space was still in use for Catholic worship.¹⁹ At Little Crosby, Lancashire, the Blundells kept a priest and established their home as a center for Catholic worship.²⁰ In Yorkshire, major gentry such as the Meynells of Kilvington Hall and minor gentry such as the Smiths at Bridge House and the Salvins of Newbiggen, harbored priests and opened their homes for the saying of Mass. As a result, both seigneurial and minor gentry houses became *loci* of Catholic worship and survival.²¹

In addition to using household chapels, Catholics also adapted other, sometimes very ordinary, spaces into sacred sites. Encouraged by the prescriptions of clerics and theologians like Robert Southwell, S.J., post-Reformation English Catholics worked with what they had, and transformed even ordinary domestic or workspaces into religious spaces, through the performance of ritual

17 Richard Smith, *An Elizabethan Recusant House: Comprising the Life of the Lady Magdalen, Viscountess Montague (1538–1608)*, trans. Cuthbert Fursdon, ed. A.C. Southern (London: 1954), 43–44.

18 For more on the 18th-century improvements made at Coughton and Buckland, see Geoffrey Scott, "The Throckmortons at Home and Abroad, 1680–1800," in *Catholic Gentry in English Society: The Throckmortons of Coughton from Reformation to Emancipation*, ed. Peter Marshall and Geoffrey Scott (Farnham: 2009), 205–07; and Alban Hood, "The Throckmortons Come of Age: Political and Social Alignments, 1826–1862," in Marshall and Scott, *Catholic Gentry in English Society*, 265–67. Hood discusses the construction of new churches at Coughton, Buckland, and Studley.

19 Richard Williams, "A Catholic Sculpture in Elizabethan England: Sir Thomas Tresham's Reredos at Rushton Hall," *Architectural History* 44 (2001), 221–27.

20 Christopher Haigh, *Reformation and Resistance in Tudor Lancashire* (London: 1975), 283; *Vic. Hist. Lancaster*, vol. 3, 85–91.

21 W.J. Sheils, "Catholics and Their Neighbours in a Rural Community: Egton Chapelry, 1590–1780," *Northern History* 34 (1998), 111; J.T. Cliffe, *The Yorkshire Gentry from the Reformation to the Civil War* (London: 1969), 206; "Parishes: Thornton le Street," in *A History of the County of York North Riding*, vol. 1, ed. William Page (London: 1914), 455–58.

and a focus on the community of believers.²² Although it was written for a pious high-ranking woman, Southwell's *A Short Rule of Good Life* applied to all Catholic faithful, from humble householders to nobility and gentry. And indeed, it appears that high-status Catholics, even those with household chapels or sympathetic local curates, adapted ordinary spaces into sacred spaces. Tom Williamson has observed that Sir Thomas Tresham's Triangular Lodge, built ostensibly as a rabbit warrener's lodge, allowed for easy transition between rabbit processing and religious worship, between economic and religious activities.²³ In Sussex, Magdalen, Viscountess Montague, openly wore (and perhaps used) her rosary beads while walking through the town of Battle, thereby transforming civic spaces into her own worship spaces, simultaneously a religious and a defiant political act.²⁴

Large noble and gentry households, filled with ample populations of servants, were ideal environments for priests to blend in, their clerical role sometimes obscured by an identity as a schoolmaster, tutor, or gardener. Edmund Campion, S.J., had been a tutor for the children of William Vaux, 3rd Baron Vaux, before he left England to become a Jesuit; his familiarity with the family and the locale surely made it easy for him to return as a priest. Hugh Hall, the priest-gardener, lived with the Ardens in Warwickshire off and on throughout the 1570s and early 1580s. His fame as a gardener was so great that in time he was also hired by non-Catholics such as Sir Christopher Hatton. Sir Thomas Crooke, a gentleman and a priest left from Mary I's reign, served as Sir Alexander Culpepper's steward, which brought Culpepper no end of trouble despite the priest's long record of service to his master.²⁵ Even without these dual roles, however, noble and gentry households were large enough to easily accommodate resident clerics. John Gerard, S.J., lodged with the Wisemans in Essex, with Anne, Countess of Arundel in London, and also with the Vauxes. Southwell also lodged with the countess of Arundel and with the Vauxes. The Blundells of Little Crosby, Lancashire, had a succession of seminary priests and Jesuits in residence in the late 17th and early 18th centuries, including Robert Aldred, a Fr Barrow, and John Butler.²⁶

22 Robert Southwell, *A Short Rule of Good Life to Direct the Deuout Christian, in a Regular, and Orderly Course* (London: 1602–05); Lisa McClain, "Without Church, Cathedral, or Shrine: The Search for Religious Space Among Catholics in England, 1559–1625," *SCJ* 33 (2002), 381–99.

23 Tom Williamson, *The Archaeology of Rabbit Warrens* (Princes Risborough: 2006), 63–64.

24 Smith, *Elizabethan Recusant House*, 19–20.

25 Patrick McGrath and Joy Rowe, "The Marian Priests under Elizabeth I," *RH* 17 (1984), 113.

26 T. Ellison Gibson (ed.), *Crosby Records: A Cavalier's Note Book, being Notes, Anecdotes, and Observations of William Blundell of Crosby, Lancashire* (London: 1880); Gibson (ed.),

2 Nobility, Gentry, and the Laity

The English Reformation left middling- and lesser-status Catholics without public, community worship space. The churches in which their parents and grandparents had worshipped had become Protestant spaces and in many cases the visual fabric to which their forebears were accustomed had been whitewashed out of existence. Thus, after the Reformation, middling- and lesser-status Catholic laity often found spiritual respite in the household chapels of the nobility and gentry. To be sure, non-elite laity could continue to adhere to Catholic doctrine and practice in their daily lives and could even arrange their homes in ways that signified, for them, spiritual observance.²⁷ In some cases, priests visited the homes of the middling and lesser sort and said Mass there. Still, priests more commonly worked in the houses of the nobility and gentry, since those spaces accommodated more worshippers, nurtured a sense of community, and provided a better chance of concealment or escape if the household was caught in a raid. Despite significant risk, many upper-status Catholic families used domestic religious spaces for family as well as communal religious services. Consequently, it became a matter of family or personal honor for Catholic families to maintain both worship spaces and priests to celebrate Mass.

Household chapels, a fixture in many late medieval elite houses, took on a new life in post-Reformation England. From the Reformation through Emancipation and the building of new public Catholic worship spaces that followed, household chapels served not only the family and household staff, but also the local Catholic community. In the late 16th and early 17th centuries, priests celebrated Mass at Mary, Baroness Vaux's house in London, and also at Magdalen, Viscountess Montague's London house at Saint Mary Overys in Southwark. In 1603, in his capacity as keeper of Brigstock Park in the Rockingham Forest, Sir Thomas Tresham installed a Catholic tenant, Thomas Walker, in the lodge at the Little Park and held Catholic services to which local Catholics purportedly flocked. Tresham's Protestant neighbors complained about the high numbers of Catholics who "congregatyd themselves thether in the night tyme to be p[ar]takers of his Idolletry."²⁸ The Wisemans,

Crosby Records: Blundell's Diary Comprising Selections from the Diary of Nicholas Blundell, Esq., from 1702–1728 (Liverpool: 1895); Foley, 5:324–25 and 343–44.

27 McClain, "Without Church," 381–99.

28 Hatfield, Hatfield House, Cecil Papers, CFEP 137/6, fol. 87r; *HMC Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Most Honourable the Marquess of Salisbury, K.G., Preserved at Hatfield House, Hertfordshire*, 24 vols (London: 1883–1976), 23:106. For the history of the

at Braddocks in Essex, harbored priests including the Jesuit John Gerard and whenever a priest was in residence, heard Mass in their house. In March 1713, Fr Aldred celebrated Mass before 186 communicants in Lancashire (perhaps at the Blundell's house at Little Crosby).²⁹

Catholic nobility and gentry provided support to each another and to Catholic laity of lesser status, in the form of transportation and education. Elite families, especially elite women, were instrumental in organizing transportation to the Continent for Catholic sons and daughters who sought an education and a religious life. Legislation in 1585 prohibited Catholics from sending their children abroad, but the law did little to curb Catholics' appetites for convent or seminary life.³⁰ If anything, the prohibition made the prospect of education at a Continental religious house even more enticing. The frequency with which daughters and sons of the landed classes went abroad for education or religious vocation suggests that it was not difficult to abjure the realm if one had the right connections. While it is impossible to determine how many Catholic children went abroad for education, college registers and the chronicles of religious houses such as the *Chronicle of St. Monica's at Louvain* and later volumes such as Henry Foley's *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus* provide details about the identity and personal narratives of students or novices, and, as a byproduct of that information, suggestions of the demographic composition of the English population in these Continental institutions. An accounting of families who sent their children abroad would be too extensive to reproduce here, but a few merit mention because of the durability of the practice over generations. Several of the Blundells of Crosby Hall, Lancashire, were educated abroad between the late 16th and early 18th centuries.³¹ Midlands families such as the Throckmortons also sent children abroad over several generations. In the 17th century, at least two Throckmorton girls were educated with the English Blue Nuns in Paris; in the 18th century, Throckmorton girls were educated with English Canonesses of Our Lady of Syon (Paris) and at Port Royal, while their brothers were educated at Douai, Lorraine, and Paris.³² Such opportunities were not limited to the wealthiest

Tresham family's involvement in Brigstock Park, see Philip A.J. Pettit, *The Royal Forests of Northamptonshire: A Study in Their Economy, 1558–1714* (Gateshead: 1968), 173–74.

29 Foley, 5:343–44.

30 27 Eliz. I, c. 2; *Statutes of the Realm*, 4:706.

31 Susan Guinn-Chipman, *Religious Space in Reformation England* (Farnham: 2015), 91; Fathers of the Congregation of the London Oratory (eds), *The First and Second Diaries of the English College, Douay [...]* (London: 1878).

32 Scott, "Throckmortons at Home," 184–190.

of landed families, however: three daughters of the Smiths of Bridge House, Yorkshire, professed as Poor Clares in the early 18th century.³³ The facility of some Catholics for transporting youth beyond seas was also vital for rapid departure from the realm for those who needed quick escape for other reasons. Following the Throckmorton Plot in 1583, Lady Margery Throckmorton directed her sons to go to Lady Arundel, “who lieth at arandle castle & doth shew that favoure to many gentlemen having a man of hir one that is master of a ship.”³⁴ George Throckmorton escaped and lived as an exile in Europe; his brother Francis was executed in July 1584.

For children who could not go abroad, there were options for a similar Catholic educational environment in England, in secret schools run out of the households of noble and gentry families. Anne Vaux and her widowed sister, Eleanor Vaux Brookesby, ran a school for Catholic boys from their home at Stanley Grange, Derbyshire, from 1608 through the end of Anne’s life in 1637. The women provided space and funding for the enterprise, while Jesuits provided both education and spiritual instruction. By 1625, the government knew of the school’s existence. In November of that year, Sir Francis Coke wrote to the secretary of state, Sir John Coke, notifying him that, “At Stanley Grange ... [there are] beds and furniture for them in that little house to lodge forty or fifty persons at the least.”³⁵ Ten years later, the school surfaced again in government documents. In July 1635, the Privy Council expressed concern that there was “a Schoole kept at the house of Mrs. Vaux called Stanley Grange in the Countie of Derby ... and that there are the Son[n]es of divers persons of qualletie brought up there under the Tutorage of the Jesuites, contrary to the Lawes of this Kingdome;” the Council ordered that pursuivants search the house; confiscate books, papers, and other relevant materials; and bring to London the Jesuits, pupils, and any other suspicious persons.³⁶ Another report three months later noted the existence of another school two miles from Wolverhampton in Staffordshire, at “Mr. Lusons howse.”³⁷ By the late 18th century, relaxed anti-Catholic legislation meant that these schools could operate more openly, and others, such as Stonyhurst College, moved from the Continent to permanent locations in England.³⁸

33 Sheils, “Catholics in a Rural Community,” 112.

34 London, PRO/NA, SP12/163, fol. 23r.

35 Anstruther, *Vaux of Harrowden*, 460–61.

36 PRO/NA, SP16/294, fol. 161r.

37 PRO/NA, SP 16/299, fol. 80r.

38 A. Hewitson, *Stonyhurst College, Its Past and Present: An Account of Its History, Architecture, Treasures, Curiosities, Etc.* (Preston: 1870), 11–12. Thomas M. McCoog, “‘Est et Non Est’: Jesuit Corporate Survival in England after the Suppression,” in *Jesuit Survival*

3 Nobility, Gentry, and Priests

Catholic clergy relied on the nobility and gentry for the basic necessities of food, shelter, transportation, and protection from capture. In the 1560s and early 1570s, the remaining Marian priests continued to minister to the Catholic population. In the early years of the English mission, as seminarians (seminary priests) and then Jesuits arrived, they were usually itinerant, as they moved between Catholic households in their attempt to minister to as many Catholics (and potential converts) as possible. Although exact numbers are difficult to determine, Patrick McGrath and Joy Rowe have estimated that in the 1580s and 1590s, between 120 and 150 seminarians worked in England each year; Jesuit numbers were much lower, numbering three or four per year in the 1580s and around 12 per year during the 1590s. Furthermore, there was still a substantial population of Marian priests, some of whom had been ordained as young men in the late 1550s, and still at work in the grand scope of the English mission through the first decade of the 17th century.³⁹ John Bossy calculated that by 1630, somewhere between 150 and 200 Jesuits and 50 and 60 Benedictines served the English mission.⁴⁰ By the late 18th century, approximately 140 Jesuits were at work in England and Wales; in 1829, despite a prohibition on Jesuits in England, there were 109 members of the English Province of the Society of Jesus, 54 of whom were priests.⁴¹ In addition, other missionary priests, both secular and regular, worked in England throughout this period. The clerical population was closely tied to the political climate and therefore fluctuated depending on the monarch in power, increased enforcement of anti-Catholic laws, and fears of Catholic plots against the state.⁴²

and Restoration: A Global History, 1773–1900, ed. Robert A. Maryks and Jonathan Wright (Leiden: 2014), 162–63.

39 Patrick McGrath and Joy Rowe, "Anstruther Analysed: The Elizabethan Seminary Priests," *RH* 18 (1988), 1–13; McGrath and Rowe, "The Elizabethan Priests: Their Harbourners and Helpers," *RH* 19 (1989), 209–10.

40 Bossy, *English Catholic Community*, 209–27.

41 McCoog, "Est et Non Est," 165 and 177.

42 Bossy, Caroline M. Hibbard, and Leo Gooch argue for increased vitality during the 17th century, in part because of increased clerical population. Bossy and Hibbard also acknowledge the high points of clerical population in the 1630s, during the reign of Charles I; a pronounced decline from the late 17th century through the 18th century, connected to political events such as the Popish Plot and the ejection of James II; followed by a rebound in 1829, coterminous with Catholic Emancipation. Hibbard, "Early Stuart Catholicism: Revisions and Re-Revisions," *The Journal of Modern History* 52 (1980), 10–11. Clive D. Field's demographic analysis of Catholic and other religious communities further illuminates the state of the Catholic community in the late early modern period. Field,

The priests, whether Marians, seminarians, or Jesuits, required certain necessities in order to successfully perform their spiritual work: safe places to live and work, food, clothing, Mass equipment, and money were the basic staples of these priests' lives. Catholic layfolk across social ranks volunteered to feed, clothe, and shelter them. The nobility and gentry, however, with grand houses or castles and large households, could supply material comforts and bodily security that middling- and lesser-status families could not. As a result, many priests found accommodations in upper-status Catholic households. The custom of noble and gentry families keeping a resident priest was a durable one by the time the seminary priests arrived in 1574, and it is important to note that priest-harboring was not a new activity. Edmund Campion, one of the first Jesuits to arrive in England in 1580, initially worked in the Midlands before moving on to Lancashire and Yorkshire. Along the way, he accepted hospitality from the Vaux, Catesby, and Tresham families in Northamptonshire; the Stonors of Stonor Park in Oxfordshire; Gervase Pierrepont of Holme Pierrepont in Nottinghamshire; and the Yates of Lyford Grange, Berkshire, among others. Robert Southwell spent much of his time in the household of Anne Dacre Howard, Countess of Arundel. Anne Vaux and Eleanor Vaux Brokesby sheltered the superior of the English mission, Henry Garnett, S.J., for the better part of two decades while their sister-in-law, Elizabeth Roper Vaux, harbored John Gerard.⁴³ In Essex, Eleanor Wiseman, of Braddocks, also provided safe harbor for Gerard and kept a Marian priest, Thomas Jackson.⁴⁴ Edward Oldcorne, S.J., lived with the Habingtons at Hindlip in Worcestershire for 16 years.⁴⁵ A document in the Cecil Papers at Hatfield House provides a sense of the extent of noble and gentry harboring activities in the early 17th century. The letter, from Thomas Wilson to the earl of Salisbury, was written a little more than two weeks after the discovery of the Gunpowder Plot and notes details of the priests not in prison or known to have gone to the Continent: 29 priests who lodged in 39 different abodes, most of them the houses of the nobility and gentry.⁴⁶

"Counting Religion in England and Wales: The Long Eighteenth Century, c.1680–c.1840," *JEH* 63 (2012), 711–14.

43 Anstruther, *Vaux of Harrowden*, 287–369.

44 *John Gerard: Autobiography of an Elizabethan*, ed. Philip Caraman (London: 1955); Michael Hodgetts, "A Topographical Index of Hiding Places," *RH* 16 (1982), 160.

45 Gerard, *Autobiography*, 45.

46 Hatfield House, Cecil Papers, CP 113/20; HMC, *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Most Honourable the Marquess of Salisbury*, 17:500.

The nobility and gentry, and sometimes even more humble householders, supplied the equipment priests needed to conduct Mass. For Catholics, that meant the existence of things like altars, rosary beads, and prayer books. Altars could be small and portable, to be carried on a priest's person or easily concealed in a house, and still provide the spiritual function necessary for the ritual of the Mass. Altars could also be the larger traditional fixtures one would expect to see in a church or a chapel. Post-Reformation Catholic noble and gentry houses often had one or both of these, especially if the house contained a pre-Reformation chapel. In the 1580s, John Gerard noted that after a few years working as an itinerant priest, moving between different households to carry out his duties, he no longer had to supply his own Mass equipment. Instead, those supplies were provided by the hosts with whom he stayed. Perhaps this was the result of priests becoming less itinerant and increasingly based out of specific residences in given localities or regions. Certainly, it was one more step in the laity's protection of their priests, since carrying even small and portable Mass equipment with them while traveling would certainly result in arrest if the traveler or traveling party were stopped and questioned or searched.

In addition to housing the priests and their Mass equipment, it was also crucial to be able to quickly hide clergy when a household was set upon by pursuivants. The necessity to provide safe spaces for concealment might have been new, judging from the low numbers of priests' "hides" in the early 1580s and the subsequent increase in those spaces in the 1590s and the first decade of the 17th century.⁴⁷ The government's anti-Catholic policies increased in the 1580s, targeted at both Catholic clergy and layfolk. To encourage full societal compliance with these mandates, the legislation also included harsh penalties for laity who provided support to the clergy, including food, lodging, transportation, and money, and in some extreme cases even a mug of beer.⁴⁸ As priest-harboring became a capital offense, successful concealment of any priests in one's home became of utmost concern. The legislation seems to have spurred many layfolk to action, perhaps because it articulated a clear strategy by which one could demonstrate their sanctity and their opposition to government policy. During the Elizabethan period, countless noble and gentry houses were fitted with priests' holes or hides in which one or more clergy could conceal themselves if the house was subject to a government raid. By the end of the Elizabethan period, there were at least 70 traceable hides in 24 counties and London.⁴⁹ So many of these were built that one wonders the degree to which

47 Michael Hodgetts, "*Loca Secretoria* in 1581," *RH* 19 (1989), 386–95.

48 Challoner, 1106–07.

49 McGrath and Rowe, "Elizabethan Priests," 216, citing Hodgetts, "Topographical Index."

the presence of a hide (or hides) in one's house was a status symbol among the Catholic upper crust. Nobility and gentry had the financial resources to commission such construction, and between 1588 and 1605, many of them commissioned Nicholas Owen, a lay brother whose diminutive size and exceptional building skills made him highly sought after in the construction of hiding spaces.⁵⁰ Owen concealed hiding spaces behind false walls, beneath and behind fireplaces and stairways, and under eaves.⁵¹ He reputedly made each hide unique, so that the government's discovery of one hide would not compromise the location of others.

Women were integral to priest-harboring activities because of their legal status as *feme covert* (married women) and their traditional role as keepers of the domestic sphere. As the primary hosts of resident priests, noble- and gentlewomen assumed additional roles beyond those typically carried out by women of their status. Catholic women were on the front lines of clerical protection and the subterfuge necessary when government officials raided the home. Yet despite the fortitude required in that role, upper-status women did not hesitate to claim the weakness of their sex when confronted during a raid. John Gerard's autobiography records that Anne Vaux was adept at performing a role as a weak, and perhaps passive, woman in front of pursuivants, in a calculated strategy designed to give the rest of the household time to hide Mass equipment, priests, and any other incriminating evidence. Upper-status Catholic women were also instrumental in promoting the English mission from the 16th through the 18th centuries. After the Benedictine community in Bury Saint Edmunds died out in the mid-18th century, Elizabeth Rookwood Gage helped to found a new Jesuit mission to serve the Catholics in the town.⁵²

In other instances, women defied gender norms and engaged in verbal sparring with pursuivants, as Anne Vaux's adolescent cousin, Frances Burroughs, did when a pursuivant threatened her with a dagger during a raid. Rather than weakness, she reportedly "answered with perfect composure ... 'If thou dost, it shall be the hottest blood that ever thou sheddest in thy life.'" ⁵³ Clearly, some

50 Owen's small physical stature combined with his prowess with carpentry and his architectural aptitude allowed him to work within the confines of very small spaces as he constructed priests' hides. John Gerard, *The Condition of Catholics under James I: Father Gerard's Narrative of the Gunpowder Plot*, 2nd ed., ed. John Morris (London: 1872); Michael Hodgetts, "The Owens of Oxford," *RH* 24 (1999), 415–30.

51 For a comprehensive survey of hiding places created during the 16th and 17th centuries, see Hodgetts, "Topographical Index."

52 Francis Young, *The Gages of Hengrave and Suffolk Catholicism, 1640–1767* (Woodbridge: 2015).

53 Anstruther, *Vaux of Harrowden*, 181–82.

Catholic youth were trained from a young age to behave courageously, even a bit defiantly, to government officials when their priest's life was at stake.

4 Nobility, Gentry, and Catholic Identity

Recent scholarship has emphasized the degree to which English Catholic nobility and gentry emphasized their identity as both members of the landed class with authority to govern, and as Catholics. While some upper-status Catholics, like the Vauxes of Harrowden, Northamptonshire, and the Wisemans of Braddocks, Essex, seem to have embraced an identity based on resistance to secular authority, others, such as the Brownes (viscounts Montague) in Sussex; the Brudenells of Deene, Northamptonshire; the Constables of Burton Constable in the East Riding of Yorkshire; the Gages of Hengrave, Suffolk; and the Petres of Ingatestone, Essex, displayed a public identity that emphasized their status over their religion.⁵⁴ Still others occupied a middle ground. It is therefore important to understand the nobility and gentry not as a homogenous community but via the complex and varied ways they identified with both their status group and their faith.

English Catholic nobility and gentry embedded their identity, their feelings of persecution, and devotional aids in their material culture. Domestic interiors, exteriors, and landscapes became canvasses on which Catholics recorded the story of their identity and their marginalization. Sir Thomas Tresham's architectural work is perhaps the most well-known of these kinds of expressions. His rabbit warrener's lodge at Rushton, which he often called the Triangular Lodge, and the New Bield at his Lyveden estate are two examples of what Sandeep Kaushik has called "defensive resistance, or those actions ... which were not overtly political."⁵⁵ The buildings are emblems of Tresham's Catholic

54 Peter Marshall and Geoffrey Scott's edited volume on the Throckmorton family demonstrates this well, as part of the volume's objective to place Catholics back into the mainstream of English social history. Marshall and Scott, *Catholic Gentry in English Society*. See also Jan Broadway, "'To Equall Their Virtues': Thomas Habington, Recusancy and the Gentry of Early Stuart Worcestershire," *Midland History* 29 (2004), 1–24; Michael C. Questier, *Catholicism and Community in Early Modern England: Politics, Aristocratic Patronage and Religion, c.1550–1640* (Cambridge, Eng.: 2006); Jeffrey R. Hankins, "Papists, Power, and Puritans: Catholic Officeholding and the Rise of the 'Puritan Faction' in Early-Seventeenth-Century Essex," *CHR* 95 (2009), 689–717; Young, *Gages of Hengrave*; Carys Brown, "Catholic Politics and Creating Trust in Eighteenth-Century England," *BCH* 33 (2017), 628–31.

55 Sandeep Kaushik, "Resistance, Loyalty and Recusant Politics: Sir Thomas Tresham and the Elizabethan State," *Midland History* 21 (1996), 47–48.

beliefs: the shapes of the structures, the measurements of the walls, and the images engraved on the exteriors all declare his attachment to the mysteries of the Catholic faith. The triangular warrener's lodge at Rushton was a complex emblem that detailed not only the persecution of Tresham and his coreligionists but also emphasized the role of Protestants as both persecutors and heretics.⁵⁶ For his garden lodge at Lyveden, Tresham created an intricate tableau of text, image, and landscape to communicate his identity as a persecuted yet steadfast Catholic.⁵⁷ In at least one instance, Tresham extended this narrative of persecution, resistance, and belief to his gardens. The landscape he created at Lyveden was deliberately fashioned as a devotional mnemonic laid over typical Renaissance garden forms. Where the parterre garden should have been, Tresham planted a labyrinth of shrubbery; the main alley in the orchard was not planted with the usual oaks, symbolizing strength, but with sweet cherry trees that symbolized the sweetness and purity of the Christ Child.

Catholic recusants also inscribed their identity on their domestic interiors. In the 1590s, the Throckmortons of Coughton, Warwickshire, commissioned a painted cloth, the *Tabula Eliensis*, that recorded the imprisonments of recusants during the reign of Elizabeth. The *Tabula Eliensis* echoed the themes on a similar painted cloth at Ely Cathedral, on which was recorded the "pedigrees of the abbots, bishops, and deans of Ely, and of the kings and queens of England, together with the arms of forty knights stationed there by William 1."⁵⁸ The Throckmorton *Tabula* represented a similar genealogy, but unlike the Ely example, the *Tabula* focused on the members of the gentry who had endured imprisonment for recusancy in the bishop's palace at Ely, Banbury Castle, and Broughton Castle, thereby producing a "defiant martyrology and a graphic assertion of fidelity to the Crown and ancient church."⁵⁹ The desire among early modern gentry to record, or in some cases manufacture, a lineage that underscored their legitimacy must have carried an even more palpable urgency for post-Reformation Catholics than it did for Protestants, since Catholics by their very faith risked their reputations and authority in

56 Susan M. Cogan, "Building the Badge of God: Architectural Representations of Persecution and Coexistence in Post-Reformation England," *Archive for Reformation History* 107 (2016), 166–93.

57 Andrew Eburne, "The Passion of Sir Thomas Tresham: New Light on the Gardens and Lodge at Lyveden," *Garden History* 36 (2008), 114–34.

58 Peter Marshall, *Faith and Identity in a Warwickshire Family: The Throckmortons and the Reformation*, Dugdale Society Occasional Papers, no. 49 (Stratford-upon-Avon: Dugdale Society, in association with the Shakespeare Birthplace Trust, 2010), 31–32.

59 Peter Marshall and Geoffrey Scott, "The Catholic Gentry in English Society," in Marshall and Scott, *Catholic Gentry in English Society*, 12; Marshall, *Faith and Identity*, 31–32.

Protestant communities. Almost four decades after Thomas Throckmorton commissioned his Tabula, Sir Thomas Shirley commissioned a painted cloth for the Shirley family seat at Staunton Harold that recorded his family's genealogy and claim to status.⁶⁰

Other noble and gentry families engraved both their legitimacy and narratives of their persecution into the fabric of their homes. Catholics and Protestants alike adorned the exterior of their manor homes and castles with heraldic displays that reveal anxiety over status and emphasis on legitimacy during a period of rapid social change. From the accession of Elizabeth through at least the civil wars period, nobility and gentry used displays of heraldry to advertise their wealth, lineage, and virtue.⁶¹ Among the Catholic gentry, established families like the Brudenells of Deene, Griffins of Dingley, Habingtons of Hindlip, Throckmortons of Coughton, and Treshams of Rushton, and nobles such as John Lumley, 1st Baron Lumley, appended heraldry to their domestic exteriors and stained glass windows. A few Catholic gentry also inscribed carefully chosen and somewhat ambiguous phrases that recorded their frustration at living in a Protestant state. Edward Griffin of Dingley inscribed eight phrases that, while vague, voiced his perception of persecution by the new Elizabethan regime, including a caution to beware of Nicodemites and to act with virtue and be content with what one has, even when mistreated.⁶² Sir Thomas Tresham's persecution narrative was more pointed. He invoked biblical texts that highlighted the primacy of the Virgin Mary and the Passion of Christ, along with laments about living among heretics and the spiritual peril in which those heretics lived (1 Cor. 1:18).⁶³ Both men employed texts whose imagery was vague enough not to result in accusations of sedition or treason but that still allowed them to advertise their sense of persecution.

60 Richard Cust, "Catholicism, Antiquarianism and Gentry Honour: The Writings of Thomas Shirley," *Midland History* 23 (1998), 40–70. The Shirley example was commissioned in 1632.

61 For a more extensive discussion of this, see Heal and Holmes, *Gentry in England and Wales*, 35; and Nicholas Cooper, *Houses of the Gentry, 1480–1680* (New Haven: 2000), 33.

62 J. Alfred Gotch with assistance from W. Talbot Brown, *Architecture of the Renaissance in England*, vol. 1 (London: 1894), 41.

63 J. Alfred Gotch, *A Complete Account, Illustrated by Measured Drawings, of the Buildings Erected in Northamptonshire, by Sir Thomas Tresham, between the Years 1575 and 1605* (Northampton: 1883).

5 Nobility, Gentry, and Catholic Survival

Catholic nobility and gentry adopted various strategies to survive persecution. They survived by knowing the law and the legal framework that defined their lived experience as Catholics in a Protestant state. They survived by entering into community with other Catholics and nurturing their faith and their Catholic identity despite their separateness. Some of the more ardent recusants, like the Vauxes of Harrowden, insulated themselves among a network comprised mainly of other Catholics. As a result, their social worlds were isolated from the noble or gentry community at large. Other Catholics, even recusants, survived by maintaining relationships with a diverse range of other nobles or gentry, including Protestants. Anthony-Maria Browne, 2nd Viscount Montague, was the leader of a powerful entourage based in Sussex that included Catholics and Protestants.⁶⁴ Sir Thomas and Muriel Tresham, too, built a diverse social world, one that reflected their status as the heirs of ancient Midlands gentry families and their identity as Catholics. A generation later, in the first half of the 17th century, Sir Thomas Habington inhabited a social world that included Catholics, to whom he was related by kinship and marriage, and Protestants with whom he shared an affinity for local history, such as Sir Simon Archer. Habington emphasized political loyalty, as Montague and Tresham had before him, and also the importance of noble virtues on which social harmony depended, a point on which most nobility and gentry could agree. Habington's social circle was dazzling in its diversity, helped along by his focus on an identity based on his family's ancient claim to gentility and their durable connections to his home county of Worcestershire.⁶⁵ Catholic nobility and gentry relied on each other and on the relationships they had built with friends, neighbors, and patrons over generations.

Economically, Catholic nobility and gentry sustained significant financial penalties for recusancy. For the wealthiest among them, such penalties were an inconvenience; for others the penalties endangered the survival of their family's status. Strategies for survival ranged from outward conformity to Protestantism, to land transfers to conforming friends and relatives. On the whole, however, English Catholic nobility and gentry survived throughout the early modern period in ways very similar to Protestant nobility and gentry: through shrewd estate management, diversification of revenue streams (agriculture and mining, for example), and careful marriage alliances.⁶⁶

64 Questier, *Catholicism and Community in Early Modern England*.

65 Jan Broadway, "To Equall their Virtues," 1–24.

66 Gooch also argues for the significance of good estate management. See "Religion for a Gentleman," 544.

Spiritually, noble and gentry Catholics drew nourishment from the important role they played in the English mission, through the support they gave to priests, the succor they offered to coreligionists of middling and lesser status, and the community they built with other upper-status Catholics. The English mission relied on the work of priests and laity alike, in a relationship built on reciprocity. The clergy provided spiritual sustenance and protection to English Catholics, and the laity provided material sustenance and protection to the clergy. They also drew strength from, and forged part of their identity by, relying on the persecution narratives of the faithful in the past and using those as devotional exercises, as proof to themselves that they were chosen by God to walk a difficult path. Persecution was a reality, to be sure, but so was toleration, both informal and, from 1829, formal.

6 Conclusion

Post-Reformation English Catholicism survived from the Reformation through Emancipation due in part to the support the landed classes provided to laity and priests. The nobility and gentry represented a minority of the English population, yet provided most of the resources, infrastructure, and protection for the English mission that allowed both laity and priests to continue to practice their outlawed religion. Catholic manor homes, castles, and urban townhouses often included worship spaces, especially if the dwellings pre-dated the Protestant Reformation. Those chapels could be large, such as the one at the Viscount and Viscountess Montague's home in Battle, Sussex, or a modest space designed to accommodate the family and their household. Catholic noble and gentry estates became centers of religious worship for laity and priests. For the government, those estates were centers of potentially seditious activity. For the Catholic landed classes, their actions on behalf of the English mission were more than a religious responsibility or an act of defiance to the Protestant state. Rather, most noble and gentry Catholics were behaving exactly as they should, in keeping with the noble and gentle virtues they were expected to display: professions of loyalty to the monarch, desire to participate in the structures of local social and political authority, demonstration of religious piety, provision of hospitality to travelers and priests, and acts of charity to laity of lesser status.

“When Time Should Serve”

The Long Wait of Lay Catholic Exiles

Anne R. Throckmorton

On 2 June 1580, an Englishman named Thomas Houghton died. In his will, he left £100 to buy a pair of organs, a table, and music books for his parish church of Preston.¹ His initial executors were afraid to carry out Houghton's final wishes because instead of passing away in his bed in his English village, he died a religious exile in Liège. He was one of a number of English lay Catholics who chose the uncertainties of exile over possible persecution in their homeland during the 16th and 17th centuries. Houghton recognized the difficulties his will presented and noted that his gifts should be delivered “when time should serve.” His executors doubted that England soon would return to the Catholic fold and feared the danger Houghton's request presented. As a compromise, Cardinal William Allen agreed to hold the money in a sort of escrow with the funds being used to help his English seminary in Reims “so long as this present schism of our country of England dureth by Goddes sufferance.” Allen promised the full amount to the Preston parish church “when God shall have mercy on our contrey and restore the same to the catholicke faith and service.”²

Roger Martyn, like Houghton, was serving time, awaiting the restoration of Catholicism in England. His memoirs of growing up in the parish of Long Melford echoed the sentiments of Houghton's will. Born about the time Henry VIII started taking steps to invalidate his first marriage, Martyn witnessed England's multiple reformations. He wrote nostalgically of the religion of his youth and the pride his family took in caring for their ancestral chapel in Holy

1 My research was made possible by Walter W. Craigie Teaching Endowment and Rashkind Endowment Grants awarded by Randolph-Macon College; funds provided by the University of Virginia Corcoran Department of History; and the Miriam Chrisman Travel Grant awarded by the Society for Reformation Research.

2 *The Letters and Memorials of William Cardinal Allen (1532–1594)*, ed. Fathers of the Congregation of the London Oratory (London: 1882), 86. For an extended discussion of the last wills and testaments of English Catholic exiles, see Katy Gibbons, *English Catholic Exiles in Late Sixteenth-Century Paris* (Rochester, NY: 2011), 136–42.

Trinity Church.³ He explained that many of the decorations his family had donated through the years were hidden in his home. Like Houghton, he died in the hope that “the same I hope my heirs will repair and restore again one day.”⁴ Unlike Houghton, Martyn never left England but instead endured imprisonment and financial penalties imposed upon recusants, or those who refused to attend Church of England services. When he died in 1615, he was buried in Holy Trinity Church despite his known Catholicism.⁵

Like many English Catholics, Martyn found a way to stay true to his faith despite official harassment and to remain at home in a state of quasi-internal exile.⁶ Unlike Martyn, Houghton was part of a select group of lay Catholics for whom any semblance of conformity was so repugnant that they had to leave the comforts and familiarity of home so they could practice their religion elsewhere. In their final years, both Houghton and Martyn lived in a state of suspended animation that was the lot of most English Catholics at this time. Fortune’s Wheel had turned several times in a very short span in England with Henry VIII’s conservative reformation giving way in 1547 to Edward VI’s radical reform, followed by Mary I’s restoration of Catholicism in 1554, and then the moderate Protestantism Elizabeth I established in 1559. It is no wonder that English Catholics lived in varying degrees of hope for the reestablishment of their church or, at the very least, toleration of their faith in their homeland. Indeed, those who left England for what they believed would be more welcoming religious environments viewed their exile as temporary.⁷ More than a century later, in 1688, English Catholics experienced a similar reversal of fortune when the Catholic James II fled England rather than confront his Protestant son-in-law, William of Orange. Subjects like Sir Richard Bulstrode, who shared the king’s exile, confidently anticipated another royal restoration like the one Charles II experienced in 1660. Bulstrode had represented James II in Brussels and remained there even after William III established himself on the throne.

3 David Dymond, “Martin, Roger (1526/7–1615),” in *ODNB*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/75473>.

4 Roger Martyn, “The State of Long Melford Church as I Did Know It,” in *Religion and Society in Early Modern England: A Sourcebook*, 2nd ed., ed. David Cressy and Lori Anne Ferrell (New York: 2005), 13.

5 Dymond, “Martin, Roger.”

6 Alexandra Walsham argues that Catholics up until some 100 years after the reign of Elizabeth are “better thought of as semi-separatist,” Walsham, *Catholic Reformation in Protestant Britain* (Farnham, Surrey: 2014), 94.

7 Geert H. Janssen, “The Exile Experience,” in *The Ashgate Research Companion to the Counter-Reformation*, ed. Alexandra Bamji, Geert H. Janssen, and Mary Laven (Farnham, Surrey: 2013), 86.

In 1691, when local government officials asked Bulstrode to vacate the city due to William's impending arrival, they reassured him that the situation was probably temporary because "the English were a fickle nation and neuer satisfied with their present Gouvernement and that one might see yet a change and therefore I should haue patience."⁸

Exile for lay Catholics tended to be the province of the well-to-do as only a few could afford to reestablish themselves in lands where they might lack business and social connections. Those with the means to leave often forfeited their property in England and had to depend on the somewhat unreliable charity of foreign governments. Although their numbers were small, the Elizabethan and Jacobean governments feared the potential these disaffected English had to harm their former homeland by helping England's enemies plan and execute military invasions. In a speech delivered to Elizabeth's first Parliament, Sir Ralph Sadler warned that the Continental Catholic powers were making plans to reclaim England for the papacy, asserting that recusants at home were part of the conspiracy as well as "those which be abroad, to helpe and further the same."⁹ The attempted invasion of the Spanish Armada in 1588, the failed Gunpowder Plot of 1605, and a number of assassination plots confirmed such fears as did the spike in refugees who fled England and Scotland in the wake of the 1688 revolution and unsuccessful Jacobite uprisings in 1690, 1715, and 1745. These same fears ultimately served to forge a British identity as a nation of God's chosen people who enjoyed his special protection. During the 70-year span of the reigns of Elizabeth I and James VI/I, subjects at home internalized the new religious order as Protestantism increasingly became a marker of English identity.¹⁰ As for those subjects who chose exile, the distance of space and time was not so great as to alienate many of them from their English heritage, even as they endured the hardship of being aliens in refugee centers where their hosts often viewed them with suspicion.

The exiles who left home after the revolution of 1688 generally encountered better conditions and successfully managed to forge an English – and after the Treaty of Union in 1707 – a British identity within their far-flung diaspora. As Gabriel Glickman argues, the Jacobite diaspora benefited greatly from the "architecture of an expatriate world" that earlier English exiles constructed

8 London, BL, Add MS 37662, fol. 34r.

9 *The State Papers and Letters of Sir Ralph Sadler, Knight-Banneret*, ed. Arthur Clifford, vol. 2 (Edinburgh: 1809), 549.

10 Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707–1837*, 3rd ed. (Bath: 2009), 11–54. For an analysis of the Catholic response to this identity shaping, see Christopher Highley, *Catholics Writing the Nation in Early Modern Britain and Ireland* (Oxford: 2008), 23–53.

during the preceding century.¹¹ Whether Catholics fled Britain in the 16th, 17th, or 18th centuries, many discovered that their fathers' country-house faith for which they had renounced the comforts of home was rather different in its cross-Channel manifestations.¹² The renewal that post-Tridentine Catholicism spawned on the Continent was bolder in expression and naturally much more international in scope, and exiles who were used to practicing a private faith in secret often found themselves exposed on an international stage.¹³ Such exposure frequently meant social severance in England as, for example, dependents at James II's exiled court in France understood they were no longer welcome at William and Mary's court.¹⁴

Religious professionals such as priests and bishops who chose exile occupied most historians' attention until the later 20th century when the groundbreaking work of scholars such as John Bossy, J.J. Scarisbrick, and Eamon Duffy transformed the standard narrative of the English Reformation.¹⁵ No longer do most historians unquestioningly view pre-Reformation England as the vassal of a corrupt and listing Catholic Church, with English men and women thirsting for reforms Henry, Edward, and Elizabeth Tudor delivered to them. In particular, Duffy's evidence of enthusiastic participation in traditional devotional activities right up to the promulgation of the 1534 Act of Supremacy makes it clear that the Catholic Church was a vibrant, comforting presence in many English subjects' lives and that many did not immediately embrace religious change.¹⁶ More recent investigations by Christopher Haigh, Peter Marshall, Michael Questier, Ethan Shagan, and Alexandra Walsham have revealed the varying degrees of fervor felt by the English people for the Tudor church and

11 Gabriel Glickman, *The English Catholic Community, 1688–1745: Politics, Culture and Ideology* (Woodbridge: 2013), 76.

12 An English priest living in Florence in 1710 complained that English missionaries opted to serve in places such as London with all of its amenities or attached themselves to rich households and, as a result, "poor Catholics that live far from any such residence must be very much neglected;" BL, Add MS 28254, fol. 47r.

13 Hugh Dunthorne, *Britain and the Dutch Revolt, 1560–1700* (Cambridge, Eng.: 2013), 150–51. John Bossy claimed some Elizabethans clung to the old religion because they embraced its seasonality and tradition. However, he also argued that most of the remaining Catholics comprised a new sect; Bossy, "The Character of Elizabethan Catholicism," *P&P* 21 (1962), 39–59.

14 Glickman, *English Catholic Community*, 72.

15 John Bossy, *The English Catholic Community* (Oxford: 1976); J.J. Scarisbrick, *The Reformation and the English People* (Oxford: 1984); and Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, 1400–1500* (New Haven: 1992).

16 Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, 155–206.

that for many, accepting the new order was a matter of politics and geography as much as a matter of religion.¹⁷

This historiographical challenge to the unquestioning reception of Protestantism led in turn to changes in the Catholic narrative. Walsham countered the dominant depiction that emphasized English Catholic families sheltering Jesuits in bolt-holes and defying laws requiring attendance at Church of England services by demonstrating that quite a few Catholics were comfortable attending Protestant services just often enough to avoid prosecution.¹⁸ Lucy Wooding argues that until the 1560s, when confessional lines among the various churches hardened, English Catholics, influenced by the humanist movement, were gravitating to "a more scriptural faith with strong reformist preoccupations."¹⁹ Even after the Council of Trent, when the Catholic hierarchy embraced a more militant and strident form of Christianity that ostensibly allowed for little compromise, there was a spectrum of adherence to the new rules among the English laity.²⁰ As Lake and Questier argue in their study of Margaret Clitherow, a recusant from York pressed to death in 1586 for refusing to enter a plea to charges of hiding Catholic priests, many of her coreligionists resented her zeal, which they viewed as excessive and dangerous.²¹

As the history of Catholics at home shifted, so too did the narrative of the laity who not only were unwilling to engage in any type of conformity but also had the means to choose exile over the various degrees of recusancy. As Questier and Katy Gibbons observe, the earlier history of lay exiles, themselves an extreme group, emphasized even more extreme outliers such as spies and double agents bent on colluding with Continental Catholics to overthrow the Protestant regime in England.²² This emphasis on outliers resulted from

17 Christopher Haigh, *English Reformations: Religion, Politics and Society under the Tudors* (Oxford: 1993); Peter Marshall, *Reformation England, 1480–1642*, 2nd ed. (London: 2012), and *Religious Identities in Henry VIII's England* (Aldershot: 2006); Michael Questier, *Catholicism and Community in Early Modern England: Politics, Aristocratic Patronage and Religion, c.1550–1640* (Cambridge, Eng.: 2006); Ethan Shagan, *Popular Politics and the English Reformation* (Cambridge, Eng.: 2003); and Walsham, *Catholic Reformation in Protestant Britain*.

18 Alexander Walsham, *Church Papists: Catholicism, Conformity and Confessional Polemic in Early Modern England* (Woodbridge: 1993).

19 Lucy E.C. Wooding, *Rethinking Catholicism in Reformation England* (Oxford: 2000), 10.

20 Walsham, *Catholic Reformation in Protestant Britain*, 341–68.

21 Peter Lake and Michael Questier, "Margaret Clitherow, Catholic Nonconformity, Martyrology and the Politics of Religious Change in Elizabethan England, *P&P* 185 (2004), 43–90.

22 Katy Gibbons, *English Catholic Exiles in Late Sixteenth-Century Paris* (Woodbridge: 2011), 5. See also Stephen Alford, *The Watchers: A Secret History of the Reign of Elizabeth I*

the sources available to historians. As Liesbeth Corens has noted, there is no “clear-cut body of source material” pertaining to exiles, making it difficult to piece together a history that reveals the complexity of the ongoing interactions among exiles, their communities back home, and their foreign hosts.²³ Much of the information we have about lay exiles comes from the reports of Crown officials and the agents they hired to keep tabs on the activities of refugees. Such information is naturally biased and paints a picture of widespread conspiracy beyond the borders of England. Other sources include polemical works as penned by former exiles like Lewis Lewkenor and James Wadsworth, who, disillusioned by their exile experiences, returned home, embraced the Church of England, and in efforts to underscore their new orthodoxy wrote hostile descriptions of the intentions of English Catholics abroad.²⁴ Catholic presses in exile centers produced a barrage of works by churchmen and scholars, with considerably fewer lay exiles contributing to the literary output. John Heigham, a publisher, author, and book smuggler, was one such lay Catholic. He provided tantalizing glimpses of what the lay exile experience was like in the prefaces and dedications of his works.²⁵

As Bossy demonstrated in his pioneering 1960 dissertation, “Elizabethan Catholicism: The Link with France,” the path to understanding the activities of English Catholic lay exiles in the aggregate runs through foreign archives. In this unpublished work, Bossy used French sources to graft together a portrait of English exiles living in Paris, Reims, and Rouen during Henry III’s reign and how, as a group, they engaged in the politics of the French Wars of Religion.²⁶ Gibbons, who is carrying on Bossy’s legacy, argues that consulting non-English sources is essential to breaking the “Anglo-centric” bent of scholarship on English Catholic exiles and that situating them within the social, political, and religious contexts of host countries provides a more nuanced understanding of the exiles as a whole rather than relying solely on case studies of individual expatriates.²⁷ Gibbons, Geert Janssen, Paul Arblaster, and Liesbeth Corens

(New York: 2012); and John Cooper, *The Queen’s Agent: Sir Francis Walsingham and the Rise of Espionage in Elizabeth England* (New York: 2012).

23 Liesbeth Corens, *Confessional Mobility and English Catholics in Counter-Reformation Europe* (Oxford: 2019), 2; Gibbons, *English Catholic Exiles*, 4.

24 Lewis Lewkenor, *The Estate of English Fvgitives vnder the King of Spaine and his ministers [...]* (London: 1596); and James Wadsworth, *The English Spanish Pilgrime [...]* (London: 1629).

25 A.F. Allison, “John Heigham of S. Omer (c.1568–c.1632),” *RH* 4 (1958), 226–44.

26 J.A. Bossy, “Elizabethan Catholicism: The Link with France” (PhD diss., Cambridge University, 1961).

27 Gibbons, *English Catholic Exiles*, 6.

are at the forefront of scholars who are successfully generating portraits of Catholic exiles as part of an international community rather than emphasizing their minority status back home. Whether they resided in Spain, France, or the Low Countries, English lay exiles were caught up in the diplomatic dances of the great European powers, and their fortunes rose and fell depending upon the international political situation.²⁸ Gibbons, along with Bossy and Peter Guilday, also broke the perceived monopoly Spain and other Habsburg territories had on hosting English lay exiles by investigating the lot of exiles in other places such as France and Italy.

In recent years, historians have started questioning when and how seismic religious changes spawned by the Reformation triggered an age of exile. For example, Nicholas Terpstra claims that a desire to achieve religious purity through a combination of "exile and enclosure," became a mass phenomenon during the period prior to and during the Reformation. In his interpretation, the history of the Reformation would have to begin with the expulsion of Jews from Spain in 1492 and from there generate a global perspective.²⁹ Of course, as will be discussed later, England and Britain never formally exiled Catholics, and promulgated laws forbidding such flights. Scholars are also challenging and elaborating on traditional definitions of exiles. For example, Gibbons observes that in addition to fugitive rebels, exiles could count "political Catholics, seekers of conscience, scholars and gentleman travellers" among their numbers, many of whom were bound by family and social connections in the metropole.³⁰ Corens replaces the label "exile" with the practice of "confessional mobility" in her investigation, arguing that such a designation enables historians to situate refugees among the "travellers, students, and pilgrims" from Britain who also happened to be Catholic, as well as to observe how Catholics regularly tried on and discarded such a designation based on their circumstances at particular moments in time.³¹

There were arguably two distinct periods of exile activity. The first occurred from the end of the 16th century to mid-17th century. The second major exodus happened during the first few decades after the 1688 revolution. No accurate count of the number of late-16th and mid-17th-century lay Catholics who

28 Gibbons, *English Catholic Exiles*; and Geert H. Janssen, "The Counter-Reformation of the Refugee: Exile and the Shaping of Catholic Militancy in the Dutch Revolt," *JEH* 63 (2012), 678.

29 Nicholas Terpstra, *Religious Refugees in the Early Modern World: An Alternate History of the Reformation* (New York: 2015), 1–10.

30 Gibbons, *English Catholic Exiles*, 32.

31 Corens, *Confessional Mobility*, 3.

chose exile has been determined. What is certain is that the scale of the exodus increased from 1569 onwards, spurred by the failed rebellion of the northern earls and the publication a year later of *Regnans in excelsis* in which Pius v declared Elizabeth I deposed and released her subjects from their obligation of obedience. According to Peter Marshall, the English Crown identified more than 530 Catholic lay exiles in the 1590s.³² Caroline Hibbard estimates that approximately 1100 exiles resided in the Spanish Netherlands during the reign of Charles I.³³ In his 1914 work, *The English Catholic Refugees on the Continent*, Peter Guilday claimed that the English lay exile population never exceeded 3000, but Marshall and others have questioned the basis of Guilday's numbers, and Gibbons has argued that Guilday's estimate is probably too low.³⁴ Following the defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588, the shift in exile numbers was accompanied by a shift in hoped-for outcomes. Prior to the Armada, many recusants abroad held out hope that a Catholic monarch such as Mary, Queen of Scots or Philip II of Spain might restore their faith in England. The ranks of those willing to settle for toleration grew after the defeat and increased even more after the failed Essex Rebellion of 1601. As Peter Lake points out, English Catholics at home and in exile during the 16th and mid-17th centuries grew increasingly discouraged as anticipated historical turning points failed to turn in their favor.³⁵

The kinds of people who decided to leave their homeland also changed. Prior to 1569, most Catholic exiles were religious professionals; scholars, including nearly 100 academics from Oxford and Cambridge;³⁶ with the occasional aristocrat and his entourage thrown into the mix.³⁷ While the number of exiles was still small even after 1569, the Elizabethan government worried about the increasing number of lay exiles who were substantial people with money and connections. Lewis Lewkenor observed in a book describing his time as a Catholic refugee that a number of his companions "were gentlemen

32 Peter Marshall, "Religious Exiles and the Tudor State," in *Discipline and Diversity: Papers Read at the 2005 Summer Meeting and the 2006 Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society*, ed. Kate Cooper and Jeremy Gregory (Woodbridge: 2007), 268.

33 Caroline Hibbard, "Early Stuart Catholicism: Revisions and Re-Revisions," *Journal of Modern History* 52 (1980), 29.

34 Peter Guilday, *The English Catholic Refugees on the Continent, 1558–1795* (London: 1914), xx; Marshall, "Religious Exiles," 268–69; Gibbons, *English Catholic Exiles*, 16.

35 Peter Lake, "Catholics and the Late-Elizabethan Succession Question" (paper, Sixteenth Century Society and Conference, Geneva, Switzerland, 30 May 2009). I would like to thank Dr Lake for granting me permission to quote his paper.

36 Dunthorne, *Britain and the Dutch Revolt*, 141.

37 Marshall, *Religious Identities*, 257–58; and Janssen, "Exile Experience," 77–79.

of good houses in England."³⁸ As Janssen notes, many of these later exiles were nobles, urban elites, and entrepreneurs.³⁹ They usually had wealth and existing businesses, as well as kinship and/or political networks they could leverage upon arrival in their chosen places of refuge and potentially exploit to the detriment of their homeland.

Although the number of exiles increased during this time, there was no mass exit of lay Catholics from England prior to the Glorious Revolution of 1688. Refugees tended to leave in dribs and drabs, usually prompted by political events at home.⁴⁰ Janssen has argued that the first exodus of Catholics peaked towards the end of Elizabeth's reign.⁴¹ No single location drew a majority of exiles. Spain initially attracted a large number of Elizabethan exiles, many of whom came in the train of Lady Jane Dormer, a lady-in-waiting to Mary I who married the Spanish ambassador and became the duchess of Feria, as well as other high-profile defectors.⁴² The Southern Netherlands became a haven for Catholic exiles after Alexander Farnese, Duke of Parma, reconquered the area during the 1580s, and it continued to attract refugees until the start of the French Revolution.⁴³ Antwerp's established English merchant community was an especially desirable destination for exiled businessmen, although such links made it easier for the Crown to monitor refugee activities. In Antwerp, Richard Verstegan operated a one-man media outlet that disseminated "newsletters, books, pamphlets and some of the earliest European print journalism."⁴⁴ The nearby bishopric of Liège, where Thomas Houghton ended his days, was also popular and an easier location for exiles to avoid Elizabethan and Jacobean surveillance. Louvain with its many universities attracted a great number of exiles, as did Reims, Douai, St-Omer, Brussels, and Cologne, where local nobles were willing to extend patronage to exiles.⁴⁵ An Irish college was established in Louvain in 1607, with branches opening in nearby locations. The Scots founded a college in Douai as did the Irish, and English Jesuits founded a college in St-Omer.⁴⁶ Schools in Louvain and Douai were popular destinations for the sons

38 Lewkenor, *Estate of English Fvgitiues*, 2.

39 Janssen, "Exile Experience," 79.

40 Marshall, "Religious Exiles," 266.

41 Janssen, "Exile Experience," 78.

42 Albert J. Loomie, *The Spanish Elizabethans: The English Exiles at the Court of Philip II* (New York: 1963), 94–128.

43 Dunthorne, *Britain and the Dutch Revolt*, 143–49.

44 Paul Arblaster, *Antwerp and the World: Richard Verstegan and the International Culture of Catholic Reformation* (Leuven: 2004), 1.

45 Marshall, *Religious Identities*, 246–47; Hibbard, "Early Stuart Catholicism," 29.

46 Dunthorne, *Britain and the Dutch Revolt*, 143.

and daughters of the Catholic gentry who were not earmarked for careers as priests or nuns. Despite the necessity of traveling incognito, by the 1620s, more Catholic youth were being educated on the Continent than in British grammar schools.⁴⁷ Elite exiles gravitated to Paris, especially during the 1580s, even though it did not possess a central institution catering to English refugees.⁴⁸ Rome, with its English College and hospitality site, also drew refugees as did Florence.⁴⁹

Exile was a deliberate choice, usually motivated by individual conscience. As a number of scholars have pointed out, Catholic lay exiles were not banished from England. On the contrary, several statutes passed during the reigns of Elizabeth I and James I banned English subjects from leaving the country unless they had permission from the Crown.⁵⁰ Along with such statutes, came increasingly punitive legal measures against recusants who heretofore had eluded prosecution through occasional conformity. A number of Catholics endured the persecution until they reached a breaking point. Such was the case of Sir Thomas Leedes, a resident of Catholic-friendly Sussex, who managed to occasionally conform to the established church during the 1590s, even to the extent of serving on a recusancy commission, a body charged with seeking out and taking legal action against Catholics. His Protestant credentials were strong enough for James I to make him a Knight of the Bath at his coronation in 1603. However, as unalloyed orthodoxy increasingly became a requirement to hold influential public office, Leedes and his wife opted to retire to Louvain in 1613, although insurmountable debt also may have contributed to the couple's flight.⁵¹

When a Catholic managed to slip away into exile, the state was likely to brand him or her a traitor.⁵² While many Catholics who escaped to the Continent were associated with failed rebellions at home, some exiles who did not participate directly in these foiled schemes left anyway because the Crown regularly required all English subjects to swear an oath of allegiance. Such was the case of Dr John Story, who fled in 1563 rather than foreswearing himself.⁵³

47 Dunthorne, *Britain and the Dutch Revolt*, 143.

48 Gibbons, *English Catholic Exiles*, 1; and Gibbons, "No Home in Exile? Elizabethan Catholics in Paris," *Reformation* 15 (2010), 115–25.

49 Paul E.J. Hammer, "An Elizabethan Spy Who Came in from the Cold: The Return of Anthony Standen to England in 1593," *Historical Research* 65 (1992), 279.

50 Marshall, "Religious Exiles," 264.

51 Questier, *Catholicism and Community*, 48–57.

52 Marshall, "Religious Exiles," 264.

53 Ronald Pollitt, "The Abduction of Doctor John Story and the Evolution of Elizabethan Intelligence Operations," *SCJ* 14 (1983), 135.

A Protestant who wrote about the life and death of Story claimed that he testified at his treason trial that he was compelled to flee by his conscience, just as Abraham obeyed God's order to leave the country of his birth: "[a]nd so followynge his example, for conscience sake in religion, did forsake his countreye, and the lawes of this realme, and the prince also."⁵⁴

Story was caught up in a much larger debate about the existence of an individual conscience and the extent to which people should or could be guided by it. In a society where obeying the ruler was tantamount to obeying God, the evolving concept of an individual conscience not in step with the laws of one's sovereign was problematic. Jonathan Wright argues that during the early modern period, the conscience was anatomized and identified as the means by which God imposed internal punishment upon sinners.⁵⁵ Walsham claims that the debates about religious conformity helped in "relativizing and internalising the concept of conscience,"⁵⁶ and molding it into something more akin to contemporary conceptions. Christians of all stripes used conscience to justify religious nonconformity, with exile being the most radical form of rejection of the established religion. In the eyes of the Elizabethan and Jacobean states, however, refusal to at least appear to conform amounted to treasonable disobedience. William Trumbull, a diplomat stationed in Brussels during the reign of James VI/1, wrote a dispatch in 1611 in which he indignantly described how Catholic exiles in the Low Countries "doe traduce the Actions of our State." He observed that more exiles arrived daily "under pretence of their conscience to nourish the ill affected & to carry on their practices against his Majesty and his Dominions."⁵⁷

Appearances in matters of religion mattered regardless of where one's faith fell on the spectrum of Christianity. As the lines among various churches hardened, both Catholics and Protestants wrote much concerning Nicodemism, or publicly practicing one religion while secretly subscribing to another. The English Crown, of course, required all subjects to attend Church of England services. In the 1560s, the Catholic Church ruled that attending Protestant services was sinful, which put an enormous burden on English Catholics who were at home striving to remain true to their faith as well as to their queen.

54 "A Declaration of the Lyfe and Death of John Story, late a Romish Cannonicall Doctor, by Professyon," in *A Collection of Scarce and Valuable Tracts* [...], ed. Walter Scott (London: 1809), 482.

55 Jonathan Wright, "The World's Worst Worm: Conscience and Conformity during the English Reformation," *SCJ* 30 (1999), 119.

56 Walsham, *Catholic Reformation in Protestant Britain*, 105.

57 BL, Add MS 72385, fol. 100r.

The pressure on English Catholics to not conform increased with the arrival in England of the first Jesuits in 1580. A struggle between the faction of clerical Catholics who denounced any form of conformity and those who advocated occasional conformity quickly ensued.⁵⁸ As Peter Marshall points out, those who bypassed these internal power struggles by choosing exile “were among the most flamboyant and flagrant of dissenters.”⁵⁹ According to Thomas Hide, an exiled priest who wrote a letter of consolation to English Catholics at home and abroad, the radical choice to leave one’s country was difficult, but the miseries were worth it in order “to be where we may lyue in vnitie, wher we may serue God openlye, and confesse our faith freelie.”⁶⁰ Like Story, who cited Abraham’s flight from his father’s land into Canaan, Hide deployed a number of Old Testament and historical examples to support not only exile but also the necessity of privileging God’s law over the laws of humanity. For example, he claimed that the Israelites rendered obedience to the Babylonian ruler Nebuchadnezzar until he tried to make them worship a false god. Hide also cited the example of the early Christian martyr Polycarp who refused to pay homage to an image of Caesar. Indeed, many exiles identified with the Israelites who fled Egypt and the menacing rule of Pharaoh in an effort to paint a more heroic narrative in contrast to England’s self-image as a Protestant nation singled out for special protection from God.⁶¹ Frederick Smith argues that English exiles sought to shape how they were remembered by promulgating the so-called myth of banishment to counter the stigma rendered by the criminality of flight.⁶²

It is not surprising that Catholic refugees clung to such justifications because they likely found themselves living in reduced circumstances regardless of where they fled or how much money they had. Hide observed that exiles truly learned to trust in God’s providence and that their suffering was a gift that would pay dividends after death: “What euer the iudgemēte of the worlde be, it is no syn to be in banishment, it is no shame to be poore for Christes sake. Better

58 Walsham, *Catholic Reformation in Protestant Britain*, 57–60.

59 Marshall, “Religious Exiles,” 263.

60 *A Consolatorie epistle to the Afflicted catholikes, set forth by Thomas Hide Priest* (Leuven: 1579). For a more extensive analysis of Hide, see Gibbons, *English Catholic Exiles*, 118 and 134–35.

61 Janssen, “Counter-Reformation of the Refugee,” 676; Marshall, “Religious Exiles,” 276; Christopher Highley, “Exile and Religious Identity in Early Modern England,” *Reformation* 15 (2010), 53.

62 Frederick Smith, “English Catholic Exile and the Memory of Flight, 1533–1553” (paper, Sixteenth Century Society and Conference, Bruges, Belgium, 18 August 2016). I would like to thank Dr Smith for permission to quote his paper.

is the poore that liueth barelie, thē riche man that walketh cokedlie."⁶³ In the dedication of a devotional work, publisher John Heigham described his patron and fellow exile, Lady Elizabeth Willoughby, as a woman who had endured the "presse of persecution."⁶⁴ She had suffered all the torments that St Paul promised would be delivered to believers including hunger, thirst, scorn, and constant wandering. Heigham wrote that as a fugitive in England, Willoughby had to walk many miles on foot in the dead of the night from one hiding place to another until finally she had "to flie the lande, to liue in a strange and forrein contrie."⁶⁵ Heigham indignantly described how exile forced her to beg the Spanish and Venetian ambassadors for food, "and on Fridayes and Saturdayes, to be taxed to the allowance of three pence a day, for the maintenance of your selfe, your man, & youre maide."⁶⁶ In 1617, the exile Thomas Leedes, who was living in Louvain, was most anxious to see a letter successfully delivered to his son in England, asserting, "I stand now in hard termes for want of money beinge constrained to sell plate and other thinges to pay for my meate and drinke."⁶⁷ Despite his poverty, recently arrived exiles constantly importuned him for patronage. For example, in 1615 he wrote of a visit from a Captain Blunt who hoped Leedes could give him a job because "manie of his freindes were seruants, tenantes and dependantes on my house."⁶⁸

Because they were somewhat able to maintain households and employ servants, Leedes and Willoughby were probably in better positions than most exiles, particularly young men who had renounced their country for their faith and the opportunity for adventure and glory on the Continent. Lewkenor described himself and his compatriots who had signed up to fight in Flanders on behalf of the Spanish king during the Dutch Revolt as a "miserable troupe of my unhappie contri-men ... wandering in poore habites and afflicted gestures, heauily groning vnder the burthen of an extreme and calamitous necessitie." Although they volunteered to risk their lives, Lewkenor claimed their Spanish commanders disdained them and often positioned them in the most dangerous places on the field of battle.⁶⁹

63 Hide, *Consolatorie epistle*.

64 Philippe d'Outreman, *The Trve Christian Catholique or the Maner How to Live Christianly* [...], trans. John Heigham (St-Omers: 1622), 5.

65 D'Outreman, *Trve Christian Catholique*, 7.

66 D'Outreman, *Trve Christian Catholique*, 6.

67 BL, Add MS 72298, fol. 53.

68 BL, Add MS 72298, fol. 41r.

69 Lewkenor, *Estate of English Fvgitives*, 2.

Exiles not only encountered poverty and instability in their host countries, they also frequently confronted what Geert Janssen has described as an existential crisis triggered by displacement. Untethered from the moorings that a local community provided in terms of shaping identities, exiles often found themselves transformed into outsiders and strangers.⁷⁰ Even aristocrats were not immune to this experience. For example, Lewkenor described the scorn several prominent Catholic exiles endured at the hands of the Spanish who were planning the 1588 invasion of England and ignored the exiles' offer of help. Sir William Stanley, the military defector who had so spectacularly surrendered Deventer to the Spanish in 1587,⁷¹ was so upset that he moved to Antwerp, "where foure or five moneths hee liued full of melancholy and passion, making evident shewe that his minde was vtterly vnable to beare the burthen of so great an indignitie."⁷² Nonetheless, Stanley's soldiers from Deventer and other garrisons, most of whom were Irish and Scottish, as well as his English officers, ended up being the backbone of the first "English" regiment in a foreign army, prompting Parliament to pass laws banning English citizens from serving in armies of Catholic states.⁷³

Divorced from the context of home, exiles frequently discovered that the faith of their fathers for which they had sacrificed so much was not what they had expected it to be. As Gibbons pointed out, by the late 16th century England had proscribed traditional Catholic devotional practices for so long that it is possible that lay exiles in Paris did not insist on incorporating such customs into their new lives simply because they had no personal memories of them.⁷⁴ Unlike their Protestant counterparts during Mary Tudor's reign, Catholic exiles did not set up their own churches once they had arrived at their places of refuge. Instead, local authorities expected them to attend the already established parish churches in their new neighborhoods.⁷⁵ Consequently, the Latin Mass of the Council of Trent became a major vehicle by which English exiles were incorporated into the international Catholic community.⁷⁶ At refugee centers such as Douai and Cologne, exiles encountered, if not absorbed, the more militant, hardline Catholicism promulgated at Trent. Jesuits were the primary change agents in these centers and provided structure and community for

70 Janssen, "Counter-Reformation of the Refugee," 675.

71 Marshall, "Religious Exiles," 273.

72 Lewkenor, *Estate of English Fvgitives*, Gir.

73 Dunthorne, *Britain and the Dutch Revolt*, 67–68.

74 Gibbons, "No Home," 121–22.

75 Janssen, "Exile Experience," 80.

76 Gibbons, "No Home," 121–22.

exiles seeking stability.⁷⁷ As Janssen notes, the experience of exile tended to transform rather than confirm religious identity.⁷⁸

Once they had settled into their new homes, exiles frequently found themselves at the mercy of international politics. For example, a commercial treaty between England and Spain in 1575 led English exiles to flee the Netherlands,⁷⁹ and in many cases to relocate to northern France. Most notably, this forced the English Catholic College of Douai in 1578 to move to Reims where it remained until 1593.⁸⁰ In 1585, the Dutch Revolt entered a new phase⁸¹ and triggered a major exodus of Catholics of all nationalities "from Amsterdam, Antwerp and Douai to Cologne, Paris and Rome."⁸² Gibbons claims that the upheaval in the Netherlands consolidated Paris as the primary destination of choice for English aristocratic lay exiles, although the city had drawn a number of refugees in the 1560s and 1570s during the marriage negotiations for Elizabeth and the brother of the French king. While that marriage never materialized, the queen did forge an alliance with Henry III, a Catholic king coping with pressure from the conservative Catholic League to annihilate French Protestants. Despite demands from the Elizabethan government to extradite English exiles, Henry left English refugees alone knowing they could easily turn to his enemies in the Catholic League for succor. In this way, lay exiles were able to turn French politics to their advantage and carve out a "safe harbor" for themselves.⁸³

When English Catholics elected to leave their native land, they did not say farewell so much as *au revoir*. Most exiles maintained ties with family, friends, and associates back home, which goes a long way in explaining why the Crown feared and mistrusted the refugees so much. Thomas Leedes was an example of an exile who left England but could never completely stay away. Although he and his wife fled to Louvain, he still managed to regularly sneak home across the English Channel for visits. While he claimed to know nothing of the doings of his neighbors and princes in the Low Countries, his letters reveal that he was well informed about what was happening in English political circles. For example, he wrote to the diplomat William Trumbull in 1614 about a power play

77 Janssen, "Counter-Reformation of the Refugee," 678.

78 Janssen, "Exile Experience," 81.

79 Marshall, "Religious Exiles," 275.

80 Gibbons, "No Home," 119.

81 Hugh Dunthorne argues that the Dutch Revolt, or Eighty Years' War, "was not seen as a single event but rather as a series of loosely connected episodes;" *Britain and the Dutch Revolt*, 61.

82 Geert H. Janssen, *The Dutch Revolt and Catholic Exile in Reformation Europe* (Cambridge, Eng.: 2014), 5.

83 Gibbons, "No Home," 117–18.

Queen Anne had made. Displeased at an advantageous match arranged for her husband's favorite, Robert Carr, the queen organized a rival wedding celebration for her own favorite to be held at her own residence, Somerset House, where the king was an invited guest, a move that allowed her to challenge "the cultural authority of James and his court."⁸⁴ Leedes explained to Trumbull that the marriage of Lady Jane Drummond and Robert Ker, 1st Lord Roxburghe, took place with Anne having "the kinge and all his court att Somersett house with divers shewes and much triumphe."⁸⁵ Trumbull apparently valued Leedes's political insights because later that year he asked Leedes's "opinion touching the distribution of offices amongst the Lordes."⁸⁶ Leedes responded by saying he would try but that his "retired life" made such analysis difficult.⁸⁷

Leedes's musings on courtly intrigues were not nearly as troubling as exiles who attempted to use English politics to further the cause of Catholic restoration or toleration back home. Heigham engaged with contemporary politics in the prefaces of a number of his works. For example, he claimed he was encouraged to write *A Treatise of Auricular Confession* in 1622 because James VI/I had shown himself to be more moderate on points of religious controversy "then euer any Protestant hath done before him, since the very first beginning of Protestancie." Heigham explained that the silence the king had maintained about auricular confession "seemeth tacitlie, to commend, rather then to condemne it."⁸⁸ Heigham also interjected himself into the politics of a proposed Spanish marriage for Prince Charles by dedicating an earlier translated work to the heir of the English throne. In the preface of *Meditations vpon the Mysteries of Ovr Holie Faith with the Practise of Mental Prayer Tovching the Same*, Heigham acknowledged that his dedication was bold but nonetheless appropriate because Prince Charles had "now arriued to competent yeares, & capable to receaue the wholsom doctrine of our holie Faith." Furthermore, Heigham and other English Catholics embraced the promise the prince demonstrated by entertaining marriage to "a Catholique Princesse of our Religion."⁸⁹

84 Kevin Curran, *Marriage, Performance, and Politics at the Jacobean Court* (Aldershot: 2009), 136.

85 BL, Add MS 72298, fol. 3.

86 BL, Add MS 72298, fol. 18.

87 BL, Add MS 72298, fol. 18.

88 John Heigham, *A Treatise of Auricular Confession*, in *English Recusant Literature, 1558–1640*, ed. D.M. Rogers, vol. 322 (Ilkley, Yorkshire: 1976), 13.

89 John Heigham, preface to *Meditations vpon the Mysteries of Ovr Holie Faith, with the Practise of Mental Prayer Tovching the Same*, by Luis de la Puente, trans. John Heigham (St-Omer: 1619), 3.

Heigham was just the sort of energetic and entrepreneurial exile the English Crown feared the most. In addition to not quite breaking their ties with home, English exiles quickly engaged with what the Crown perceived to be a menacing infrastructure from which refugees could challenge its authority. Exiles founded colleges, seminaries, and convents; established printing presses; wrote books that simultaneously denounced the English Protestant state and promoted the Catholic faith; and smuggled books and priests into England. Exile communities in Douai and Reims produced the first church-authorized English translation of the Bible and designed it to be portable enough for Jesuit missionaries to take back to England.⁹⁰

In most exile destinations, an infrastructure built by the Catholic Church was already in place to help refugees assimilate into their new communities. English colleges were established in Douai, Reims, St-Omer, Valladolid, Seville, and Rome. These institutions trained clergy as well as educated young exiles.⁹¹ Indeed, when Heigham smuggled Catholic books into England, his task was only half completed. Once he arrived, he exchanged his literary contraband for human cargo in the form of young men bound for seminaries on the Continent.⁹² Lay exiles in communities anchored by an educational institution often forged fruitful relationships with them. For example, Heigham was granted the rare privilege of access to the Jesuit printing presses in Douai and St-Omer. Well-heeled lay exiles also exercised patronage by supporting and founding such institutions. For example, Lady Mary Lovel founded a Carmelite convent at Antwerp in 1619, although she never took the veil. Her gift of £1600 in cash and £600-worth of church ornaments made the enterprise possible.⁹³ It was no wonder Heigham dedicated his translation of a book of instructions for prayer to Lady Lovel in 1622, expressing his gratitude to her for the "divers most singular fauours which you haue demonstrated both vnto me, and to myne."⁹⁴

Heigham was the product of a robust Catholic literary production operation that reached a peak in the years immediately preceding the English Civil

90 Peter Marshall, *Heretics and Believers: A History of the English Reformation* (New Haven: 2018), 467–69; Gibbons, *English Catholic Exiles*, 74 and 85–88; Highley, "Exile and Religious Identity," 54.

91 Marshall, "Religious Exiles," 268.

92 Paul Arblaster, "Heigham, John [*alias* Roger Heigham] (b. c.1568–d. in or after 1634)," in *ODNB*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/12868>.

93 Colleen M. Seguin, "Lovel, Mary [*née* Jane Roper, Lady Lovel (c.1564–1628)]," in *ODNB*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/69036>.

94 John Heigham, dedication to *An Instrvction How to Pray and Meditate Well* [...], by Ignazio Balsamo, trans. Heigham (St-Omer: 1622), 8.

Wars. He was active in Douai and St-Omer in the Southern Netherlands, which in the wake of the Dutch Revolt had established what Janssen has referred to as “a powerful Catholic printing press.”⁹⁵ Catholic exiles, particularly Richard Verstegan, also insinuated themselves into the publication centers of Antwerp and Cologne.⁹⁶ The presence of a resident English ambassador in Paris may have discouraged the establishment there of a similar printing enterprise.⁹⁷ During the earlier phases of the Elizabethan exile, writers in Louvain focused on doctrinal questions in their works. Once the queen was excommunicated and Jesuits started sneaking into England to minister to Catholics, the tenor and purpose of writing changed, with authors attacking the English Crown and Protestant faith in stinging works of polemic.⁹⁸ Most of these authors were learned scholars and religious divines who wrote in Latin. Heigham was a rare lay exile who injected his voice into the maelstrom by penning a number of controversial works in English. For example, in *The Gage of the Reformed Gospel*, he ridiculed the many contradictory translations of the Protestant Bible. In *Via Vere Tyta*, he engaged with Sir Humphrey Lynde, a lay Protestant who had written a book claiming that the English church could trace its history all the way back to the apostles. Heigham addressed Lynde directly in the preface, writing that he could not allow Lynde’s claims to go unanswered: “I, as mere a secular as your selfe, seeing your bould and hardy offer, though my selfe bound by your example, to do as much.”⁹⁹

In addition to being an author, translator, and publisher of more than 100 controversial Catholic works,¹⁰⁰ Heigham, who sometimes went by the alias of Roger Heigham, was also the most prolific book smuggler of the age. His network spanned much of the Low Countries and France. Sir William Wand wrote to Sir Julius Caesar in 1609 describing how Heigham and an accomplice visited Calais where they “had receaued ther fowr cases of Bookes from Paris wch they conuayed to St. Omer ... and ar to be sent over hither and ar to be dispersed.”¹⁰¹ Heigham’s Dutch wife Mary was an important accomplice in his operation. She was detained for 16 days in 1609 after she was caught smuggling books

95 Janssen, “Counter-Reformation of the Exile,” 672.

96 Marshall, “Religious Exiles,” 265; Arblaster, *Antwerp and the World*.

97 Gibbons, “No Home,” 118.

98 Marshall, “Religious Exiles,” 271.

99 John Heigham, *Via Vere Tyta*, in *English Recusant Literature, 1558–1640*, ed. D.M. Rogers, vol. 275 (Ilkley, Yorkshire: 1975), 1.

100 A.F. Allison and D.M. Rogers, “A Catalogue of Catholic Books in English Printed Abroad or Secretly in England, 1558–1640,” *Bibliographical Studies* 3 (1956), 121; Allison, “John Heigham of S. Omer,” 231.

101 BL, Lansdowne 153, fol. 71.

into England and was eventually let go because of her nationality.¹⁰² Heigham himself may have been apprehended in 1608 during one of his Channel runs. A letter from government spy William Udall to Sir Julius Caesar noted that a warrant from the Court of High Commission enabled "the bringer in of all the late seditious bokes, called Roger Heigham, was suffred to escape for 8 pounds."¹⁰³ According to Udall, who always seemed to be one step behind his quarry, the Heighams left their calling cards everywhere. In his words, "There hath not any boke of state or otherwise bin brought into England or printed beyonde the seas but it hath bin performed by one Roger Heigham or his wyfe."¹⁰⁴ While Udall fretted about the impact works by Heigham and others might have on Catholics at home, the Crown worried more about the ability of such works to galvanize anti-English sentiments abroad.¹⁰⁵ It was not until 1695, when prepublication censorship in Britain ended, that more Catholic works rolled off British presses.¹⁰⁶

While some elite exiles received pensions from their host governments with no strings attached, other refugees had to earn their keep, which often meant working against their native land as soldiers in the foreign armies or as functionaries of foreign governments. Such was the case of John Story, an attorney, lay Franciscan, and a prominent figure during the Marian persecutions who famously cross-examined Thomas Cranmer at Oxford in 1555. After Mary Tudor's death, Story vigorously denounced the Elizabethan religious settlement and was imprisoned in 1563. That same year he escaped and, with the help of the Spanish ambassador in England, fled to the Low Countries.¹⁰⁷ Story drew a pension from the Spanish king who gave him the position of customs officer. As such, he searched all vessels that came into Low Country ports for outlawed Protestant books. His thoroughness in targeting English vessels for harassment earned him a reputation as "a greedy and ravenous wolfe," who "was the spoiler and undoer of diverse merchauntes."¹⁰⁸ Fernando Álvarez de Toledo, 3rd Duke of Alba, who ruled the Low Countries, consulted with Story about implementing an embargo on English goods in 1569.¹⁰⁹ Story was also implicated in murder plots against Elizabeth and James as well as attempting

102 BL, Lansdowne 153, fol.16.

103 BL, Lansdowne 153, fols. 18–19.

104 BL, Lansdowne 153, fol. 17.

105 Marshall, "Religious Exiles," 271.

106 Dunthorne, *Britain and the Dutch Revolt*, 160.

107 Pollitt, "Abduction of Doctor John Story," 132–37.

108 "A Declaration of the Lyfe and Death of John Story," 480–81.

109 Pollitt, "Abduction of Doctor John Story," 137.

to orchestrate an invasion of England.¹¹⁰ He was so notorious that the Crown executed an elaborate scheme to kidnap him and bring him to justice in England. The plan was successful, and Story suffered a traitor's death of hanging, drawing, and quartering in 1571.

Some exiles sought to work both sides of the religious divide by offering their services to the English Crown as well as their host country. John Prestall, the man the Crown employed to bring Story to justice, may have been a double agent.¹¹¹ In a letter written to Robert Cecil, 1st Earl of Salisbury, chief minister to James I, W.A. proposed to gather intelligence in return for funds that would enable him to enjoy a comfortable exile. W.A. revealed that he had been ordered by "my L. cheefe Justice" to prepare for banishment, explaining it was likely that he would be admitted into the company of Jesuits and priests and that he might "haue occasion to enter into the secrecies of all ther affaires, and purposes." Because he loved his king and country, W.A. promised to share all he learned in return for "sufficient maintenans abroad, that I be not force by Scartenes of meanes, to take upon me the order of preesthood."¹¹²

By the start of the reign of James VI/I, the network of priests, European schools, and book distribution that held the English Catholic community abroad and at home together, and enabled the faith to survive, reached full flower.¹¹³ The English in general viewed the Catholic Church and the English exile community as monolithic, powerful, and bent on mustering violent forces to bring the wayward island back to the orthodox fold.¹¹⁴ English perceptions of subversive exile activity on the Continent were probably as disproportionate as their perceptions of the power and will of the Catholic Church.¹¹⁵ Intercepted letters, such as those written by Sir Francis Englefield and Mary, Queen of Scots, in 1584 in which she told Englefield to proceed with "the execution of the great plott and ... go forward with out any respect of peril or danger to me,"¹¹⁶ only confirmed the Crown's fear of the ability of exiles to threaten their homeland. In 1605, a bestselling survey of Catholicism on the Continent by Sir Edwin Sandys described the strength of the Catholic Church. In *Europae Speculum: Or A View or Survey of The State of Religion*, Sandys outlined the

110 Pollitt, "Abduction of Doctor John Story," 140.

111 Pollitt, "Abduction of Doctor John Story," 138; Marshall, *Heretics and Believers*, 555.

112 Oxford, Bodleian, MS Ashmole 826, fol. 211.

113 Hibbard, "Early Stuart Catholicism," 10–14.

114 Carol Z. Weiner, "The Beleaguered Isle: A Study of Elizabethan and Early Jacobean Anti-Catholicism," *P&P* 51 (1971), 30.

115 Hibbard, "Early Stuart Catholicism," 31.

116 BL, Lansdowne 96/33, fol. 46.

political strengths and material resources of the church,¹¹⁷ noting that it had a potentially vast army in its monks, priests, and clerics, "whose number perhaps in the whole, may pass a Million of men; of which the one half at the least, either are, or would easily grow to be of lusty able Bodies, not unfit to soon be employed [in] any Warlike Service."¹¹⁸

The English government employed a number of tactics to prevent Catholics from leaving the country in the first place and to make life extremely difficult for those who did manage to flee to the Continent. Catholics often engineered their escape by claiming ill health and the necessity of taking the medicinal waters in places such as Spa. In 1610, the diplomat William Trumbull described a Jesuit procession in Brussels in support of the beatification of Ignatius Loyola, the founder of the order. Trumbull wrote that the Jesuits were accompanied by a number of people "of our Nation, who now late under the colour of going to Spa, have flocked hither in great numbers."¹¹⁹ The Crown implemented travel restrictions and required people to obtain travel passes to leave the country.¹²⁰ Even so, these restrictions did not always prevent travelers from making their visits permanent. For example, in 1606 Lady Mary Lovel successfully petitioned the earl of Salisbury for permission to go to Spa to treat her breast cancer. This trip was the start of Lovel's 22-year odyssey in the Low Countries.¹²¹ In addition to travel restrictions, Phyllis Hembry argues that the English government embarked on a program to promote the salutary benefits of English sites such as Bath and Tunbridge Wells and to encourage people to visit them, rather than overseas spas.¹²²

The Crown often tried to impound the financial assets of lay exiles through acts of attainder. An act of attainder meant its subject stood in immediate danger of losing his or her life. Marshall argues that this device was popular with the Crown because it was not only punitive but made for excellent propaganda.¹²³ Parliament expanded treason laws to include exiles, and in 1571 approved an act that made state seizure of exile property in England permanent. The setting up of trusts "whereby the income from lands could be secretly channeled to exiles abroad was also banned."¹²⁴ In 1593, Parliament

117 Theodore K. Rabb, *Jacobean Gentleman: Sir Edwin Sandys, 1561–1629* (Princeton: 1998), 23–41.

118 Edwin Sandys, *Europae Speculum: Or A View or Survey of The State of Religion In The Western Parts of the World [...]* (London: 1687), 75.

119 BL, Add MS 72385, fol. 67.

120 Mark Netzloff, "Catholic Exiles and the English State after the Gunpowder Plot," *Reformation* 15 (2010), 158.

121 Seguin, "Lovel, Mary."

122 Phyllis Hembry, *The English Spa, 1560–1815: A Social History* (London: 1990).

123 Marshall, *Religious Identities*, 238.

124 Marshall, "Religious Exiles," 278.

passed a special statute depriving Sir Francis Englefield of his English property. Englefield was a pensioner of the king of Spain and a high-profile exile around whom many of his fellow refugees gathered in hopes of attaining a share of the Imperial largesse.¹²⁵

The Elizabethan and Jacobean states resorted to diplomacy in efforts to bring exiles back home. The Crown urged foreign governments to extradite English exiles, particularly those named in acts of attainder, although there was not much the Crown could do if these requests were not granted.¹²⁶ The expulsion of refugees was sometimes a condition of alliance, as was the case in a 1575 treaty between Spain and England.¹²⁷ As mentioned above, Henry III promised to expel English exiles after forging an alliance with England, although he did not deliver on his promise.¹²⁸ In the wake of the Gunpowder Plot of 1605, the English ambassador in Spain claimed the plot was an international conspiracy spearheaded by three exiles: Hugh Owen, Sir William Stanley, and Fr William Baldwin. Mark Netzloff argues that in a precedent-setting move, the ambassador seized the opportunity the plot presented to extend English authority beyond its borders by demanding that Spain extradite these men because treason deserved universal condemnation.¹²⁹ The fugitives were enemies of the human race who, as such, were "exempted from the benefits and protections of the Law of Nations," including being granted asylum in foreign countries.¹³⁰ Spain ultimately refused to extradite the men.

When diplomatic means failed, the Crown employed a growing intelligence apparatus to monitor and, in some cases, bring high-profile exiles home to face justice.¹³¹ Of the three suspected Gunpowder Plotters, only Baldwin was kidnapped and imprisoned in England. After eight years, he was released without being charged through the intervention of the Spanish ambassador. Netzloff asserts that the Baldwin kidnapping was more the result of an accident than the machinations of a sophisticated intelligence network.¹³² Nonetheless, William Cecil and Francis Walsingham laid the groundwork for a surveillance operation during the reign of Elizabeth following the defeat of the Northern Uprising.¹³³ Agents Cecil hired orchestrated a covert operation in 1570 during

125 Marshall, "Religious Exiles," 278; and Loomie, *Spanish Elizabethans*, 14–51.

126 Marshall, *Religious Identities*, 238.

127 Loomie, *Spanish Elizabethans*, 21.

128 Gibbons, "No Home," 117–18.

129 Netzloff, "Catholic Exiles," 153–54.

130 Netzloff, "Catholic Exiles," 155.

131 Alford, *The Watchers*; and Cooper, *The Queen's Agent*.

132 Netzloff, "Catholic Exiles," 161–63.

133 Alford, *The Watchers*; Cooper, *The Queen's Agent*; Highley, "Exile and Religious Identity," 58.

which John Story was lured onto a ship, kidnapped, and returned to England. The operation was conducted to send a strong warning to Catholic exiles who flooded the Low Countries in the wake of the failed rebellion at home and who might be inclined to help foreign governments to invade England.¹³⁴ Cecil's son Robert would build upon the operation with the enthusiastic endorsement of James VI/I.¹³⁵

The life of a government agent was not a stable one. Indeed, the men who kidnapped Story were never completely reimbursed for their troubles.¹³⁶ Compounding the problem was that the vigor with which the Crown pursued exiles waxed and waned depending on the diplomatic situation. For example, when a Spanish marriage for Prince Charles appeared to be on the horizon, efforts to pursue and harass Catholics were put temporarily on hold. One cannot miss the frustration of Udall who had his intelligence efforts foiled by commissioners working for the same government as he. In letters to Caesar, he described how commissioners released captured priests and book smugglers for a fee. He claimed these commissioners "haue theyre Brokers and sailors in London for bokes and church stuffe w[hi]ch they take."¹³⁷ The smuggler John Heigham may have managed to elude Udall by paying such a fee.

The second exodus of English Catholics occurred in the wake of the Glorious Revolution of 1688, and this group of exiles was much larger and a much more real threat to English national security because it had a focal point situated in the somewhat fixed location of St-Germain-en-Laye in the person of James II, and later his son and grandson, in whom it could invest its hopes. Historians estimate that between 30,000 and 40,000 English and Scots fled to France between 1688 and 1692.¹³⁸ The first group was composed primarily of English and Scottish courtiers of James who chose to follow their master into exile. In 1692, what Nathalie Genet-Rouffiac calls a "spectacular increase" in the number of refugees occurred when between 14,000 and 19,000 Irish fled in the wake of military defeats at the hands of William III in their homeland. The exile community experienced steady growth until 1698. By 1701, the population began to dwindle but was replenished in 1715 by another wave of refugees after

134 Pollitt, "Abduction of Doctor John Story," 131–55.

135 Highley, "Exile and Religious Identity," 58.

136 Pollitt, "Abduction of Doctor John Story," 152–53.

137 BL, Lansdowne 153, fol. 14.

138 Nathalie Genet-Rouffiac, "Jacobites in Paris and Saint-Germain-en-Laye," in *The Stuart Court in Exile and the Jacobites*, ed. Eveline Cruickshanks and Edward Corp (London: 1995), 17.

a failed Jacobite rebellion in the North of England. Sixty per cent of this group was Irish, 35 per cent English, and 5 per cent Scots.¹³⁹

In addition to the larger number of exiles, the composition of this group was vastly different from the first generation of refugees. Unlike the Elizabethan and Jacobean exiles who tended to be predominately male, some 42 per cent of Jacobite exiles were female, indicating that many more families were fleeing abroad.¹⁴⁰ These families usually had ties to the royal household and some 220 of them, drawn mainly from the gentry, served at the “shadow court” of James.¹⁴¹ In addition to being a more stable lot, these later exiles possessed a greater ability than their refugee ancestors to pursue their goal of a Catholic Stuart restoration in Britain as evidenced by the Irish campaigns and uprisings in England and Scotland.

Like their earlier counterparts, the Jacobites had many reasons for deciding to break the law and leave home on risky journeys to an uncertain future on the Continent. For the gentry, flight represented an opportunity to break into the ranks of the peerage at the exiled court as well as the ability to influence the political settlement once James or his heirs were restored.¹⁴² Others fled from the double taxation William imposed upon Catholics during times of war as well as a revival of penal statutes, which were never consistently enforced.¹⁴³ Unlike their ancestors, these refugees stood on much higher ground when they had to respond to accusations of treason.

Glickman argued that many Catholics embraced the Royalist cause during the Civil Wars and suffered great loss of life and property for their support of a non-Catholic king. At the Restoration, Catholics continued in their loyalty to Charles II and hoped that they eventually would reap the rewards of their patriotism. The accession of James II and the birth of a Catholic heir seemed to answer their prayers, and many Catholics emerged from the shadows to play more active roles in the governance of Britain. As Glickman observes, Catholics placed their faith in what they believed to be a bedrock principle of the English constitution, loyalty to a God-appointed, anointed sovereign. Within four years, Catholics discovered that the foundation of politics no longer resided ultimately in such a figure whom they were bound to obey but in newer notions of a covenant between king and people that allowed subjects to overthrow rulers who broke faith with them.¹⁴⁴ Catholics who had placed

139 Genet-Rouffiac, “Jacobites in Paris,” 17–18.

140 Genet-Rouffiac, “Jacobites in Paris,” 19.

141 Glickman, *English Catholic Community*, 70.

142 Glickman, *English Catholic Community*, 72.

143 Glickman, *English Catholic Community*, 57.

144 Glickman, *English Catholic Community*, 42–47.

their hopes in their sovereign to usher in a new order that included toleration were suddenly bound by principle to a deposed king in the person of James II. Sir John Caryll, who spent many of his later years in exile, could not conceal his shock when he wrote his Catholic apology, "Not Guilty." In his essay, he argued that Catholicism was not antithetical to national security and that the terrorist actions of a few radical outliers in the preceding centuries should not be imputed to the entire Catholic community. He argued that the loyalty of the many to Charles I and his sons vindicated the past traitorous actions of a few. He claimed that he and his coreligionists were "those very Men, who suffer'd, as Delinquents for adhering to his Maiesty, & his Father of happy memory vnder the Reign & Tyranny of a Fatall, headless Parlament, & other Usurpers."¹⁴⁵

Like the Elizabethan and Jacobean exiles, Jacobites identified themselves with Old and New Testament stories. They compared the spiriting of the prince of Wales into France with the flight of the holy family into Egypt and the sheltering of Moses by the daughter of Pharaoh.¹⁴⁶ James himself was depicted as an Old Testament patriarch in another essay by Caryll entitled "Reflections upon the League of Augsburg." In it, Caryll asserted that in following his conscience and losing everything, the king made a sacrifice similar to that of Abraham:

For ye K in obedience to God (who commands us to prefer his law before all things), had not only Sacrafised his Crowne , but allso his son, soe that we may well hope that, that this Generous Act of obedience will find the same Reward as well in this world as the next to come, that was given unto that holy patriarch.¹⁴⁷

In the same essay, Caryll evoked the martyred Charles I in appealing to the consciences of Catholic rulers who had sided with the United Provinces to oppose Louis XIV. After the execution of Charles, a printed scaffold speech that he had written circulated far and wide. In it the king bowed to his fate because he was trading an earthly crown for a heavenly one. Caryll claimed that Catholic princes who continued to support William would lose much more than James: "For he only looses by it a temporall and transitory Crowne, whereas they run ye hazard of loosing their owne souls and ye Kingdome of Heaven."¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁵ BL, Add MS 28252, fol. 149r.

¹⁴⁶ Glickman, *English Catholic Community*, 50–51.

¹⁴⁷ BL, Add MS 28252, fol. 28r.

¹⁴⁸ BL, Add MS 28252, fol. 31.

Just as the appearance of conformity mattered to the Elizabethan and Jacobean states, the impression of James II's support for Louis XIV of France mattered to most of his subjects, as well as his son-in-law, William of Orange. Protestants in England were dismayed at how the French king treated Huguenots as well as his martial ambitions. When Louis XIV annexed Avignon in September 1688, even the pope denounced him. More moderate Catholics in Britain wanted James II to distance himself from Louis, but the king said and did nothing. He reinforced the perception of silence as support for the French king by surrounding himself at court with more militant Catholics who wanted to establish in England a confessionalized state like the one Louis was building. By saying and doing nothing, James II exacerbated the fears of European princes who were actively fighting French expansion, including his son-in-law, William of Orange.¹⁴⁹ Caryll argued that blaming the deposition of James on the ambitions of Louis was spurious. He claimed that James's "only Crime was his not being a declar'd Enemy to ffrance," and that it was religion, not politics, that led to the stripping of a "Lawfull and Catholick King" of his crown.¹⁵⁰ Ultimately, James turned to the French king for support, and Louis invited James to establish a court at St-Germain-en-Laye near Versailles. Louis also funded the exile court.

In addition to the king, queen, and prince of Wales, many exiles depended on the generosity of the French king to survive. While tapping into royal support was much easier at St-Germain-en-Laye, the Jacobite diaspora was a far flung one and many British Catholics throughout the Continent found themselves living hand to mouth, although their circumstances were certainly better than those of earlier exiles, largely because of the network of religious houses and colleges that were founded and supported by their compatriots. Sir Richard Bulstrode, the former ambassador for James II in Brussels, wrote to the king's ministers several times describing his perilous economic situation. He explained that he and his family continued to live discreetly in Brussels within a convent, thanks to the intervention of James's queen, Mary of Modena: "I was able by the Queens great goodness and charity to liue here in the Cloyster Her Matie paying for our dyett."¹⁵¹ Captains Rutherford and Knightly, who were serving in Lille, sent a letter to St-Germain-en-Laye begging the king to intervene because they had not yet been paid. The French man running the commissary in Lille had refused to remunerate them even after Rutherford and Knightly claimed to be loyal subjects to James II. The man sneeringly replied

149 Glickman, *English Catholic Community*, 35–43.

150 BL, Add MS 28252, fol. 27r.

151 BL, Add MS 37662, fols. 33r–34.

"that he knows well enough how affairs goe att St. Germaine and that it is not him that payes and the King of ffrance has other things to doe with his money then to throw it away upon us."¹⁵² Phillip Lawson wrote from Brest begging for an opportunity to be of service to the king for he was "next dore to staruing."¹⁵³ If the king could not help, Lawson had no other choice but to go home disappointed and rejected: "I thinke I expose my Life and Limbs upon very indifferent terms."¹⁵⁴ An English priest in Florence passed on some advice in a letter to a recently arrived exile who was indigent. The priest suggested the gentleman put his talents for networking and writing in the service of lawyers who had more business "than they can well attend to," as well as train his small children to spin silk or wool.¹⁵⁵

Despite such stories of hardship, Glickman argues that many British Catholics found profitable employment on the Continent. Many recusants invested in real estate, purchasing homes in Paris and investing in Hôtel de Ville stock. In addition to serving in foreign armies and working in the legal profession, many exiles were employed as tutors in major households, as well as worked as musicians and actors. Some exiles became quite wealthy by going into business for themselves. Lady Mary Herbert and Joseph Gage famously founded mining operations in southern Spain and even persuaded the British government to allow non-Catholic miners from Wales and England to leave home and work for them. Sir Daniel Arthur of Ireland established himself in Paris as the preeminent banker for exiles. He also acted as a conduit between merchants in the British Isles and those on the Continent. Economic advancement also came in the form of advantageous marriages, with many British women marrying into prominent families in the places where they had settled.¹⁵⁶ Many exiles resorted to the time-honored methods of their ancestors who put their estates in trust so they could continue drawing income from them. In some cases, the family split up, with some remaining at home to oversee property and distribute proceeds to exiled relatives.¹⁵⁷

The number of English exiles reached such critical mass that by the turn of the century, they were scattered across Europe and encountered each other in galleries and cathedrals and other places that drew the curious and the cosmopolitan. They were remarkably similar in that most had roots in the Catholic

¹⁵² BL, Add MS 37662, fol. 30r.

¹⁵³ BL, Add MS 37662, fol. 281.

¹⁵⁴ BL, Add MS 37662, fol. 281.

¹⁵⁵ BL, Add MS 28254, fol. 20.

¹⁵⁶ Glickman, *English Catholic Community*, 37, 79, and 84.

¹⁵⁷ Genet-Rouffiac, "Jacobites in Paris," 29.

squierarchy of England as well as school ties. Many exiles shared the experience of crossing the English Channel and attending one of the many English colleges on the Continent. Glickman argues that these institutions created the first ties among Catholic youth who shared the experience of leaving their homeland. According to Glickman, "Loyalty to one's institution would be the first thread to bind a Catholic to a sense of nationhood, in a world constructed as much to keep recusants thoroughly *English* when they moved through Europe, as it was to keep them Catholic when they returned across the Channel."¹⁵⁸ In this way, Glickman claimed that English exiles forged an "imagined community" where shared beliefs about what it meant to be Catholic and British united people who lived in different places and would in all likelihood never meet.¹⁵⁹

The constant movement back and forth between England and the Continent by exiles and English Catholics who claimed to be only visiting echoed earlier fears about Elizabethan and Jacobean exiles whose departures were more of an *au revoir* rather than a final goodbye. Lots of English Catholics made secret visits to James II's court at St-Germain-en-Laye. An English diplomat based in Paris reported that at least eight members of Parliament visited the exiled king and brought with them letters from 14 of their colleagues in the Commons. It was understood that Jacobites in Parliament "received electoral and political instructions from Saint-Germain and they obeyed them even when they went against the grain."¹⁶⁰ Like Elizabethan and Jacobean fears of a Catholic insurgency, William III and his successors worried about the possibility of a powerful and united Catholic threat. Their fears were ratified by the many Irish, English, and Scots who fled to the Continent in the wake of uprisings and military confrontations. When the future Queen Anne's son, William, Duke of Gloucester died, the flood of visitors to St-Germain to pay court to the son of James II and Mary of Modena picked up markedly.¹⁶¹ Ironically, the Jacobite cause ultimately stood and fell on the vagaries of international politics. Louis XIV, the financial bastion of the later Stuart kings, agreed in the 1713 Treaty of Utrecht to withdraw his support for the Stuart cause. Years of expensive warfare with not much territorial gain had yielded him very little. Not long after, the French withdrew financial support for the exiled court, and the Stuart cause drifted inexorably into the realms of lost causes and nostalgia.

These later exiles had a much easier time of going home than their earlier counterparts. Not only had English Catholics embraced French culture, so too

¹⁵⁸ Glickman, *English Catholic Community*, 76.

¹⁵⁹ Glickman, *English Catholic Community*, 86.

¹⁶⁰ Genet-Rouffiac, "Jacobites in Paris," 25.

¹⁶¹ Genet-Rouffiac, "Jacobites in Paris," 25.

had their Protestant counterparts who followed Catholic examples of cultural tourism by visiting important sites in France as well as in Italy and elsewhere. Ironically, William III's great contribution to Britain may have been catapulting it more aggressively into Continental politics, and, at that moment, English exiles were well placed to help their countrymen and -women, Catholic or otherwise, to navigate a Continental milieu. This situation was in sharp contrast to earlier generations who experienced no welcome-home celebrations or being sought out for their cultural expertise. As they were assimilated into their host communities and as they absorbed the post-Tridentine brand of Catholicism, they increasingly became part of an international community.¹⁶² Ironically, recent scholarship is revealing how the absent presence of exiles helped to shape England's perception of itself as a nation, and how later exiles leveraged their international experiences to create a Catholic identity somewhat congruent to that of the homeland. Ultimately, these prodigal sons and daughters of the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries provided a remarkably powerful foil against which those who remained at home could define themselves.¹⁶³

162 Brian C. Lockety, *Early Modern Catholics, Royalists, and Cosmopolitans: English Transnationalism and the Christian Commonwealth* (Farnham, Surrey: 2015), 6.

163 Highley, *Catholics Writing the Nation in Early Modern Britain and Ireland*; Marshall, *Religious Identities*.

Becoming Irish Catholics

Ireland, 1534–1690

John McCafferty

There is a paradox in writing about Irish Catholics. It comes about due to the centrality of Catholic identity to 16th- and 17th-century Irish history. Religious change during the reigns of the Tudor and Stuart monarchs has been so fundamental a driver of the island's history, and with such long-term consequences, that Catholicism or the Catholic Church in Ireland have been relentlessly integrated into the main narrative. Religion, in other words, is hidden in plain sight. Added to this there is the problem of English history. That history features a – in the long-term – “successful” Reformation, an initially hesitant but stunningly stable Protestant identity, and a burgeoning empire. After 1541, Ireland was dependent on the English Crown. Despite some episodes of real fragility, English rule in Ireland expanded, deepened, and became so unchallenged that the final phases of a war of succession to the English throne could even be played out on Irish soil at the start of the 1690s. English history, then, matters a lot in Ireland. Religious choice in Ireland, therefore, is and has often been understood in relation to the religious dynamics of England. This could hardly be otherwise when it was English state-sponsored reform that was shipped to Ireland along with all its assumptions and its velocities. There it would play out in a starkly different environment. Concern with the success or otherwise with the Church of England settlement in Ireland conditioned the responses and reactions of contemporaries and has gone on to saturate the historiography in the centuries since. Furthermore, English attitudes to Irish Catholics were in part determined by English Protestant attitudes to English Catholics. It is hard to get away from all this. Nor is it necessarily useful to do so. But it is helpful to be clear about the Englishness of the Irish experience.

Most of the inhabitants of the island ended up adhering to Rome. This is so self-evidently true that many writers, either consciously or unconsciously, have treated Irish Catholicism as protean, predetermined, or inevitable. By assuming the outcome, Irish Catholics have been deprived in much history writing of both agency and choice. Historians too have favored those areas of the country similar in respect of records, law, and custom to England. Accordingly, even the unexpected decision of most of the customarily loyal Old English population

to remain in communion with the Holy See has usually been probed in a political context; that of English colonial policy in Ireland. Far less has been written about those we now call the Gaelic Irish, who were the easy majority both in numbers and in language. Their choices, too, have been braided up with responses to English colonialism, especially waxing centralized control from Dublin Castle as well as the expropriating plantation policy initiated under the Catholic Mary I but acquiring a Protestant hue under Elizabeth I (in Munster) and James VI/I (Ulster, Wexford). The records of the Roman Church, itself groaningly mutating from a Western European to a global organization during this period, have received less attention. This last is, in part, because Roman and other European material stands at a sometimes disconcerting angle to the binary of Anglo-Irish relations that have so preoccupied historians. It is also because the church has been treated as a political rather than a salvific agent. This is not to say that all historians have not taken the Roman Church seriously: quite the opposite. It is to say, though, that it remains understudied on its own terms. It is also to say that belief, devotion, and faith have played second fiddle to a co-option of confessional choice to narratives of English, then British, conquest and resulting identity formations in early modern Ireland.

It is striking that from the 1930s to the present day, only two authors have attempted full survey histories of the Tudor Reformations in Ireland. Robert Dudley Edwards's *Church and State in Tudor Ireland* has had both immense influence and mixed fortune.¹ Neither of these outcomes have had much to do with critiques of his understanding of the religious experience of the island's population during the reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary I, and Elizabeth I. Rather, Dudley Edwards's work has been assessed as an outworking of his role as cofounder of a "scientific" school of Irish history. It has been seen as an emblem of a clash between his academic aspirations and his religiopolitical nationalism during the early years of the independent state.² Nonetheless, its dry, rigorous, and minute analyses of statutory alterations continue to attract attention and citation. Almost 80 years later, in 2010, Henry A. Jefferies covered the same chronological span.³ Bringing in findings from earlier work on the ecclesiastical province of Armagh, Jefferies gave ample space to a survey of the

1 Robert Dudley Edwards, *Church and State in Tudor Ireland: A History of Penal Laws against Irish Catholics, 1534–1603* (Dublin: 1935).

2 James Murray, "Historical Revisit: R. Dudley Edwards, *Church and State in Tudor Ireland* (1935)," *Irish Historical Studies* 30 (1996), 233–41; Ciaran Brady, "'Constructive and Instrumental': The Dilemma of Ireland's First 'New Historians,'" in *Interpreting Irish History: The Debate on Historical Revisionism, 1938–1994*, ed. Brady (Dublin: 1994), 3–31.

3 Henry A. Jefferies, *The Irish Church and the Tudor Reformations* (Dublin: 2010).

later medieval Irish church. His conclusion was that, systemic and structural flaws notwithstanding, the pre-schism Irish church was popular, well-endowed proportionate to the overall wealth of the country, vigorous, and well wedded to the pieties and institutional apparatus of the Western Church.⁴

So why only two “big” books? A conventional reply is to point in the direction of the charred husk of the Public Record Office of Ireland as a casualty of the opening salvoes of civil war in 1922. So, if the Irish and English Reformations appear to mirror each other in preconditions and in legislative underpinning, they certainly do not do so in evidential base. Local, diocesan, and national ecclesiastical records, having been painstakingly centralized towards the end of the 19th century in a bespoke repository, all went up in flames. Civil war burned an irretrievable hole in the collective memory. This absence became even more jarringly present when professional historians started to divest themselves of the last expressions of the polemical and confessional prose that both propelled and enveloped the political and cultural wars of late 19th- and early 20th-century Ireland. Such significant record loss means that much of the religious experience of people at all levels of society will remain off screen and beyond the reach of the tools developed to probe this part of the past in other countries.

There have been further, secondary, consequences. First of all, since evidence is either discontinuous, patchy, or plain absent, many historians of Ireland have understandably balked at grand narratives. Some other historians have held fast to abstracted (and very occasionally theorized) narratives of success or failure, sprinkling these with cameos or bespoke vignettes.⁵ Writing about Ireland cannot readily be grafted onto comparative narratives for places where evidence is far more plentiful. This is true even when on examination those regions appear to have had a similar or indeed inverse experience of religious change.⁶ Attempts to do so, just as with projects to fold Ireland into composite narratives of the islands of Britain and Ireland, are often cited in

4 Henry A. Jefferies, *Priests and Prelates of Armagh in the Age of Reformations, 1518–1558* (Dublin: 1997).

5 The modern debate on the Irish Reformation, and its consequences, has been ongoing since the 1960s. Readers unfamiliar with the content and contours of this debate may wish to start with two essays: Nicholas Canny, Karl S. Bottigheimer, and Steven G. Ellis, “The Debate about the Irish Reformation: Some Reflections on Twentieth-Century Historiography,” and James Murray, “After Bradshaw: The Debate on the Tudor Reformation in Ireland,” in *The Church of Ireland and Its Past: History, Interpretation and Identity*, ed. Mark Empey, Alan Ford, and Miriam Moffitt (Dublin: 2017), 237–65 and 266–85.

6 Karl S. Bottigheimer and Ute Lötze-Heumann, “The Irish Reformation in European Perspective,” *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 89 (1998), 268–309.

footnotes but have made little significant impact on research.⁷ Finally, the bias inherent in Irish history writing, a bias towards turning both clergy and laity into political actors, of turning issues of faith and belief into echoes of constitutional, legal, and political thought and action, has been stimulated by the obscurities spawned by archival absences. When it comes to religion itself, it is hard to see what happened. The easier discernibility of the political process has been, understandably, quite attractive.

The frank truth is that almost next to nothing is known about ordinary parochial experience for the first 50 years after Henry's break with Rome. It is also true to say that, as in England and Wales, alterations in religion were tumbled and jumbled in with constitutional, political, and social ferments. In July 1534, Archbishop of Dublin John Alen, a client of Thomas Cromwell, attempted to flee the city by sea. His boat ran aground on one of the many sandbanks dotting Dublin Bay, and he was forced to spend the night at a friend's house in the suburban village of Raheny. There, he was murdered by associates of Silken Thomas Fitzgerald, Lord Offaly, the son of Gerald Fitzgerald, 9th Earl of Kildare and quondam viceroy of Ireland.⁸ Kildare was at this time imprisoned in the Tower of London. The Kildares deliberately daubed their seigneurial revolt with confessional colors by soliciting Continental allies against Henry on the grounds of his alleged heresy and certain schism.⁹

The circumstances of Alen's killing are crammed with revealing and markedly enduring themes. The working out of political gambits and ambitions on the lives, careers, and bodies of ecclesiastics would dominate both Catholic and Protestant experiences in early modern Ireland. Martyrdom would make an unwelcome return even as the new violences of sectarianism slowly sharpened themselves.¹⁰ Strategic intonation of religious rhetoric to justify aristocratic struggle against centralizing Crown control during the 16th century or, as in the later-17th century, to resist dynastic change, would also be integral to the experiences of the population of the whole island whether native, newcomer, or imminent exile.

7 For example, Felicity Heal, *Reformation in Britain and Ireland* (Oxford: 2003).

8 Richard Hawkins, "Alen (Allen), John (1476–1534)," in *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, ed. James McGuire and James Quinn (Cambridge, Eng.: 2009; online ed.), <http://dib.cambridge.org/viewReadPage.do?articleId=a0091>.

9 Mícheál Ó Siochrú, "Foreign Involvement in the Revolt of Silken Thomas, 1534–5," *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 96C (1996), 49–66.

10 Clodagh Tait, "Adored for Saints: Catholic Martyrdom in Ireland, c.1560–1655," *Journal of Early Modern History* 5 (2001), 128–59; Alan Ford, "Martyrdom, History and Memory in Early Modern Ireland," in *History and Memory in Modern Ireland*, ed. Ian McBride (Cambridge, Eng.: 2001), 43–66.

In the Alen killing of summer 1534, trajectory mattered. State-sponsored religious change and magisterial reformation in Ireland were unremittingly and unswervingly prefigured by policy and action in England. Ireland's Supremacy Act, its Act in Restraint of Appeals, Acts for the Dissolution of the Monasteries, all of the legislative panoply of Henry's idiosyncratic schism, would not be passed on the smaller island till 1536 and 1537, an appreciable interval after England's alterations. Those who wished to oppose such change or leverage it for their own ends were not forced to be as stingingly reactive as the participants in the Pilgrimage of Grace or the later Prayer Book Rebellion. People in Ireland knew by direct report and in broad outline what was coming. They knew the agenda. They had time. As such, then, what became an Irish Catholic religious, political, and cultural identity was easily able to draw on the manners in which Ireland was not England.

This was so even if the framers or importers of religious reformation for Ireland saw things otherwise. When the Henrician statutes passed with relative ease through the Dublin Parliament, their location in space and time was meaningfully different from their first outings in England in the early 1530s. To put it simply, they became law in Dublin as Anne Boleyn was hurtling towards the block rather than approaching the throne. The harsh and bloody defeat of the Fitzgeralds of Kildare in 1535 was the first, but far from the last, demonstration of the willingness of Dublin Castle to pursue overtly military solutions to expand the frontiers of effective Crown power in Ireland. The Kildare flirtation with Continental and papal alliance opened up one most enduring narrative, one in which a constant equation could be made of an alleged Irish propensity to both "treason" and papalism. In this way, the more administratively focused and rationally "reforming" aspirations of Thomas Cromwell, a new lineage of English-born viceroys, and a coterie of Old English allies, first identified by Brendan Bradshaw, was itself unveiled only in the wake of violent revolt.¹¹

Therefore, while the reformers may have looked forward to applying innovations in Tudor statecraft to the Irish lordship (which culminated in the 1541 Act for Kingly Title), they also infused it with a centuries-old contention that more and better Anglicization was the optimal means for "civilizing" the island of Ireland. So when a real theological tone emerged under Edward VI, discourses of evangelization, civility, and Englishness almost entirely interpenetrated each other. One of the acts of the 1536 Dublin Parliament – the Act for English Order, Habit, and Language – required all newly ordained clergy to disseminate

11 Brendan Bradshaw, *The Irish Constitutional Revolution of the Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge, Eng.: 1979).

the English language, to preach in it, and make the bidding prayers in it. It also gave Anglophones priority of preferment in the church. By doing this, it yoked Anglicization to evangelization, contrary to the vernacularizing principles of Continental Protestant reform. This, as with the bespoke Englishness of religious reform in Ireland, would allow, over time, loyalty to Rome to be conceived of in opposing cultural and political terms. Since the self-consciously Catholic writers of the early to mid-17th century wrote so much of the history of the Irish church under the Tudors in terms of a protean struggle against a heresy imported from the east, it can be too easy to downplay the dismay felt by the Jesuit emissaries Alfonso Salmerón and Paschase Broët in 1542.¹² They met with the Gaelic leaders of Ulster and arrived at the dour conclusion that the newly erected kingdom of Ireland would remain with Henry, its new-minted supreme head in spirituals.

Old English opposition to the first round of monastic dissolutions in the late 1530s has been interpreted variously as mercenary, infrastructural, or even principled. Yet Henry's removal of the more fractious lower clergy from the Irish parliamentary process paved the way for a series of accommodations under which a number of Ireland's 20-plus bishops handed in their papal bulls and under which an even larger number were left unmolested, undisturbed, and under no compulsion from Dublin Castle to take oaths. This was accompanied by a heavily circumscribed yet high-profile campaign of iconoclasm and effective suppression of only about 55 per cent of monasteries and, even more significantly for the coming decades, only about 40 per cent of friaries.¹³ All of these things are indicative of both the limits of royal jurisdiction over the surface of the island and the limits of political possibility in managing a loudly self-declaring loyal population who were still ambivalent about the means used to suppress the Kildare Rebellion.

The 1536 appointment of George Browne, an evangelically minded English ex-Augustinian, to the pivotal archbishopric of Dublin is itself instructive in

12 Alfonso Salmerón and Paschase Broët to Cardinal Marcello Cervini, Edinburgh, 9 April 1542, in *Epistolae PP. Paschasii Broëti, Claudii Iaji, Ioannis Codurii et Simonis Rodericii Societatis Iesu, ex autographis vel originalibus exemplis potissimum depromptae* (Madrid: 1903), 23–31.

13 Brendan Bradshaw, *The Dissolution of the Religious Orders in Ireland under Henry VIII* (Cambridge, Eng.: 1974) remains the only systematic discussion of the process. For discussion of how the dissolution was interpreted, see John McCafferty, "A Mundo Valde Alieni: Irish Franciscan Responses to the Dissolution of the Monasteries, 1540–1640," *Reformation and Renaissance Review* 19 (2017), 50–63, and Brendan Scott, "The Religious Houses of Tudor Dublin: Their Communities and Resistance to the Dissolution 1537–41," in *Medieval Dublin VII*, ed. Seán Duffy (Dublin: 2006), 214–32.

trying to appreciate the limitations of the break with Rome. While Browne's attempts at even circumscribed preaching of the royal supremacy evoked opposition from senior clergy, there appears to have been tacit acquiescence across the English Pale to what many are likely to have regarded as a temporary state of schism.¹⁴ Despite the loss of a number of popular shrines, along with closure of urban and rural religious houses, the liturgical experience of Mass-goers in areas of English control was little altered. Yet in the parts of Ireland where the Tudor kingdom was far more conceptual than real, many monasteries, convents, and friaries continued their business, while the temporizing choices of (many) bishops were entirely remote from the liturgical and pastoral experiences of the population. Upon Henry's death in 1547, there was no Protestant party poised to welcome the young Edward as an evangelical Josiah. Indigenous Protestantism in Ireland would remain both tiny and marginal right through the early modern period. This, in turn, had major repercussions for the identity politics of being Catholic in a technically Protestant kingdom.

English historians routinely credit the ultimate Protestantism of that country's religious settlement under Elizabeth to the Reformed theological and vernacular liturgical direction undertaken by Edward and his advisors. Ireland, critically, commanded very little Crown attention during his six-year reign. No Parliament was called so that the Edwardian settlement was not extended by statute, as in his father's time, but rather by prerogative power. Both the First (1549) and the Second (1552) Books of Common Prayer were in English, not Irish, thus severely hobbling the spread of these vernacular liturgies outside the districts of the minority language. Informal translation efforts focused, so it appears, on Latin versions of the prayer book.¹⁵ The result was that by Mary's accession in 1553, the vast majority of the population were still being served with the late-medieval Latin Sarum Rite.

Edward's reign also exhibited two other features that would prove to be of enduring significance for the history of religious change in Ireland during the remainder of the 16th century, and for much of the 17th century also. First, the religious preferences and political ambitions of the viceroys would generate

14 James Murray, *Enforcing the English Reformation in Ireland: Clerical Resistance and Political Conflict in the Diocese of Dublin, 1534–1590* (Cambridge, Eng.: 2009), chap. 3; Jefferies, *Irish Church*, chap. 4; Brendan Bradshaw, "George Browne, First Reformation Archbishop of Dublin, 1536–1554," *JEH* 21 (1970), 301–26.

15 Jefferies, *Irish Church*, chap. 5; Henry A. Jefferies, "The Irish Parliament of 1560: The Anglican Reforms Authorised," *Irish Historical Studies* 26 (1988), 128–41.

a particular atmosphere.¹⁶ This would prove to be a large determining factor in the reception of Tudor settlements. So, while Sir Edward Bellingham's (1548–49) more bellicose military style was matched by attempts to promote the supremacy, the limits of his effective authority were manifest in the fairly open resistance practiced by George Dowdall, archbishop of Armagh. Once Bellingham was followed by the far more conservative and emollient Sir Anthony Saint Leger, religious change ran into the sand. When Saint Leger in his turn was replaced by Sir James Croft in 1551, Dowdall at once fled to the Continent.

Dowdall's flight points to a second enduring feature of Edward's reign as, in 1553, the royal authorities proceeded to appoint Hugh Goodacre to Armagh. Even though Goodacre died directly after his consecration in Dublin, the existence of rival papal and established church bishops claiming the same titles, jurisdictions, and authority became a constant of Irish history. It should be added that this important bifurcation was also matched by a propensity on the part of monarch and pope alike to leave significant swathes of the country without any bishops at all until the first decades of the 17th century.¹⁷

In 1552 John Bale, ex-Carmelite friar, playwright, historian, and Protestant polemicist, was appointed to the midland diocese of Ossory. Over time, the Crown would drift towards appointing outsiders via the English patronage network to Irish sees. These men had little or no experience of local conditions. Rome, on the other hand, would come, predominantly, to favor locals. Bale's *Vocaycon*, an account of his time in Kilkenny (written with exile's hindsight in Germany), has been harvested by many historians to provide examples of ignorance of local conditions, Anglicizing belligerence, and – perhaps – as a sign of a small Protestant nucleus.¹⁸ Bale claimed to have had success with some of the younger people in his episcopal city. His vivid prose choler is both

16 Ciaran Brady, "England's Defence and Ireland's Reform: The Dilemma of the Irish Viceroys, 1541–1641," in *The British Problem, c.1534–1707: State Formation in the Atlantic Archipelago*, ed. Brendan Bradshaw and John Morrill (Basingstoke: 1996), 89–117.

17 Brendan Bradshaw, "The Edwardian Reformation in Ireland," *Archivium Hibernicum* 26 (1976–77), 83–99; Murray, *Enforcing the English Reformation*, chaps. 5 and 6.

18 John Bale, *The vocacyon of Iohan Bale to the bishoprick of Ossorie in Irelande his persecucions in ye same, and finall delyueraunce* ([Wesel?]: 1553); Steven G. Ellis, "John Bale, Bishop of Ossory, 1552–3," *Journal of the Butler Society* 2 (1984), 283–93; Elizabethanne Boran, "Persecution and Deliverance in Sixteenth-Century Kilkenny: The *Vocacyon* of Johan Bale (1553)," *Old Kilkenny Review* 69 (2017), 71–92; Andrew Hadfield, "Translating the Reformation: John Bale's Irish *Vocacyon*," in *Representing Ireland: Literature and the Origins of Conflict, 1534–1660*, ed. Brendan Bradshaw, Hadfield, and Willy Maley (Cambridge, Eng.: 1993), 43–59.

arresting and unsubstantiated. It is, however, one of the first sustained literary attempts to create a binary of, respectively, English, Protestant, and civilized versus Irish, papist, and barbarian. The closing scenes of his autobiographical tract in which the reader is offered sketches of Mary's proclamation, a reversal of iconoclasm as well as his own flight in fear of his life, do seem to suggest that whatever conformities had been secured under Henry VIII and his son, they were outward, bounded, and only very rarely Protestant.¹⁹ Late-medieval Catholicism in Tudor Ireland was minimally disrupted or rather only disrupted in institutional form. Any proselytizing was minimal. Old English and Gaelic Irish responses to Trent, then, would go on to be those of practicing Catholics who sought to locate much of their cultural and religious identity in continuing loyalty to the See of Peter.

In March 1555, Cardinal Reginald Pole wrote to Julius III to indicate that Philip and Mary wished for papal confirmation of Henry VIII's 1541 Act for Kingly Title.²⁰ That July, Paul IV, the succeeding pontiff, made the act of confirmation. Two summers later, the Irish Parliament, meeting at Dublin, duly rescinded all the Henrician statutes underpinning the legal basis of the schism from Rome.²¹ There was no need to unpick any Edwardian legislation since there wasn't any. This allowed Mary, in imitation of her immediate predecessor, to alter the formal religious complexion of the kingdom by prerogative power alone. Marian restoration in Ireland was played out predominantly at a high-constitutional and a high-institutional level. There was little need to implement it on the ground.

The same held true of Cardinal Pole's legation, which he exercised jointly with England. Irish absolutions and requests for reconciliation in his legatine registers predominantly emanate from episcopal and higher clergy actors. Laypeople, when they do feature, are there not for heresy but rather for appealing to Canterbury rather than Rome in marriage and legitimacy cases (the predominant appellate diet of the late-medieval Irish church). With both Crown and cardinal-archbishop, there was one arresting quality of continuity with the actions of their predecessors since 1534: Ireland was being treated as a time-lagged appendage of the larger and older kingdom. Rome itself took the same view and would continue to do so under Elizabeth's renewed schism, coming only very slowly and opportunistically to any notion of a separate *modus operandi* for the more westerly island.²²

19 Bale, *Vocacyon*, fols 29v-33v.

20 Thomas F. Mayer, *The Correspondence of Reginald Pole: Volume 3, A Calendar, 1555-1558: Restoring the English Church* (St Andrews Studies in Reformation History): no. 1109.

21 Jefferies, *Irish Church*, 118-21.

22 Henry A. Jefferies, "The Marian Restoration in Ireland," *BCH* 33 (2016), 12-31.

No one went to the stake in Mary's Ireland. Commissions to deprive married clergy and to restore the material culture of Catholic devotional life did mirror English practice, but they came later, were less active, and were undoubtedly far less necessary. There were concealed vestments, images, and liturgical plate, but in nothing like the degree of England. The most dramatic aspects of Mary's reconciliation with the Holy See took place at an elite level. George Browne, the married archbishop of Dublin, ended up as an ordinary canon in Saint Patrick's. George Dowdall returned from the Continent in March 1553 to retrieve his see of Armagh. His provincial synod then went on to reiterate traditional practices but also to deal with the consequences of schism and create a framework to identify any potential heresy.²³ With the exception of the appointment of the English-born Hugh Curwen to Dublin in 1554, Mary preferred local candidates to vacant or recently vacated sees.

Modern historical writing about Mary's Irish reign has been quite slender. Historians have instead preferred to focus on the initiation of formal plantation schemes as an enduring tool of English government in Ireland. Still, there has been some degree of consensus around her episcopal appointments as creating a conduit for subsequent implementation of Tridentine reform. These bishops, often remaining incumbent even under Elizabeth, appear to have acted in various ways as a brake on Tudor uniformity.

Just as in England, partial though not wholesale restoration of religious communities was envisaged for the short term. Such actions were designed to be exemplary, and so Mary made a generous grant for the revival of the Hospitallers at Kilmainham, a suburban village of Dublin. She also directed the viceroy to fund a new Carmelite community at Ardee, County Louth, again with the aim of making a moral intervention into the tricky and tangled issue of the status of confiscated lands of the religious houses. Observant Franciscan petitions for renewal of fraternal life at Kilcullen, Enniscorthy, Multyfarnham, and Trim, all sites variously affected by the Henrician closures, were also entertained.²⁴ While dissolution was one of a suite of changes that impacted upon parochial and devotional life in England and Wales, for many people in Ireland it was the only tangible manifestation of alteration. For even more people, dissolution of local religious houses still lay in the future. While the dual deaths of Mary and Cardinal Pole on 17 November 1558 threw up yet further dust clouds of uncertainty, the predominant Irish experience was still of distant constitutional changes rather than proximate parochial ones. As it happened, on

23 Murray, *Enforcing the English Reformation*, chaps. 6 and 7. For a differing view, see Jefferies, "Marian Restoration."

24 McCafferty, "A Mundo Valde Alieni;" Jefferies, "Marian Restoration."

Elizabeth's accession day, 48 of the 62 decrees of the Council of Trent were already passed. It was those, rather than any Elizabethan formularies, which would end up impinging on the intimate religious lives of the majority of her Irish subjects.

Given the absence of detailed records for parochial life, both devotional and financial, in 16th-century Ireland, episcopal succession lists and appointment patterns take on enhanced importance. The roll call for the first few years of Elizabeth's reign is arresting. Only two bishops – Thomas Leverous of Kildare and William Walsh of Meath – were deprived. The rest of the bench remained *in situ*. This outcome reflected limitation and concern on the part of the state. The limitation was that of the jurisdiction of the Tudor regime on the island at that point. The concern was to avoid a functional collapse of the church in Ireland. Unlike England, there were no exiles nor “sufferers” to oversee a new, more Protestant settlement. The deprivations of Kildare and Meath, along with the death of George Dowdall of Armagh in 1558, did come close to collapsing ecclesiastical leadership in the Pale since it left Hugh Curwen as the sole bishop in the region. A pattern of protracted vacancies on the bench or benches of both the established church and the hesitatingly diverging Roman obedience would persist throughout Elizabeth's reign and into that of James VI/I. Both Crown and Rome found themselves in a situation where it was both politically pragmatic and practically convenient to avoid a race towards identical and opposing hierarchies. It did happen in the end, but it would take time.²⁵

As far as pastoral care went, three determining factors appear to have combined to work on congregations. First, not only did the bulk of Mary's bishops and earlier appointees survive, but the Act of Uniformity passed by the Irish Parliament in 1560 was not just a clone of its English counterpart. Like its English exemplar, it tried to balance conservative and more evangelical concerns. Unlike its base text, it corroded, for Ireland, a key tenet of Protestant reformation. Liturgy was henceforth to be in Latin or English in every parish. In the larger kingdom, Latin versions of the prayer book were reserved for the universities alone. The vernacular of the great bulk of the population and dual language of much of the remainder was yet again relegated. This was a sop to the once and future policy of Anglicization as well as being an opportunity to

25 John McCafferty, “Protestant Prelates or Godly Pastors? The Dilemma of the Early Stuart Episcopate,” in *The Origins of Sectarianism in Early Modern Ireland*, ed. Alan Ford and McCafferty (Cambridge, Eng.: 2005), 54–72; Tadhg Ó hAnnracháin, “‘In Imitation of That Holy Patron of Prelates the Blessed St Charles’: Episcopal Activity in Ireland and the Formation of a Confessional Identity, 1618–1653,” in Ford and McCafferty, *Origins of Sectarianism*, 73–94.

retain Latinity. Thanks to the provision that vestments would be as they were in 2 Edw. VI (1549), a conforming priest could manage to both look and sound old fashioned.²⁶

The second factor bearing on congregations was that evangelical reform could now only realistically be a personal choice of Anglophone clergy in majority English-speaking areas. Such committed reformers were scant to the point of nonexistence. They would have to be – and were – imported later on. Consciously and enthusiastically Protestant clergy were, as a consequence, foreigners. Third, limited dissolution had left members of religious orders, particularly the Observant Franciscans, busy and active across the entire island.²⁷ The established church had no analogous cadre of preachers who could function in an organized manner without episcopal supervision or financing. The friars, moreover, were governed by a rule whose first and last chapter insisted on obedience to the Holy See. So even before Trent's decrees began to percolate out to the Western Church, these men were preaching and teaching, as they had been since the 13th century, that communion with Rome was essential to salvation. Religious life in Ireland, then, was governed by a conservative settlement, a hesitant state, a powerful remnant episcopate, scant Protestantizers, and busy friars. This made up a momentum that was quickened by *Regnans in excelsis* (1571), not created by it.

Apart from incoming bishops, the Oath of Supremacy appears to have been sparsely proffered. This left serving clergy at once in a kind of legal limbo but with a pastoral presence unjustled by religious change. Hugh Brady, a Meath man and bilingual graduate of Oxford, was bishop of Meath for 1563–84. He has left graphic descriptions of the hostility to his preaching and, indeed, his very presence in that diocese. During the first few years of his episcopate, he was haunted by the presence of his Marian predecessor William Walsh. The latter's preaching was such an irritant that he was imprisoned in Dublin Castle from 1565 to 1569 and again for nine months in 1572, until he escaped at Christmas, heading for the Continent where he died in 1577.²⁸

By virtue of being both monarch of Ireland and supreme governor of the church therein, Elizabeth was required to be concerned with conformity as an issue of loyalty just as much as an issue of religion. Creation of an ecclesiastical

26 Jefferies, "Irish Parliament of 1560."

27 Colm Lennon, "The Dissolution to the Foundation of St Anthony's College, Louvain, 1534–1607," in *The Irish Franciscans 1534–1990*, ed. Edel Bhreathnach, Joseph MacMahon, and John McCafferty (Dublin: 2009), 3–26.

28 Helen Coburn Walshe, "Enforcing the Elizabethan Settlement: The Vicissitudes of Hugh Brady, Bishop of Meath, 1563–84," *Irish Historical Studies* 26 (1989), 352–56.

high commission for the realm in 1564 was a sign of that twinned concern, but its activities – both investigative and punitive – only furthered a discourse, even in the English Pale, that Protestantism was an aspect of statecraft.²⁹ Identification of religious reform with the state's eventual commitment to military conquest was, when viewed in this light, both logical and persistent. Those Irish bishops who advocated an Irish university to grow a Protestant preaching ministry from seed were indirectly pointing to the fact that after almost three decades of uncertainty, multiple connections were growing between the island and the Catholic parts of Europe.³⁰ These were initially dedicated to enhancing and upgrading Catholic survivalism. Those Old English and Gaelic Irish students who found the seats of higher learning in England – the traditional destination for most – closed off due to the Oath of Supremacy were now, like their recusant English colleagues, wending their way to the Low Countries and the Iberian Peninsula. There they would become active players in, and upholders of, the Catholic Reformation. There they presented themselves, and were understood as, exiles for the faith. When imported back to Ireland, they aimed to transmute survivalism into informed activism.³¹

On 21 January 1561, David Wolfe of Limerick, a Jesuit, landed at Cork. He made for his home city where he then carried out his duties as papal commissary to Pius IV. Wolfe's mission was to shore up the Irish church by promoting loyalty to the Holy See, to act as a node of authority for clergy and religious, and to gain a sense of who might be suitable for bishoprics.³² This was a direct move. Within a year, appointments had been made to Elphin, Achonry, and Raphoe. These three followed the provision of Donat O'Taig to the primacy of Armagh in January 1560. An alternate hierarchy, initially based on those areas

29 Jefferies, *Irish Church*, 127–31; Colm Lennon, "Protestant Reformations, 1550–1641," in *The Cambridge History of Ireland*, vol. 2:1550–1730, ed. Jane Ohlmeyer (Cambridge, Eng.: 2018), 201–05; Jon G. Crawford, *Anglicizing the Government of Ireland: The Irish Privy Council and the Expansion of Tudor Rule, 1556–1578* (Dublin: 1993), 140, 143, 156–58, 188, 445, and 458–59.

30 Jefferies, *Irish Church*, 142–45; Alan Ford, "Who Went to Trinity? The Early Students of Dublin University," in *European Universities in the Age of Reformation and Counter Reformation*, ed. Helga Robinson-Hammerstein (Dublin: 1998), 53–74; James Murray, "St Patrick's Cathedral and the University Question in Ireland, c.1547–1585," in Robinson-Hammerstein, *European Universities*, 1–33.

31 For an accessible overview to this large subject, see Mary Ann Lyons and Thomas O'Connor (eds), *Strangers to Citizens: The Irish in Europe, 1600–1800* (Dublin: 2008); Liam Chambers and Thomas O'Connor (eds), *Forming Catholic Communities: Irish, Scots and English College Networks in Europe, 1568–1918* (Leiden: 2018).

32 Judy Barry, "Wolfe, David (1528–c.1578)," in McGuire and Quinn, *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, <http://dib.cambridge.org/viewReadPage.do?articleId=a9107>.

outside effective Crown control, was now starting to take shape. Wolfe also dispatched his fellow citizen of Limerick, Richard Creagh, to Rome in 1562, whence he returned two years later charged with implementing the decrees of the recently closed Council of Trent in Ireland.³³ This was a jurisdictional gauntlet. Reconstruction at the hierarchical level accompanied by formal transition to reform meshed with a pastoral scenario in which the Mass had continued uninterrupted during previous decades or where it was widely accessible alongside prayer book services.

Wolfe's initial choice of Limerick exposes a pattern that would be a stalwart of Catholic mission throughout the period. Bishops, Jesuits, seminary priests, and other religious were sustained by local networks and family connections (especially female relatives) in a manner that Church of Ireland clergy (before widespread plantation) were not [see Figure 8.8]. Family and friends also protected and concealed those individuals when Dublin Castle put most of its coercive energy into their apprehension. In this way, papalism became a family matter. The decision to hunt high-profile offenders rather than try to enforce mass conformity remained the default practice and policy of the state for many decades. And, just as in England, priest hunting would eventually make martyrs of a Catholic clergy, introducing dead as well as living blood to the equation.

Having been deprived by Elizabeth in 1560, Thomas Leverous of Kildare returned to his native Limerick. There he became a schoolteacher. It is evident from the testimony of many later clergy, such as the Franciscan Luke Wadding, that these schools run by Catholic masters, who were often priests, were cradles of Catholic commitment.³⁴ They were to be found in substantial towns such as Limerick, Kilkenny, and Waterford. Throughout the 1560s, reports written by both state authorities, such as the viceroy, and by Catholics to Rome indicate that urban areas all over Ireland hosted only tiny numbers of indigenous Protestants, that conformity among higher clergy was variable and pragmatic, and that civic culture favored Roman liturgy, seminary priests, Jesuits, and friars.³⁵ Even in the capital city of Dublin, Protestants were still much in the minority, while Catholic aldermen and merchants deployed their

33 Colm Lennon, *An Irish Prisoner of Conscience of the Tudor Era: Archbishop Richard Creagh of Armagh, 1523–1586* (Dublin, 2000).

34 Colm Lennon, "Education and Religious Identity in Early Modern Ireland," in "Faith and Education: Historical and Comparative Perspectives," ed. John Coolahan, issue supplement, *Pedagogica Historica* 5 (1999), 57–75.

35 Brendan Bradshaw, "The Reformation in the Cities: Cork, Limerick and Galway, 1534–1603," in *Settlement and Society in Medieval Ireland: Studies Presented to F.X. Martin*, ed. John Bradley (Kilkenny: 1988), 445–76.

resources (including income drawn from their share of dissolved religious institutions) to assist the Catholic clergy in their work.³⁶ Conforming ministers were frequently impoverished, poorly educated “reading ministers”: far cries from the graduate clergy who were increasingly Protestantizing the parishes of England and, at a slower pace, of Wales.

Reports from these decades also show that the building stock inherited from the late-medieval church was in a state of very serious decay. Some of this can be attributed to the dilapidation caused by war and economic hardship, but much of it was due to a growing Catholic withdrawal from spaces that had been places of worship for centuries. Such confessional separation, physical drawing apart, is still easily visible in Irish streetscapes today. Church of Ireland churches tend to be on the footprint of, or actually are, the medieval originals while the 19th-century Catholic churches are not far distant, yet often on what was the edge of town or, if in cities, on the side streets, where the Mass house or other habitual site of worship had been located.³⁷ This brought a sheer physicality to opting for communion with Rome. Such separation was further expressed by exhumations of “heretic” bodies from burial places.³⁸ This had to be a fundamental and formative aspect of the experience of being Catholic whatever the social and educational level of the individual. Separateness instilled identity, hardened mistrust of establishment motives, and shut down, through communal practice, confessional mobility for most people.

During these years, High Commission targeted the better-off sections of nonconformist society with regular fines, which did result in church attendance in some areas by Catholic heads of households. Fragments of evidence suggest, at least some of the time, that this attendance was either covertly or overtly disruptive. The overall patchy nature of sources has meant that studies of religious change on a local level, where they exist, have had to concentrate on larger urban areas such as Dublin, Cork, Limerick, Galway, and Waterford. Even in these spots, much is impressionistic, and much has to be inferred. Indications are that a quite fragile conformist superstructure existed in all these places, but was always matched by a vigorous and barely clandestine Catholic educational and pastorally reforming provision. This meant that the gradual replacement of the Marian survivors on the episcopal bench of the

36 Colm Lennon, *The Lords of Dublin in the Age of Reformation* (Dublin: 1989).

37 Colm Lennon, “Mass in the Manor House: The Counter-Reformation in Dublin, 1560–1630,” in *History of the Catholic Archdiocese of Dublin*, ed. James Kelly and Dáire Keogh (Dublin: 2000), 112–26.

38 Clodagh Tait, *Death, Burial and Commemoration in Ireland, 1550–1650* (Basingstoke: 2002), esp. chap. 5.

Church of Ireland had only a formal and marginal impact on general populations. Language remained a problem. Despite Elizabeth's provision of £66 13s 4d for a Gaelic font, the sole Protestant text in Irish until the arrival of a Common Prayer Book in 1608 was Seán Ó Cearnaigh's short primer, the *Aibidil Caiticiosma* of 1571, which was produced in a tiny edition of 200 copies.³⁹

Other developments of the late 1560s and early 1570s would set the tone for the public and political dimensions of Catholic life in Ireland for the remainder of Elizabeth's reign and beyond. First, almost all the ecclesiastical elements of Henry Sidney's parliamentary program of 1569–71, including provisions for church repair, finances, and the long-desired university for Dublin, were wrecked in a Dublin parliamentary assembly that was overwhelmingly recusant.⁴⁰ The “better sort” in Ireland were prepared in their public political lives to nudge the church as by law established into statutory stalemate. Second, during 1569, the rebellion of James FitzMaurice Fitzgerald retrieved the faith and fatherland rhetoric of the Kildare rebels. This rebellion was complemented by assiduous, and high-profile, Irish clerical lobbying of Philip II of Spain, Mary I's widower.⁴¹ Finally, in 1572 the Jesuit brother Edmund Daniel was apprehended at Limerick. He was then tortured, hanged, drawn, and quartered. This made him the first Jesuit to be martyred on European soil.⁴² The Catholicism of a large part of the body politic, a strong linkage between faith, rebellion, and foreign intervention added to a discourse of persecution and martyrdom, all proved not only to be determinants of the population's religious composition over the longer term but also became an integral part of the early modern Irish historical experience.

In 1576, Rome appointed bishops to four Irish sees – Ardagh, Kilmacduagh, Mayo, and Killaloe. In 1580, four more were filled – Killala, Cork and Cloyne,

39 Míchál Craith, “Literature in Irish, c.1550–1690: From the Elizabethan Settlement to the Battle of the Boyne,” in *The Cambridge History of Irish Literature*, vol. 1: *To 1890*, ed. Margaret Kelleher and Philip O’Leary (Cambridge, Eng.: 2006) 191–231; Nicholas Williams, *I bPrionta I Leabhar: Na Protastúin agus Prós na Gaeilge, 1567–1724* (Dublin: 1986); Marc Caball, “Language, Print and Literature in Irish, 1550–1630,” in Ohlmeyer, *Cambridge History of Ireland*, 2:411–33; Caball, “Print, Protestantism, and Cultural Authority in Elizabethan Ireland,” in *Elizabeth I and Ireland*, ed. Brendan Kane and Valerie McGowan-Doyle (Cambridge, Eng.: 2014), 286–308.

40 Ciaran Brady and James Murray, “Sir Henry Sidney and the Reformation in Ireland,” in *Enforcing Reformation in Ireland and Scotland, 1550–1700*, ed. Elizabethanne Boran and Crawford Gribben (Aldershot: 2006), 14–39.

41 Anthony M. McCormack, *The Earldom of Desmond, 1463–1583: The Decline and Crisis of a Feudal Lordship* (Dublin: 2005), 110–32.

42 Stephen Redmond, “Daniel, Edmund (1541/2–1572),” in *ODNB*, [https://doi.org/10.1093 / ref:odnb/69033](https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/69033).

Kilmore, and the archbishopric of Tuam. This was followed in 1581 by the appointment of Dermot O'Hurley to the metropolitan see of Cashel. A year later, Down and Connor, Limerick, Ross, Ferns, and Ossory were all provided. A natural vacancy in Tuam was promptly filled in 1586, and directly after that, in 1587, came the primatial seat of Armagh, along with Leighlin and Clonfert. Four years after that again came Raphoe and Clonfert.

Regnans in excelsis is commonly treated as the great fracture point in England's relations with Rome and as defining the shape and treatment of the English Catholic community for centuries. It is clear that it also pushed the papacy to an irrevocable commitment to an alternative hierarchy for Ireland. This decade-long slew of appointments laid down a clear line and presented a direct challenge to the established church in a manner far exceeding that of archpriest or bishop of Chalcedon. Given that this has been the configuration ever since, historians have, perhaps, given less emphasis to this round of appointments under Elizabeth and have preferred to examine the general revival of full hierarchies under James VI/I. But this was provocation. Quite a number of these new prelates were grandly consecrated in Rome itself.

The response of Dublin Castle may be judged by another tally of bishops – executed ones. In 1579 Patrick O'Hely of Mayo (1576) went to his death; in 1584 Archbishop Dermot O'Hurley of Cashel (1581) after extensive torture; and then, after various long spells of imprisonment in the 1590s, Cornelius O'Devaney of Down and Connor went to the gallows in Dublin at Candlemas 1612.⁴³ A violence and coercion explicitly associated with matters of loyalty – these bishops were executed for treason – seeped into the religious atmosphere during the last three decades of Elizabeth's reign.⁴⁴ For external audiences, Ireland became, variously, a landscape of suffering or a landscape of treachery.

Two rebellions, both sparking off in 1579, raised those issues of loyalty to the Crown and loyalty to Rome in the most pressing manner possible. The Second Desmond Rebellion began with a landing in Munster of James FitzMaurice Fitzgerald. He was accompanied by a bishop in full pontificals and two Franciscan friars bearing a papal banner. This was a visual evocation of crusade predicated on promises of Spanish aid.⁴⁵ Even its coeval, the Baltinglass Rebellion, headed by the lords of the Pale borderlands bearing all the hallmarks of seignorial revolt, raised the same specter of a confessional

43 Benignus Millett, "Patrick O'Healy, OFM, and Conn O'Rourke, OFM;" J.J. Meagher, "Dermot O'Hurley;" and Kieran Devlin, "Conor O' Devany, OFM, and Patrick O'Loughran," in *The Irish Martyrs*, ed. Patrick J. Corish and Millett (Dublin: 2005), 32–65, 66–80, and 107–37.

44 Tait, "Adored for Saints."

45 McCormack, *Earldom of Desmond*, 145–92; Jefferies, *Irish Church*, 207–14.

dérappage in which the very future existence of English dominion in Ireland might be weighed in the balance.⁴⁶

Historians have oscillated in their response to these rebellions and, indeed, all of those that punctuate the history of the 16th century. With these two, as with the Kildare Rising and the Nine Years' War, some have preferred to explain them as secular heaves decked out in the clothes of conscience; others have wondered about a larger agenda, a Catholic *internationale*, which might even countenance a transfer of allegiance to the Spanish *monarquía*.⁴⁷ Such debates, relevant as they are, can sometimes occlude the extent to which a rhetoric centered on the religiopolitical dilemmas of a "heretical" monarch, actively fostered by Continentally trained Catholic clergy, was current among Old English aristocrats and gentry. Militant Catholicism was on the mind, even if its sincerity or, indeed, its practice, remain unverifiable. Large swathes of the population had not only "kept the faith," but many of its leaders were prepared to say that they would, if necessary, take up arms to defend it. Catholic sentiment in Ireland had, by the 1580s, moved beyond survivalism.

Present at the landing in Smerwick harbor in July 1579 was Nicholas Sander, an English recusant exile acting as the pope's representative. His upbeat reports painted an old, but always beguiling picture, of a general Catholic rising spreading east from Ireland to "liberate" the larger island.⁴⁸ When on the scaffold in 1581, the Baltinglass rebels rejected Elizabeth both as heretic and woman governor. They repulsed Thomas Jones, the Church of Ireland minister there, with cries of "*vade post me Satana*" while reciting the Ave Maria.⁴⁹ Both Sander and the Nugents of the Baltinglass Rebellion would have agreed that proper monarchy and proper polity were founded on, and animated by, the ancestral religion.

In 1586 Munster became the arena for the largest plantation project undertaken so far.⁵⁰ The collapse of the FitzGerald of Desmond and the confiscation

46 Jefferies, *Irish Church*, 214–19; Christopher Maginn, "The Baltinglass Rebellion, 1580: English Dissent or a Gaelic Uprising?," *Historical Journal* 47 (2004), 205–32; Helen Coburn Walshe, "The Rebellion of William Nugent, 1581," in *Religion, Conflict and Coexistence in Ireland: Essays Presented to Monsignor Patrick Corish*, ed. R.V. Comerford et al. (Dublin: 1990), 26–52.

47 For an account from the Spanish perspective, see Enrique García Hernán, *Ireland and Spain in the Reign of Philip II* (Dublin: 2009).

48 Christopher Highley, *Catholics Writing the Nation in Early Modern Britain and Ireland* (Oxford: 2008), 131–37; Gerard Kilroy, *Edmund Campion: A Scholarly Life* (Abingdon: 2015), 126–30, 145–46, 179–85, and 269.

49 Myles V. Ronan, *Irish Martyrs of the Penal Laws* (Dublin: 1935), 50.

50 Michael MacCarthy-Morrogh, *The Munster Plantation: English Migration to Southern Ireland, 1583–1641* (Oxford: 1986).

of their lands gave further stimulus to a discourse that Protestant heresy was just a mask for rapine. The economic pressures created by the structural problems of the Church of Ireland and the means used to raise revenue by Lord Deputy John Perrott in the mid-1580s only served to confirm that slant – which was that Dublin Castle and Protestants were all about the money.⁵¹ The established church was trussed up by the claim inherent in its very title to, and so bound to maintain, a nominal structure of over 4000 parishes and 30 dioceses. After all, the formal structure of the English church had persisted, so Ireland should follow. Extension of Crown control and plantation only served to deepen this analysis rather than disrupt it, without any real consideration of reorganization along missionary lines. Suggestions to the contrary remained just suggestions. Paucity of personnel, even just readers or preachers, stimulated pluralism while the growing contingent of bishops were forced into ruinously long leases. In the absence of a flock, established clergy had to sweat their assets. By assuming that, as in England, congregations and their revenue would stay put, the authorities condemned the Irish church to a fire sale.⁵² Show trials and summary executions in the wake of the Baltinglass Rebellion soured relations with loyal subjects, but the fiscal compulsions exercised by High Commission gave the impression that the government was fixed on milking consciences for money rather than on changing anyone's creed. Protestant preaching was scant and circumscribed. Catholic evangelization was played out in domestic spaces, schoolrooms, private chaplaincies, covert and overt religious communities, charitable institutions, and civic corporations.⁵³ There was little, apart from the arrival of entire communities of Protestant planters, to disrupt consolidation of the Roman communion in late 16th-century Ireland.

When Hugh O'Neill, 2nd Earl of Tyrone, submitted to Lord Deputy Charles Blount, 8th Baron Mountjoy, at the site of the dissolved Cistercian monastery of Mellifont in 1603, it is said that he did not know that Elizabeth had just died. The earl's submission came at the end of a sustained, island-wide conflict that is now known as the Nine Years' War.⁵⁴ The Ulster earls (O'Neill and Rory O'Donnell, 1st Earl of Tyrconnell), their many supporters, and their

51 Victor Treadwell, "Sir John Perrot and the Irish Parliament of 1585–6," *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 85C (1985), 259–308; Jefferies, *Irish Church*, 219–27.

52 Alan Ford, *The Protestant Reformation in Ireland, 1590–1641* (Dublin: 1997); McCafferty, *Reconstruction*, chap. 1.

53 Patrick J. Corish, *The Catholic Community in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Dublin: 1981), 18–42.

54 Hiram Morgan, *Tyrone's Rebellion: The Outbreak of the Nine Years War in Tudor Ireland* (Dublin: 1993); James O'Neill, *The Nine Years War, 1593–1603: O'Neill, Mountjoy and the Military Revolution* (Dublin: 2017).

Spanish and papal allies, all invoked a common Catholic cause. They all flirted, at the very least, with the notion that Protestant English rule in Ireland was incompatible (in varying degrees) with the liberties of its inhabitants.⁵⁵ Four years after Mellifont, when Tyrconnell and Tyrone took ship at Lough Swilly for a Continental exile, James embarked on the largest and most confessionally shrill of all early modern Irish schemes: the plantation of Ulster.

Yet with this, as with other rebellions and their plantation outcomes, historians have detected many political, military, social, and economic determinants for the enterprise. They have taken the stated aim of planting Protestants as a given. This, along with a habit of folding religious sensibilities into wider political positions rather than seeing what happens when the reverse is attempted, has tended to obscure the deepening sectarianization of the 1580s and 1590s. A snowdrift of paper reports piling up in London and at the Vatican compiled by English officials, papal representatives, and spies of various colors, along with newer players such as the Jesuits and others, all point in a single direction. By the early 1580s, even the erratically coerced attendances at Church of Ireland services in the cities were falling away. Despite raids, checks, and a constant need for discretion, the Catholic Church ran and resourced educational, liturgical, and homiletic systems that confirmed and compounded the faith as the communal belief of the majority of the population. Late-Tudor state-building, along with its concomitant aspiration to mass Anglicization, had to work out within constraints created by the recusancy of the incumbent political and social elite of Ireland. A point would eventually come when replacing rather than reforming that elite would dawn as an option. Most of the Old English elite, nonetheless, failed to commit to Tyrone's cause in the 1590s.

This has been much discussed by historians and well understood in terms of the longstanding cultural politics of that grouping. A Catholic "faith and fatherland" rhetoric was still not enough to dissolve the bonds between a Protestant monarch and her loyal Catholic subjects, the English of Ireland. The binary of Irish and Catholic running alongside that of British and Protestant still lay in the future. But if the merchants and gentry of the Pale rejected the religiopolitical constructs of O'Neill, O'Donnell, and their Iberian allies, this did not nudge them away from commitment to the Holy See as fountainhead of spiritual authority.⁵⁶

55 Hiram Morgan, "Faith and Fatherland or Queen and Country? An Unpublished Exchange between O'Neill and the State at the Height of the Nine Years War," *Dúiche Néill* 9 (1994), 9–65.

56 Colm Lennon, "Taking Sides: The Emergence of Irish Catholic Ideology," in *Taking Sides? Colonial and Confessional Mentalités in Early Modern Ireland: Essays in Honour of Karl S. Bottigheimer*, ed. Vincent P. Carey and Ute Lotz-Heumann (Dublin: 2003), 78–93.

The 1603 accession of James to the English Crown, and so de facto to the papally confirmed kingship of Ireland, brought about a widespread reprise of the scenes delineated by John Bale almost half a century earlier. In cities such as Cork and Waterford, where the civic elite was both chartered and confident, churches were seized and converted to Catholic worship. The personnel of the Protestant state, both garrisons and established clergy, found themselves under effective blockade. There may have been some Catholics who, naively, hoped for overt toleration under James (perhaps on the basis that he was the son of the “martyred” Mary, Queen of Scots), but there was a coup-like quality to what some historians have called this “recusant revolt.”⁵⁷ In some respects, it was an aspiration that the end of the Tudor dynasty might be the start of a different sort of settlement. Lord Deputy Mountjoy’s response to all this was swift and stark. He set out on an aggressive tour, a tour of outrage, of the revolting cities, and in each instance, the urban overture demand of negotiation gave way to very vague promises of official consideration.⁵⁸ Catholic cult quietly subsided back into the domestic and semiprivate spaces in which it had borne the long 45 years of Elizabeth Tudor’s reign.

Those five decades spelled not only the final Tudor breach with Rome but also, after the Spanish Armada in 1588, an enhanced consciousness in England of that realm as a *naturaliter* Protestant commonwealth. During the 1590s, Dublin Castle became ever more explicit about the part of “seminary priests” in confirming Irish Catholic loyalty to the Vatican. Provision of committed Tridentine clergy was assured by drawing up the goodwill and finances of burgeoning exile communities across Europe, who, while abundantly aware of the driving economic and political reasons for their presence on the Continent, openly self-identified as sufferers for the faith. The Ulster earls did so in a highly propagandistic manner during their long – and diplomatically fraught – “Flight” (or in Irish, “Turas”) from Donegal to Rome in 1607–08.⁵⁹ While the

57 Anthony J. Sheehan, “The Recusancy Revolt of 1603: A Reinterpretation,” *Archivum Hibernicum* 38 (1983), 3–13.

58 Sheehan, “Recusancy Revolt.”

59 Thomas O’Connor and Mary Ann Lyons (eds), *The Ulster Earls and Baroque Europe: Refashioning Irish Identities, 1600–1800* (Dublin: 2010); Jerrold Casway, “Florence Conry, the Flight of the Earls, and Native-Catholic Militancy,” *New Hibernia Review* 15 (2011), 111–25; David Finnegan, Éamonn Ó Ciardha, and Marie-Claire Peters (eds), *The Flight of the Earls: Imeacht na nIarlaí* (Dublin: 2010); John McCavitt, *The Flight of the Earls* (Dublin: 2002). For the only surviving firsthand account of events, see Nollaig Ó Muraíle (ed.), *Turas na dTaoiseach nUltach as Éirinn: From Ráth Maoláin to Rome; Tadhg Ó Cianáin’s Contemporary Narrative of the Journey into Exile of the Ulster Chieftains and Their Followers, 1607–8* (Rome: 2007).

earls became a charge upon all those they sought hospitality or refuge with, expatriate money joined forces with funds exported from Ireland to provide graduate clergy targeted at their native parishes and dioceses.

Borrowing from the model developed by Cardinal William Allen for exile English colleges, a parallel Irish movement resulted in 28 foundations between 1578 and 1689. By the time of James's migration from Edinburgh to London, there were already five seminary college venues on offer: Paris (1578), Lisbon (1590), Salamanca (1592), Douai (1594), and Antwerp (1600). By the time his son Charles I came to the throne, there were a further ten: Compostella (1605), Louvain (1607), Lille (1610), Rouen (1612), Tournai (1616), Charleville (1620), and Prague (1620), along with a second college (1623) and a third (1624) in the important university city of Louvain, and one in Rome (1625) [see Figure 8.1]. By this stage, most of these institutions were run by the Jesuits for formation of secular clergy, but they were complemented by three Franciscan Observant colleges, one Capuchin, and one Dominican.⁶⁰ The latter reflected the durability of the regulars in Ireland, their prestige, and their consequent privileges, which they deployed not only in the pastoral service of Irish Catholicism but in settling its direction. The friars, along with the Jesuits, had agendas that were both specifically Irish and highly transnational. The effect was to provide exemplary context for congregations across the island when their priests were interested in and preaching about, for example, the fate of Christians in contemporary Japan.⁶¹

If Protestant evangelization in Ireland was very much muted by an official insistence on Anglicization, Tridentine Catholicism was effortlessly trilingual: in Irish, English, and Latin. The Franciscan Observants in particular drew their membership from the hereditary Gaelic intellectual elites whose custody of traditional learning and manuscripts assisted in cultivating arguments that Catholicity was a natural state for the island, that Protestantism was at once foreign *and* heretical, and that to relinquish Rome was a betrayal

60 For some of the theological implications of this diaspora, see Thomas O'Connor, *Irish Jansenists, 1600–70: Religion and Politics in Flanders, France, Ireland and Rome* (Dublin: 2008).

61 The literature on the Irish Continental colleges, individually and collectively and by religious order, is enormous. Overviews that provide access to this area include: Liam Chambers and Thomas O'Connor (eds), *College Communities Abroad: Education, Migration and Catholicism in Early Modern Europe* (Manchester: 2017); Chambers and O'Connor, *Forming Catholic Communities*; Lyons and O'Connor, *From Strangers to Citizens*; John J. Silke, "The Irish Abroad, 1534–1691," in *A New History of Ireland*, vol. 3: *Early Modern Ireland, 1534–1691*, ed. T.W. Moody, F.X. Martin, and F.J. Byrne (1976; repr., Oxford: 1989), 615–33.

of both blood and ancestors.⁶² It is true (partly because of the choice of an insular manuscript hand for printing rather than Roman type) that there were very few publications in Irish, whether from Catholic or Protestant hands. Manuscript transmission in Irish was markedly more vigorous and vital than for most other European vernaculars, a trend that persisted until well into the 19th century. Scribes at home and abroad were highly active.⁶³ A very large proportion of surviving exemplars of Gaelic Irish bardic poetry are of early modern Continental origin, often committed to ink in Irish communities located near the sites of the exile colleges.⁶⁴

Episcopal reports and those of the regulars all show a pastoral preoccupation with Ireland's two vernaculars. Priests prepared translations of the basics such as the Pater Noster, Ave Maria, and Confiteor, along with the Credo; there was versification and singing of catechetical and devotional material; and, as was the practice of the Franciscan poet-provincial Eoghan Ó Dubhthaigh (1581–83), mnemonic epitomes of sermons. It is one of the ironies of religious culture in Ireland that the Catholic Church cleaved to the Latin liturgy but capitalized on the Irish language, while the established Protestant church, with some minor exceptions, jettisoned its vernacularizing origins. The sectarian invective of one of Ó Dubhthaigh's most famous poems, mostly directed at the Franciscan apostate and Church of Ireland archbishop of Cashel Maolmuire Mac Craith (Miler McGrath), suggests that depiction of the established church as corrupt, venal, rapacious, and English was yoked to mainstream demonization of heretics in poems, songs, and sermons from the 1570s onwards.⁶⁵ Contemporary chronicle material from the early 17th century also shows many traces of stories of the temporal misfortunes that befell Protestants who occupied former religious houses. Religious reform, then, was alienized, Anglicized, and associated with extension of Crown authority as Elizabeth's reign gave way to that of James Stuart. Both literature and pulpit sought to end any ambiguity about choice between Rome and anything else.

62 Mícheál Mac Craith, "Creideamh agus athartha: Idé-eoloaíocht pholaitíochta agus aos léinn na Gaeilge i dtús an seachtú haois déag," in *Nua-léamha: Gnéithe de chultúr, stair agus polaitíocht na hÉireann, c.1600–c.1900*, ed. Mairín Ní Dhoonchadha (Dublin: 1996), 7–19.

63 Caball, "Language, Print and Literature in Irish."

64 Ruairi Ó hUiginn, "Irish Literature in Spanish Flanders," in O'Connor and Lyons, *Ulster Earls and Baroque Europe*, 349–61.

65 Cuthbert Mhág Craith, *Dán na mBráthar Mionúr*, 2 vols (Dublin: 1967), Gaelic text of the poem by Ó Dubhthaigh, 1:127–50; English translation, 2:58–67. Marc Caball, "Religion, Culture and the Bardic Elite," in Ford and McCafferty, *Origins of Sectarianism*, 158–82; Salvador Ryan, "A Slighted Source: Rehabilitating Irish Bardic Religious Discourse," *Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies* 48 (2004), 75–99.

Printing in Irish was tricky and expensive for Protestants, and trickier and more expensive still for Catholics. Such printing was a luxury affair given that the choice of a non-Roman font meant that even the means of production was bespoke. The first Continental printing in Irish was done by Jacobus Messius at Antwerp in 1611, but thereafter this work was done in-house by the Irish Franciscans at Saint Anthony's in Louvain. The press there, initially financed under the terms of the will of a former secular priest of the Armagh diocese, required constant transfusions of cash. It is clear from extant archducal and episcopal permissions for Flanders that such activity was explicitly intended to rebut the very minimal Irish-language output of the Protestant side. The friar Bonabhentura Ó hEodhasa's *An Teagasg Críosaíde* (Antwerp: 1611; Louvain: 1614) was the work of a trained professional poet who summarized his book's prose contents in verse - a rhyming strategy in keeping with Franciscan evangelization in the vernaculars of both Europe and the New World.⁶⁶ Tuning global Catholicism in for Irish-speaking audiences was a method employed in a series of Franciscan publications produced in Louvain and Rome right up to 1676.⁶⁷ The extent to which Irish Catholicism was not just the product of oppositional sectarianism but was also influenced by the paths chosen by what had become a worldwide church is easily discernible in these vernacular texts.

During the early 17th century, Irish exiles as well as Continentally trained clergy at home produced major hagiographical, historical, and theological texts that were, in part, a reaction to the attempted conformities and actual confiscations carried out by Dublin Castle. Hagiographical and martyrological collections by the Jesuit Henry Fitzsimon, the secular David Messingham, and an array of friars sought to retrieve and repoint Ireland's claim to be *Insula Sanctorum* [see Figure 8.7]. They did so in Latin, using the most modern methods to vindicate their claim and to advance a debt. The claim was to the fecund catholicity of Ireland. The debt was built on that same fecundity, which, it was argued, had overflowed with a saintly effluence of missionaries whose activities had saved both Christian Europe and Christian erudition. Europe's Catholics were now bound to support their Irish counterparts as a mark of gratitude.⁶⁸

66 Fearghal Mac Raghnaill (ed.), *An Teagasg Críosaíde* (Dublin: 1976); Salvador Ryan, "Bonaventura Ó hEodhasa's 'An Teagasg Críosaíde'" (1611/1614): A Reassessment of Its Audience and Use," *Archivium Hibernicum* 58 (2004), 259–67.

67 For a recent overview of exile literature, see Raymond Gillespie and Ruairí Ó hUiginn, *Irish Europe, 1600–1650: Writing and Learning* (Dublin: 2013).

68 Richard Sharpe, *Medieval Irish Saints' Lives: An Introduction to Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae* (Oxford: 1991), 3–74 gives a full account of the early modern hagiographical enterprise.

Around the same time, two history projects of the 1630s – *Annála Ríoghachta na hÉireann* (or Annals of the Four Masters as they are now known), a joint Franciscan and secular elite project, and *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn*, a monograph history by Seathrún Ceitinn, a Hibernophone Old English priest – make a set of striking assertions when read together. They reject English accusations of barbarity and of fractious faction by insisting on the innate civility of an Irish unitary kingdom. Ceitinn in particular pushed his history away from the old ethnic markers in order to substitute a common name of *Éireannaigh* (Irish) based on the toponym of the island: *Éire*. This acted as a solvent of old conflicts and maintained that “proper” Irishness inhered in both birth on the island and adherence to the Catholic faith. In their preface, the “Four Masters” used the regnal dating of Charles I to establish the completion date – an important reminder that robust Catholic historiography did not necessarily tip into separatist discourse [see Figure 8.6].⁶⁹

Irish Catholicism drew heavily on the theological, devotional, and pastoral resources of a vigorously globalizing church. Politically, however, it became more enmeshed and enmired in the twisting ways of the house of Stuart. One of the most ambitious Irish ventures, based in St Isidore’s College in Rome, and overseen by the Waterford Observant Luke Wadding, sought to remind the universal Church of an allegedly Irish intervention in tracing the mechanics of salvation. Dogged defenses of Downpatrick as Duns Scotus’s birthplace ensured that Irish friars gained hold of the modern editing and dissemination of a jewel of the intellectual patrimony of what was then the world’s largest male religious order. At the same time, Scotist promotion of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin aligned this Irish scholarship with the politico-theological aspirations of the Spanish *monarquía*. Wadding’s own career, which began with his departure from Waterford as a teenager at the turn of the 17th century for formation in the Iberian Peninsula, encompassed multiple strands. He was an ecclesiastical politician, Vatican official, founder of two Irish colleges, European agent for Irish Catholic causes, and man of business for an increasingly buoyant Irish episcopate, publisher, and patron.⁷⁰

69 Bernadette Cunningham, *The World of Geoffrey Keating: History, Myth and Religion in Seventeenth-Century Ireland* (Dublin: 2000), and Cunningham, *The Annals of the Four Masters: Irish History, Kingship and Society in the Early Seventeenth Century* (Dublin: 2010) provide authoritative book-length introductions to texts that have a historiography all of their own.

70 Ignatius Fennessy, “Wadding, Luke [Name in Religion Francis] (1588–1657),” in *ODNB*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/28369>; Franciscan Fathers and Dún Mhuire Killiney (eds), *Father Luke Wadding: Commemorative Volume* (Dublin: 1957); Gregory Cleary, *Father Luke Wadding and St. Isidore’s College Rome* (Rome: 1925); Joseph MacMahon, “Irish Franciscan Scotists of the Seventeenth Century,” in *Canterbury Studies in Franciscan*

It is both a striking example of what one exile individual might achieve and also emblematic of the possibilities that a European sojourn might open up for an Irish Catholic [see Figure 8.4]. Like many others, once departed from Ireland, Wadding stayed put in the heartlands of Catholic Europe. Yet the studied mobility of so many Irish seculars and regulars who moved in and out of the island as occasion and opportunity allowed contributed to the robustness of Catholic infrastructure. This also accounts for its regenerative power even after the scorching years of the 1650s.

Whatever ambiguities and aspirations attended the accession of a Stuart king to the English and Irish thrones in 1603, one thing was clear. This was that religious allegiance had acquired political connotations that operated alongside the Christian faith and devotional practices of the population of the island.⁷¹ These connotations have marked the historiography ever since. Put simply, Ireland had become a place where almost any political, economic, or social dispute or misunderstanding could be given a religious or rather sectarian coloring should either party chose to do so. And they did. The island was slowly tipping away from the old ethnic divisions and compromises to more complex ethnoreligious combinations. Those combinations carried within themselves, however, seeds for divisive conflict. The city of Waterford, for example, had as its motto *Urbs Intacta Remanens*. For centuries, this had been an assertion of civic pride in an English civility against a Gaelic hinterland. Both plantation in Munster and the working out of Tudor Reformations changed all that. So, by the middle of the 17th century, Wadding was not alone in interpreting the motto as an assertion of his city's Catholicism in a nominally Protestant kingdom. The reigns of both James I and Charles I witnessed a steady enlargement of the effective authority of the Crown through plantation, shiring, and universal application of English common law. This expanding state was avowedly, statutorily Protestant, but its rulers and administrators were cautious, pragmatic, elastic, and more frequently than not inconsistent and short term in both policy and application of that policy.⁷²

History: Acts of the Franciscan History Conferences of 2007 and 2008, ed. Jens Rahrkasten (Canterbury: 2009); Ian W.S. Campbell, "John Punch, Scotist Holy War, and the Irish Catholic Revolutionary Tradition in the Seventeenth Century," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 77 (2016), 401–21; Joseph MacMahon and John McCafferty, "The Wadding Library of Saint Isidore's College Rome, 1622–1700," *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 106 (2013), 97–118.

71 Corish, *Catholic Community in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*.

72 Aidan Clarke, *The Old English in Ireland, 1625–42* (London: 1966).

In 1605, George Montgomery, a Scottish defender of episcopacy, was appointed the first Protestant bishop of the three dioceses of Clogher, Derry, and Raphoe.⁷³ His triple mitre was at the same time an indicator of a great tardiness in settling the established church in Ulster and also a sign of things to come. In the northern province, Protestantism would be planted rather than inculcated by conversion.⁷⁴ Two years later in 1607, the Ulster earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnell, Hugh O'Neill and Rory O'Donnell, began an ostentatiously fraught voyage across western Europe during which they presented themselves as sufferers and exiles for the Catholic faith. The outcome of their exile was that Ulster became a crucible in which one new identity was tried out and another was further forged. The new identity, an Irish outworking of James's plans for his two larger realms, was a compound of Englishness, Lowland Scottishness, and a broad Protestantism christened with an antiquarian revival term – "British." The settlers were not overly keen on being British, hugging their English and Scottish identities close, but they did, even in moments of stress, hew to the Protestant part of the construct.⁷⁵ The other identity, a fusion of Irish birth (regardless of ancestry) with proclaimed allegiance to Rome, became increasingly elaborated and self-confident during the first four decades of the 17th century. But like Britishness, its full flowering remained in the future.

By the 1620s, the Holy See had begun to sense an opportunity for a "spectacular" in this European realm governed by a Protestant sovereign. Ireland had potential to evolve from defensive, reactive mission into a fully articulated Tridentine church that sought not only to reform creed and custom but the very life and manners of the island's inhabitants.⁷⁶ This was now feasible for several reasons. The confessional ambiguity of the Tudor reigns was now past. Sectarian sentiment was beginning to drive political events in very direct manners. Patchy and itinerant pastoral provision was giving way to a Roman establishment and ecclesiastical structure that was barely discreet. This last became

73 Henry A. Jefferies, "George Montgomery, First Protestant Bishop of Derry, Raphoe and Clogher (1605–10)," in *History of the Diocese of Derry from Earliest Times*, ed. Ciarán Devlin and Jefferies (Dublin: 2000), 140–66.

74 Ford, *Protestant Reformation*, 127–54.

75 For some exceptions, see Brian Mac Cuarta, "Scots Catholics in Ulster, 1603–41," in *The Scots in Early Stuart Ireland: Union and Separation in Two Kingdoms*, ed. David Edwards with Simon Egan (Manchester: 2016), 141–68. For English Catholic immigration, see David Edwards, "A Haven of Popery: English Catholic Migration to Ireland in the Age of Plantations," in Ford and McCafferty, *Origins of Sectarianism*, 95–106.

76 Tadhg Ó hAnnracháin, *Catholic Reformation in Ireland: The Mission of Rinuccini 1645–1649* (Oxford: 2002), chaps. 1 and 2; Ó hAnnracháin, *Catholic Europe, 1592–1648: Centre and Peripheries* (Oxford: 2015), chap. 2.

apparent to observers of every religious hue. Modern survivals in Catholic material culture give eloquent testimony. While barely any liturgical silver of Irish manufacture is known to be extant from the 16th century, elaborately decorated chalices, many of these commissioned by lay donors, survive in their hundreds from the first half of the next century [see Figures 8.2 and 8.3]. Many of these were lavish, bespoke pieces that serve as particular physical reminders of the stabilization of Catholic worship.⁷⁷

This stabilization was bookended by two events that affected large sections of the population. First, there was the attempted transformation of vast portions of Ulster into that British colony in a newly confessionalized version of the old expedient of plantation. Second, in 1641, came the eruption of sectarianized violence in a spray of events following an uprising on 23 October.⁷⁸ The first irrevocably tethered matters of land tenure to religious choice in a way that would go on to become a staple of Irish life into the early 19th century. Massive land transfers were essayed in the 1630s, then grimly realized in the 1650s, just mildly reversed in the 1660s, and constitutionalized in the 1690s and beyond. In 1609, Catholic landownership began to run down a long but steep slope.

The eventual outcome was, of course, obvious neither to Dublin Castle nor to Old English and Gaelic Irish Catholics living under the first two Stuart monarchs. James's Irish reign, as seen, had commenced with months of brittle aspiration to a toleration, but its essential evanescence was soon apparent. Even before the discovery of the Gunpowder Plot in 1605, the state was inclined to some variations on the old theme of coercion. As James came to construct a full bench of Protestant bishops for Ireland's many dioceses, he made it clear in a proclamation of October 1605 that any presumption of toleration was fanciful. He went on to order all Catholic clergy to go into exile by December and required all subjects to attend the services of the Church of Ireland. By November, prominent Pale gentry who pleaded freedom of their private consciences found themselves in receipt of mandates for compliance. The mandate devices also touched on the very delicate question of the relationship between prerogative and statutory power. This campaign began to mold an

77 Malgorzata Krasnodebska-D'Aughton, "Franciscan Chalices, 1600–50," in Bhreathnach, MacMahon, and McCafferty, *Irish Franciscans*, 287–304.

78 Mícheál Ó Siochrú and Jane Ohlmeyer (eds), *Ireland, 1641: Contexts and Reactions* (Manchester: 2013); Eamon Darcy, *The Irish Rebellion of 1641 and the Wars of the Three Kingdoms* (Woodbridge: 2013).

organized and vocal recusant resistance.⁷⁹ What would follow, both under James and his son and heir, was a stop-start policy of coercion and benign lassitude determined by the orrery-like motions of European politics, the dynastic needs of the house of Stuart, and the aspirations of a nascent British state. The Irish polity itself was becoming magnetized around a New English Protestant pole and an Old English Catholic one.⁸⁰

All of these orbital paths and motions were intermittently lit up by flashes of pure drama. On 1 February 1612, Cornelius O'Devaney, Franciscan bishop of Down and Connor, went to the gibbet in Dublin for alleged treason. Scenes of extravagant mourning by the city's Catholic population marked a clear step along a road from ethnic to confessional identity. A hundred years earlier, a synod for the ecclesiastical province of Dublin had banned Gaelic clergy from the Pale. James's decision in 1613 to impose the Oath of Supremacy more broadly gave rise to a speech to an Old English delegation on 21 April 1614 during which he peevishly dismissed Ireland's Catholics as "half-subjects."⁸¹ Squabbling over the alleged gerrymandering of the Irish Parliament of 1613 climaxed with a sectarian situation comedy in Chichester House in Dublin during which the corpulent "Protestant" Speaker of the House of Commons was plonked down onto the knees of the sitting "Catholic" Speaker of the House of Commons.⁸² Purges of recusant municipal officials in 1616 and, in the two following years, attempts to extract recusancy fines from right across the populace as opposed to named individuals or elite groupings, collapsed into nonenforcement. Matters went further because in 1623 came the first in a series of suspensions of fines dictated by the king's foreign policy.

Then, as Charles sprang towards war with Spain at the very outset of his reign, an entirely new phase opened up. Negotiations for finance bypassed the viceregal court at Dublin and the claims of the Church of Ireland entirely. His Majesty's Instructions and Graces of 1628, a set of mixed concessions, looked to many contemporaries like a victory for the Irish Catholic "interest" but, as Aidan Clarke has pointed out, ultimately relegated the Old English to

79 John McCavitt, "Lord Deputy Chichester and the English Government's 'Mandates Policy' in Ireland, 1605–1607," *RH* 20 (1991), 320–35; Hans S. Pawlisch, *Sir John Davies and the Conquest of Ireland: A Study in Legal Imperialism* (Cambridge, Eng.: 1985), 103–21.

80 Alan Ford, "'Force and Fear of Punishment': Protestants and Religious Coercion in Ireland, 1603–33," in Boran and Gribben, *Enforcing Reformation*, 91–130.

81 Aidan Clarke with R. Dudley Edwards, "Pacification, Plantation, and the Catholic Question, 1603–23," in Moody, Martin, and Byrne, *New History of Ireland*, 3 217.

82 John McCavitt, "An Unspeakable Parliamentary Fracas: The Irish House of Commons, 1613," *Analecta Hibernica* 37 (1998), 223–35.

an inferior place in the colonial system of privilege.⁸³ At the time, the Graces evoked a notion of a commonwealth in which Catholicism formed a fixed part rather than merely as a defect to be erased. Even if the Graces proved to be a sleight of hand, the pace of coercion slowed and slowed under a king who was married to the very Catholic French Henrietta Maria. The political Catholicism of the Old English lords and gentry was itself further bolstered by a clergy and hierarchy whose ambitions for the Irish populace were as robustly European as their own training.

Numbers of Catholic clergy, both secular and regular, trebled at the very least between 1603 and 1641.⁸⁴ After two generations of overwhelmingly missionary ministration, the laity found themselves, as it were, back in the pew. Beginning in the chartered cities and the towns of the east coast, a system of Mass houses developed whose imprint is still apparent in the positioning of many Catholic churches in urban settings today. Such spaces as the Jesuit oratory at Kildare Hall in Dublin or the Franciscan house chapel at Drogheda could be quite ornate affairs.⁸⁵ Just as in the Netherlands, they were a pragmatic provision of a fixed liturgical venue in an environment of official proscription. Once established, they served as nurseries for the active lay pieties of Catholic Reformation, such as Jesuit sodalities and the Franciscan confraternities of the Cord and Holy Rosary respectively. These houses allowed full liturgical cycles, high and low, complete with fully vested clergy. They also reconnected locality with cult through particular devotions and expressions of civic and familial pride in donation of liturgical vessels, vestments, images, and lights. Evidence from the records of religious orders and, indeed, of hostile Protestant observers, points to such rapid growth in choice that competition for adherents and their donations began to characterize the religious landscape much as it had done in the later Middle Ages. Tensions among religious orders themselves and also between regulars and seculars might easily explode, as they did in

83 Aidan Clarke, "Selling Royal Favours, 1624–32," in Moody, Martin, and Byrne, *New History of Ireland*, 3 238; Clarke, *The Graces, 1625–41* (Dundalk: 1968).

84 For an overview of clerical lives and numbers in this period, see Áine Hensey, "A Comparative Study of the Lives of Church of Ireland and Roman Catholic Clergy in the South-Eastern Dioceses of Ireland from 1550 to 1660" (PhD diss., Maynooth University, 2012).

85 Rolf Loeber and Magda Stouthamer-Loeber, "Kildare Hall, the Countess of Kildare's Patronage of the Jesuits, and the Liturgical Setting of Catholic Worship in Early Seventeenth-Century Dublin," in *The Parish in Medieval and Early Modern Ireland: Community, Territory and Building*, ed. Elizabeth FitzPatrick and Raymond Gillespie (Dublin: 2006), 242–65; Brian Mac Cuarta, *Catholic Revival in the North of Ireland, 1603–41* (Dublin: 2007), 214–16. See also Lennon, "Mass in the Manor-House," 112–26.

Drogheda in 1629, into open violence, boycott, and spoliation.⁸⁶ English newcomers to Ireland were frequently shocked by large-scale pilgrimage or devotional movements. As Archbishop Thomas Fleming put it in a report to the papal internuncio at Brussels, the crowds flocked to Saint Patrick's Purgatory at Lough Derg (supposedly officially destroyed in 1632) like "bees to beehive."⁸⁷ At the very heart of an Ulster plantation territory, this holy island under assiduous mendicant management promoted the resoundingly restated Catholic doctrine of purgatory, solicited donations for Continental colleges, and exuberantly affirmed Saint Patrick as the progenitor of a Catholic *insula sanctorum*.⁸⁸

Lough Derg was just one of a number of pilgrimage sites well distributed across the island that were further assisted by papal indulgences and carefully frequented by the revived Catholic episcopate.⁸⁹ From 1618 to 1630, the Holy See matched the established church by filling its episcopal bench. These men were Irish, Continentally trained, and pastorally experienced. More often than not, they were promoted on merit of skill and experience, selected by Rome itself rather than through aristocratic or regal lobbying and jockeying. Shadowed by an increasingly English, Scottish, and Welsh Church of Ireland episcopate, these well-connected Old English and Gaelic Irish prelates served in their very persons to reinforce a rhetoric that deemed Protestantism foreign in origin and colonial in intent.⁹⁰ They behaved, as far as was feasible, as if their dioceses were in the Catholic heartlands of Europe. These bishops conducted visitations, upheld their own consistorial courts, assembled meetings of clergy, and sought to erase peculiars, exemptions, and the missionary faculties of the recent past: all of which, of course, were exercises of a forbidden jurisdiction.

From 1614 they engaged in a burst of synodal activity that legislated precisely and minutely for canonical and moral reform of clergy and laity.⁹¹ The Catholic population might now expect expressly Catholic interventions in their social, economic, and sexual lives. Just as aristocrats and gentry provided a communal

86 Brian Jackson, "Sectarianism: Division and Dissent in Irish Catholicism," in Ford and McCafferty, *Origins of Sectarianism*, 203–15.

87 Shane Leslie, *Saint Patrick's Purgatory: A Record from History and Literature* (London: 1932), 94.

88 Bernadette Cunningham and Raymond Gillespie, "The Most Adaptable of Saints': The Cult of St Patrick in the Seventeenth Century," *Archivum Hibernicum* 49 (1995), 82–104.

89 John McCafferty, "The Communion of Saints and Catholic Reformation in Early Seventeenth-Century Ireland," in *Community in Early Modern Ireland*, ed. Robert Armstrong and Tadhg Ó hAnnracháin (Dublin: 2006), 199–214.

90 Cathaldus Giblin, "The *Processus Datariae* and the Appointment of Irish Bishops in the Seventeenth Century," in Franciscan Fathers, *Father Luke Wadding*, 508–16.

91 Alison Forrester, *The Catholic Synods in Ireland, 1600–1690* (Dublin: 1998).

temporal and political world of Catholic cohesion, the bishops and their clergy engineered the concomitant confessional and spiritual cohesion.⁹² The conditions of the previous decades evoked clerical insistence on dramatic public reconciliation ceremonies that were designedly evocative of baptismal rites in which white-clad, candle-bearing individuals purged the “pollution” picked up in any attendance at Protestant ceremonies. These rites were applied even if – as in most instances – such churchgoing had been involuntary or prompted by fear of fine. Catholicism was now policing its own boundaries, not just defending them, not just maintaining its mission. Dramatic preaching, emotional devotions, consciously Catholic charities, and insistence on exclusivity around the rites of passage all aimed at creating an irreducible and enduring Catholic community.⁹³

While the Jesuits were active on the island in small numbers from the late 16th century, increase in their number and expansion of their activities was matched by the arrival of another markedly Counter-Reformation order – the Capuchins – in 1616.⁹⁴ These energetic presences and the resurgence of the older orders, along with the assiduity and talent of the bishops, all soon ran up against two things that threatened the revival of the Roman obedience in Ireland [see Figure 8.5]. Firstly, there was the law. Overt exercise of “foreign jurisdiction,” which is what so much of the church’s activity could be framed as, allowed disgruntled priests to bring their own ordinaries to court. Some, such as Paul Harris in Dublin, did just that. This had the effect of hobbling some bishops, leading to the incarceration of others, and causing convulsions within the church itself, all creating a drag on the overall project.

Secondly, there was history or rather historical claims. This all hinged on the rights, possessions, and claims of those religious orders active at the time of the kingdom’s official break with Rome and in those decades following. Missionary privileges granted to mendicant friars in particular and financial customs fit for times of crisis, such as sacramental fees, were not readily abandoned by the beneficiaries. Both bishops and local congregations were burned by the heat of flaring secular-regular disputes (sometimes fomented by Dublin Castle) during the late 1620s and early 1630s. It required vigorous Roman intervention to prevent total conflagration.⁹⁵ More ominously, there was the matter

92 Ute Lotz-Heumann, “Confessionalisation in Ireland: Periodisation and Character, 1534–1649,” in Ford and McCafferty, *Origins of Sectarianism*, 24–53.

93 Ó hAnnracháin, “Imitation of That Holy Patron,” Mac Cuarta, *Catholic Revival*.

94 F.X. Martin, *Friar Nugent: A Study of Francis Lavalin Nugent (1569–1635), Agent of the Counter-Reformation* (London: 1962).

95 For an overview of these conflicts, see Ó hAnnracháin, *Catholic Reformation in Ireland*, 41–44; McCafferty, *Reconstruction*, 173–77; Patrick J. Corish, “An Irish Counter-Reformation

of the former monastic lands. These historic holdings were no manageable internal matter because revivals of old claims by truculent regulars threatened to disrupt relations between churchmen and their most wealthy supporters. Many bishops were unpersuaded that Cardinal Pole's legatine assurances permitted laypeople to hold property from dissolved houses with a clear conscience. Others were prepared to countenance interim "guardianship" of such lands with a promise that on full restoration of Catholic cult, they would be handed back. This particular fuse burned fitfully during the 1620s and 1630s, but it would come to fizzle and spark alarmingly and dangerously during the Confederate years of the 1640s. The truth was that the whole matter was a murky mess created by the ambiguous trajectory of dissolution in Ireland, the extent to which arrangements made in England during Mary's reign applied in Ireland, the varying continuities and discontinuities of religious orders, and the disdain felt by the newer entrants to the Irish religious scene concerning the whole question.⁹⁶

In one way, the ability of the Catholic Church and its clergy to carry out its broad spiritual mission and wider social goals in almost two decades of conditional tolerance on the part of the state was a sign of growing strength. In another way, those matters of jurisdiction, old claims, and pastoral competition pointed in the direction of a very serious problem. The church's revenues did not meet its aspirations. Even Rome deemed the incomes of its bishops inadequate – which might explain in part a freeze in appointments from 1630 to 1641. Since so many Irish bishops were well connected locals, they managed anyway. But precisely because so many Irish bishops were well connected locals, they were far too dependent on small groups of lay relatives and friends. More generally, though, a waxingly self-conscious laity were asked to pay for an ever-elaborating Catholic edifice. That same laity was also subject to the formal fees, fines, and tithes demanded by a Church of Ireland whose fiscal appetite was stoked by Lord Deputy Thomas Wentworth's attempt to place it on a firm footing in the 1630s. This was acute financial pressure in the name of religion. Something had to give. It did so on 23 October 1641.

Bishop: John Roche," *Irish Theological Quarterly* 25 (1958), 14–32, 101–23, and 126, and (1959), 101–16 and 313–30; Thomas S. Flynn, *The Irish Dominicans, 1536–1641* (Dublin: 1993), 245–48; P.F. Moran, *History of the Catholic Archbishops of Dublin since the Reformation* (Dublin: 1864), 369–80. Many of the original letters are to be found in Brendan Jennings, *Wadding Papers, 1614–38* (Dublin: 1953).

96 Ó hAnnracháin, *Catholic Reformation in Ireland*, 73–79. For a case study, see Gerard Rice, "Thomas Dease, Bishop of Meath and Some Questions Concerned with the Rights to Ecclesiastical Property Alienated at the Reformation," *Ríocht na Mídhe* 6 (1975), 69–89.

In October 1645, Giovanni Battista Rinuccini, archbishop of Fermo and nuncio of Innocent X, landed at Kenmare, County Kerry. The nuncio, who liked to think he was the first papal legate to Ireland since Saint Patrick, was taken both by the deference of the locals and their diet of dairy and shellfish.⁹⁷ His secretary, Dionysio Massari, was struck by the devotional and doctrinal competence of a people “so reduced to poverty by depopulation of their heretical enemies. I saw the knowledge of the holy Catholic faith flourish so much that there was not a man or woman or any little boy who could not recite the Lord’s Prayer, the Hail Mary and the precepts of the Holy Church.”⁹⁸ Four years earlier, in October 1641, many of that confessionally conscious population, beginning in Ulster, had set on their Protestant neighbors. This violence, frequently ritualized, acted out notions of heresy as alien, as polluting, as an imposition on both landscape and livelihood. These killings, maimings, and expulsions were mythologized both in their original commission and then in their recording, recollection, and political deployment.⁹⁹ They were also the astringent fruit of the well-cultivated Tridentine church so relished by the Italian arrivals in 1645.

Irish events from 1641 to William III’s military victory over James II in 1691 have absorbed many historians. Accounts and analyses of the Catholic Church as an institution or as a pastoral agent during this period are sparse, and little work has been done in recent decades. This is in part because, at least for the 1640s and 1650s, here are decades during which identification of Catholic faith with political stance is virtually entire. Liberty of public worship and recovery of church buildings went hand in hand with the Catholic confederacy of the 1640s. These gains were then pulverized in the 1650s. The crisis of authority that traced its swirling path across both islands for almost 20 years turned religious faith into a lead actor on the political stage.¹⁰⁰

97 Ó hAnnracháin, *Catholic Reformation in Ireland*, 116–17.

98 Quoted in Ó hAnnracháin, *Catholic Reformation in Ireland*, 63.

99 Brian Mac Cuarta (ed.), *Ulster 1641: Aspects of the Rising* (Belfast: 1993). John Gibney, *The Shadow of a Year: The 1641 Rebellion in Irish History and Memory* (Madison, Wis.: 2013) has an extensive bibliography. The “depositions,” or statements given after the events, are available at <http://1641.tcd.ie>. The Irish Manuscripts Commission is producing the depositions in hard copy: Aidan Clarke (ed.), *The 1641 Depositions*, 4 vols (Dublin: Irish Manuscripts Commission, 2014–).

100 Robert Armstrong, “Establishing a Confessional Ireland, 1641–1691,” and John Jeremiah Cronin and Pádraic Lenihan, “Wars of Religion, 1641–1691,” in Ohlmeyer, *Cambridge History of Ireland*, 2:220–45 and 246–72 are recent surveys which should still be read alongside Patrick J. Corish, “The Rising of 1641 and the Catholic Confederacy, 1641–5,” “Ormond, Rinuccini, and the Confederates, 1645–9,” “The Cromwellian Conquest, 1649–53,” and “The Cromwellian Regime, 1650–60,” in Moody, Martin, and Byrne, *New History*

While clergy may have shared providential visions of an extirpation of heresy with their flocks during the winter of 1641, they worked to change *jacquerie* into something less upheaving by exercise of moral authority. At a synod of bishops held at Kells in March 1642, the unrest was declared a just war against those who “plotted the destruction of the Catholics, the slavery of the Irish and the abolition of the King’s prerogatives.”¹⁰¹ This last Royalist sentiment created a conduit through which the Old English lords of the Pale were enabled to do what they would not do in the 1590s – join their Gaelic coreligionists in an endeavor they now understood to be wrapped in the royal standard. On 10 May 1642, a national synod met at Kilkenny. True to the fashion of the time, it prescribed an oath binding on all Catholics for “defence of the liberty of the Catholic faith, of the person, heirs and rights of King Charles I and all lawful immunities and liberties of this nation.”¹⁰² They also proposed an institution to defend and promote. The motto of the Catholic Confederation, that body, later read: *Pro Deo, Pro Rege, Pro Patria*. At its first meeting, the Confederate Catholic association, a unicameral assembly, took care to reject the title of parliament. It did claim to be the inheritor of Magna Carta rights, and the lawyers among the members pointed back to the mixed polity of the Middle Ages. Despite the splits, divisions, and excommunications that followed during the next seven years, the Catholic clergy, especially the bishops, were, in effect, once again a political estate.

This all happened after a century of being almost wholly dependent on lay protection and subvention. In those territories controlled by the Confederation, the Catholic Church enjoyed the buildings, properties, and revenues of the Church of Ireland. Frustrated by the low-key habits of the Irish clergy, the product of decades of intermittent molestation, Nuncio Rinuccini tried to infuse some of the *splendore* of 17th-century Roman public liturgy to the scene. This ceremonial frustration on his part actually points to a series of cracks in the foundations of the Confederacy that no amount of plaster could fix. From the outset and by their very self-definition, the Confederates of Kilkenny had to deal with two monarchs. One was a heretic, Charles. His viceroy and chief negotiator in Ireland was also a Protestant. The other monarch was the pope. His representative in Ireland had been instructed not to accept any terms that

of Ireland, 3:289–316, 317–35, 336–52, and 353–86. See also T.C. Barnard, *Cromwellian Ireland: English Government and Reform in Ireland, 1649–1660*, rev. ed. (Oxford: 2000).

101 Quoted in Patrick J. Corish, “The Origins of Catholic Nationalism,” in *A History of Irish Catholicism*, ed. Corish, vol. 3, no. 8 (Dublin: 1968), 32.

102 Stanislaus Kavanagh (ed.), *Commentarius Rinuccianus, de Sedis Apostolicae Legatione ad Foederatos Hiberniae Catholicos*, 6 vols (Dublin: 1932–49), 1:320.

failed to secure public practice of Catholicism and financial security for church and clergy. James Butler, 1st Duke of Ormonde, was stunned when the Catholic Confederate representatives, deferring to clerical rhetoric, looked for abolition of the Acts of Supremacy, Uniformity, and Appeals, along with the medieval statutes of praemunire and provisors. Old English Confederates, for their part, were aghast both at Ormonde's insistence that the Church of Ireland should have its occupied properties returned and at Rome's dilatory reluctance to rule on the status of former ecclesiastical lands. They were also disappointed that diplomatic overtures to the Holy See for monies to create the military victories the nuncio craved came to nothing. Rinuccini, meanwhile, drifted towards the destabilizing conclusion that the Gaelic Irish were the only true Catholics and the Old English mere trimmers.

All of this happened against a rapidly changing military background that saw Charles's position decline, a Scottish Presbyterian military intervention in Ulster, and the victory of Parliament in the English Civil War. By the time a patched-up but essentially unworkable agreement had been reached with Ormonde in January 1649, it was too late even for a flawed treaty, which alienated the nuncio. Charles went to the block on 30 January 1649. The Confederation dissolved, and Rinuccini sailed home. Then, in March, Oliver Cromwell was named leader of an expedition to Ireland. Irish Catholic bishops would never sit again, of right, as a body exercising executive civil power on the island. The short-lived revival of a Catholic clerical estate was over.¹⁰³

If the 1640s saw many of the possibilities created by earlier Catholic mission realized in public space, the 1650s would show the reverse. On 4 December 1649, the Catholic bishops gathered at Clonmacnoise declared their belief that the English Parliament was intent on the "destruction of the lives of the inhabitants of this nation."¹⁰⁴ For good measure, they would go on, in October, to condemn Ormonde, who slipped into exile at the end of the year. Just as with Henry VIII's legislation for schism, Cromwell's response to Catholic pleas for liberty of conscience during his campaign was couched in terms of a normative Englishness: "if by liberty of conscience, you mean a liberty to exercise the mass, I judge it best to use plain dealing, and let you know, where the

103 Ó hAnnracháin, *Catholic Reformation in Ireland*, chaps. 4–7. See also Mícheál Ó Siochrú, *Confederate Ireland, 1642–1649* (Dublin: 1999) for a constitutional and political analysis of the 1640s.

104 Benignus Millett, "Survival and Reorganization, 1650–95," in Corish, *History of Irish Catholicism*, vol. 3, no. 7 (Dublin: 1968), 1–63. This short work remains the sole modern survey of the Catholic Church during this period.

parliament of England have power, that will not be allowed of.”¹⁰⁵ In January 1652, it was made clear that Catholic clergy would be excluded from all surrender articles. In 1653, banishment under threat of capital punishment was ordered as stipulated by *English* law. By 1654, only one Catholic bishop was resident on the entire island: Eugene Mac Sweeny of Kilmore. Yet if Catholics were to be deprived of catechists, celebrants, and confessors, they were not compelled to attend Protestant services.¹⁰⁶ They were, however, condemned to mass transplantation to Connacht by the summer of 1653. While the policy was not carried out in its entirety, tenure and creed had once again been yoked in service of colonial land transfer. By 1657, another long-term policy reflex was back in play. A Westminster Act for the Better Observation of the Lord’s Day proposed fines for nonattendance at Protestant services. Another piece of legislation, the Act for Convicting, Discovery and Repressing of Popish Recusants, contained an oath of abjuration to be tendered to all suspected Catholics over 16 years of age. It called for rejection of papal supremacy, transubstantiation, purgatory, and other distinctively Catholic positions.¹⁰⁷

For its part, Rome responded to pressure by reverting to an earlier tactic of relying on a regular clergy kitted out with capacious missionary faculties in order to maintain a footprint in an adverse and highly impoverished landscape. Imprisonment, execution, and deportation were all used against priests. Nonetheless, in 1657, Propaganda Fide swung back to the idea of more structured provision. In the space of three months, Alexander VII appointed a new primate, made one translation, and named vicars apostolic for 13 dioceses. Edmund O’Reilly, the new archbishop of Armagh, landed on the Waterford coast in October 1659.¹⁰⁸ The following 14 May, Charles II was proclaimed in Dublin.

Restoration of monarchy in Ireland meant restoration of Church of Ireland episcopacy. Twelve new bishops were consecrated at Christ Church Dublin on 27 January 1661.¹⁰⁹ For Catholics, though, there was no new penal legislation,

105 Thomas Carlyle, *Oliver Cromwell’s Letters and Speeches: With Elucidations*, 3 vols (London: 1846), 2:86.

106 John Cunningham, “Lay Catholicism and Religious Policy in Cromwellian Ireland,” *JEH* 64 (2013): 769–86.

107 Cunningham, “Lay Catholicism,” 776–78.

108 Millett, “Survival and Reorganization,” 10–12.

109 James McGuire, “Policy and Patronage: The Appointment of Bishops, 1660–61,” in *As by Law Established: The Church of Ireland since the Reformation*, ed. Alan Ford, McGuire, and Kenneth Milne (Dublin: 1995), 112–19; John McCafferty, “John Bramhall’s Second Irish Career, 1660–3,” in *People, Politics and Power: Essays on Irish History in Honour of James I. McGuire*, ed. James Kelly, McCafferty, and Charles Ivar McGrath (Dublin: 2009), 16–27.

which meant that jurisdictionally their church found itself where it had been at the outset of the 1640s.¹¹⁰ Land, the aspect of the Restoration still most studied by historians, was mainly determined by the Act of Settlement in 1662 and the Act of Explanation in 1665. So, the entire matter of real estate was handled through denominational labeling and remained a source of niggles and anxiety right through the reigns of Charles II and James II. By 1688, despite some adjustments, the Cromwellian confiscations remained substantively intact, which meant that Catholic landownership had subsided to less than one-fourth of the island's acreage.¹¹¹ Archbishop O'Reilly's reports, filed just before his departure from the country in April 1661, depict an emaciated clergy – both in numbers and in means. The five dioceses of the Dublin province had, for example, an average of seven priests each. So, both the Catholic gentry and the clergy were now on the back foot. Along with a return to old legislation came old patterns of coercion – intermittent clampdowns on Catholic personnel and worship determined by the exigencies of English politics, viceregal personalities, and the Crown's dealings with Continental powers. Provincial synods held for Armagh, Cashel, and Tuam in 1660–61 were in recovery mode, preoccupied with stabilizing lay and clerical discipline, liturgical guidelines, and rebuilding the smashed financial bases of the church. Diocesan and regular clergy spent much of the 1660s undoing, as they saw, the noxious spiritual consequences of the previous decade through reconciling tens of thousands of those considered lapsed by the church. An emerging (though ultimately corrosive) practice of early ordination and a steady inflow of returned exile religious did ensure fairly speedy sacramental coverage.¹¹²

But just as in the 1640s, and even more because of the bickering of the 1640s, coexistence with a Protestant monarch was a fixed feature of instability. The government was vigilant about any display of jurisdiction, and, just as before, bishops were vulnerable to rogue clergy who chose to press the point. From 1662 to 1666, the Remonstrance containing an oath of loyalty drafted in predominantly Old English lay circles cramped Catholic recovery through the anxiety and dispute it caused. Rome was against, and Irish clerics were

110 Jason McHugh, "Catholic Clerical Responses to the Restoration: The Case of Nicholas French," in *Restoration Ireland: Always Settling and Never Settled*, ed. Coleman A. Dennehy (Aldershot: 2008), 99–122.

111 J.G. Simms, "The Restoration, 1660–85," in Moody, Martin, and Byrne, *New History of Ireland*, 3:428; Eoin Kinsella, "'Dividing the Bear's Skin before She Is Taken': Irish Catholics and Land in the Late Stuart Monarchy, 1683–91," in Dennehy, *Restoration Ireland*, 161–78; Kinsella, *Catholic Survival in Protestant Ireland, 1660–1711: Colonel John Browne, Landownership and the Articles of Limerick* (Woodbridge: 2018).

112 Millett, "Survival and Reorganization," 12–18.

widely conflicted, while Ormonde, still smarting from the rebuffs of 20 years earlier, embraced it as a contraption for sowing division. A national synod convened in Dublin with the viceroy's countenance in 1666 rejected the oath of allegiance contained in it. The Remonstrance was dead, but the ensuing row soured relations with Dublin Castle and polarized ecclesiastical politics for the rest of Charles II's long reign.¹¹³

By the close of the 1660s, Rome had overcome its initial hesitation about making episcopal appointments for fear of irritating Charles. The new men appointed over the years 1669–71 have been far less studied than the cohort of the 1620s and 1630s, but it is clear that they had little direct pastoral experience in Ireland itself.¹¹⁴ Constantly erupting internal jurisdictional disputes were often the result of loss of collective clerical memory. These combined with attenuated financial infrastructure and multiple issues about priestly formation to generate a sense of unrest and unease. Uncertainty went all the way to the top as the long dispute in the 1670s between Oliver Plunkett of Armagh and Peter Talbot of Dublin over primacy in the Irish church demonstrates. Persistence of practices used for sheer survival in the 1650s, such as that of clergy begging at Masses, along with the old distrust between Old English and Gaelic Irish, added further frissons of acrimony to the scene. A 1673 proclamation ordered all bishops and priests exercising papal jurisdiction and all regulars to quit the realm before 31 December. Its reissue in 1674 was witness to its limited effect. By contrast, the spillover of the Titus Oates Popish Plot from England to Ireland in 1678 literally decapitated the Irish church through Plunkett's execution at Tyburn on 1 July 1681. It also resulted in the death of his one-time rival Talbot, who had been imprisoned in Dublin Castle. Plunkett, distrusted by the Gaelic Irish and perjured by fellow clergy, was an energetic administrator with organizational flair and just one of a number of bishops painfully addressing issues hindering recovery.¹¹⁵ While English political life tied itself up in an exclusion crisis in trying to keep James, Duke of York, from succeeding, the Holy See began to anticipate that for the first time since Mary I, the throne would be occupied by a Catholic.

The proclamation of James II on 6 February 1685 ended both coercion and clandestinity at once. Within months, Archbishop Dominic Maguire of Armagh and Bishop Patrick Tyrrell of Clogher had traveled to England to congratulate the king and discuss the future. In March 1686, Catholic bishops were assured

113 Anne Creighton, "The Remonstrance of December 1661 and Catholic Politics in Restoration Ireland," *Irish Historical Studies* 34 (2004), 16–41.

114 Armstrong, "Establishing a Confessional Ireland," 236–40.

115 Millett, "Survival and Reorganization," 37–58.

of constant royal protection, granted modest Crown pensions, and permitted to go about in episcopal dress though without pectoral crosses. Clergy assembled openly, they conducted schools openly, and while parish churches were not retrieved, some older monasteries and friaries were repaired. After Richard Talbot, 1st Earl of Tyrconnell, succeeded as lord deputy in 1687, the chapel in Dublin Castle was restored to Catholic cult: a strong statement in the seat of Irish government.

While the viceroy set about re-Catholicizing membership of the army officer cadre, judiciary, and corporations, James insisted on his own prerogatives. Rome acquiesced, and so papal briefs for episcopal appointments and translations specifically mentioned his royal nomination. Even after his exile to Saint-Germain, James continued to have a voice in selections. By leaving comparable vacancies in the Church of Ireland unfilled, the king appears to have intended a natural extinction for the Protestant hierarchy. His reign would not last that long.¹¹⁶ Nor did it last long enough to show how he would have wrestled with the old conundrums of finance, ecclesiastical lands, and existing statutory provisions for the church as by law established. During his 1689 Dublin Parliament, James refused to go any further than a "liberty of conscience" that ecumenically countenanced all Christian creeds. Catholics were given the right to pay tithes to their own clergy, another slow burner. Yet, four bishops of the Church of Ireland sat in that Parliament. By this stage, however, James was highly cognizant of how reception of news from Dublin would play out in England, so little about his overall aims can be deduced from what happened in those months.¹¹⁷

By repealing the statutory commemoration of 23 October 1641, James's Dublin Parliament sought to set aside a narrative that had been accruing for the past 150 years.¹¹⁸ This was one of English civility and Protestantism faced off by its antitype of Irish barbarity, Catholicism, and treason. The War of the Two Kings, which closed with the Treaty of Limerick in October 1691, reinstated that narrative. By confirming the Protestant Ascendancy in land, religion, and politics created by the Restoration of 1660, it relegated Catholics to an inferior position in every respect. Defeat of James was also a defeat of the very modality that had given religious change in England and Ireland its very character in the first place - personal inclination of the English sovereign. A century and a

116 J.G. Simms, "The War of the Two Kings, 1685–91," in Moody, Martin, and Byrne, *New History of Ireland*, 3:477–82; Simms, *Jacobite Ireland, 1685–91* (London: 1969), 88–90; Millett, "Survival and Reorganization," 59–63.

117 John Bergin and Andrew Lyall, *The Acts of James II's Irish Parliament, 1689* (Dublin: 2016).

118 Bergin and Lyall, *Acts of James II's Irish Parliament*, 53–54.



FIGURE 8.1 Paul V. Bull of Foundation for St. Anthony's Franciscan College, Leuven, 3 April 1607

IMAGE BY PERMISSION UCD-OFM PARTNERSHIP

half of all the shifts, starts, stops, drifts, delays, and destructions that flowed from those royal choices closed with most of the population of a Protestant kingdom in communion with Rome. Irish Catholicism had arrived.



FIGURE 8.2 Silver gilt chalice made for Boetius Egan, Bishop of Elphin, 1634
IMAGE BY PERMISSION UCD-OFM PARTNERSHIP



FIGURE 8.3 Foot, silver gilt chalice made for Boetius Egan, Bishop of Elphin, 1634. Irish made chalices of this period are characterized by their wide feet.

IMAGE BY PERMISSION UCD-OFM PARTNERSHIP



FIGURE 8.4 Fresco, 1672, St Isidore's Franciscan College, Rome; painted by Emmanuele Da Como. L to R: Bonaventure Baron, Anthony Hickey, John Punch, and Luke Wadding

IMAGE BY PERMISSION OF THE GUARDIAN, S. ISIDORO, ROMA



FIGURE 8.5 St Patrick and St Ignatius Loyola with Hibernia, 17th century. UCD Archives, UCD-OFM MS B85.

IMAGE BY PERMISSION UCD-OFM PARTNERSHIP

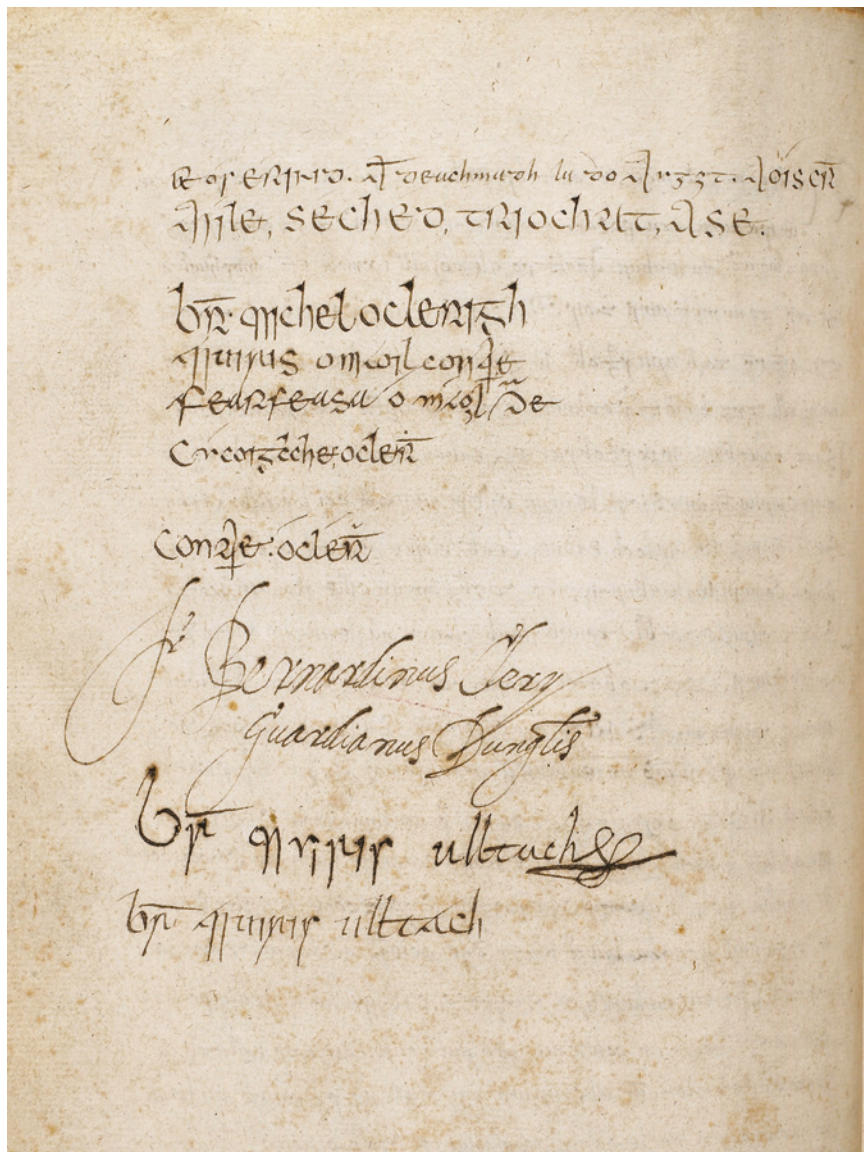


FIGURE 8.6 Annála Ríoghachta Éireann, usually known as the Annals of the Four Masters, 10 August 1636, the signature page

IMAGE BY PERMISSION UCD-OFM PARTNERSHIP



FIGURE 8.7 SS Columba, Patrick, and Brigid, three patrons of Ireland from Thomas Messingham, *Florilegium Insulae Sanctorum*, Paris, 1624

IMAGE BY PERMISSION UCD-OFM PARTNERSHIP



FIGURE 8.8 Thesis dedicated to the City and People of Limerick, with image of the patron, St Munchin, 1640. Archives of Collegio S. Isidoro, Roma
 PHOTO BY J. MCCAFFERTY, BY PERMISSION OF THE GUARDIAN,
 S. ISIDORO, ROMA

Catholics in Scotland

Overview and Literary Culture

Jane Stevenson

The traditional view of the Scottish Reformation of 1560 is that it was a mass movement culminating in the creation of a monolithic Presbyterian church while successive rulers attempted to foist Episcopalianism on an unwilling people. Like most simple pictures, this one represents some of the truth but by no means all of it. It also assumes that no Scots remained Catholic. But Diarmaid MacCulloch has characterized the Scots' experience crisply as "an optional Reformation."¹ Some key individuals in mid-16th-century Scotland certainly did choose reform.² Others did not, notably the dukes of Gordon, who wielded immense power in the Northeast; other noble families stayed Catholic at least in some branches, notably the Hays, Leslies, Maxwells, and Kennedys.

Catholicism had penetrated deep into the cultural life of Scotland by the 16th century. A thousand years previously, contact with Roman Britain and Ireland had brought Celtic Christianity, organized and spread by monastic federations, into 5th- and 6th-century Scotland. It was this form of Christianity which was practiced until the 11th century. Malcolm III (known as Malcolm Canmore) married an Anglo-Saxon princess, Margaret, a descendant of the pre-Conquest kings of Wessex, as his second wife. Brought up on the Continent, probably in Hungary, the deeply pious Margaret encouraged the development of the Scottish church towards international norms. She invited the Benedictines to Scotland and established an abbey at Dunfermline. Following this initiative, her sons Alexander and David continued the ecclesiastical reform she had initiated. Alexander encouraged the Augustinians and founded abbeys at Scone and Inchcolm.³ David overhauled the diocesan system and founded

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- 1 Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Reformation: Europe's House Divided, 1490–1700* (London: 2003), 381.
 - 2 For example, Archibald Campell, 5th Earl of Argyll, a key figure given his position as a magnate among both Gaelic- and Scots-speakers; see Jane E.A. Dawson, *The Politics of Religion in the Age of Mary, Queen of Scots: The Earl of Argyll and the Struggle for Britain and Ireland* (New York: 2002).
 - 3 Kenneth Veitch, "'Replanting Paradise': Alexander I and the Reform of Religious Life in Scotland," *IR* 52 (2001), 136–66.

monasteries with a lavish hand: the Tironensian order (an offshoot of the Benedictines) was settled at Selkirk, Kelso, and Lesmahagow. He founded Holyrood Abbey, Saint Andrew's Cathedral Priory, and Cambuskenneth for the Augustinians; Melrose, Kinloss, and Newbattle Abbeys for the Cistercians; and put Benedictine monks into Coldingham. There were a few foundations for women: a Cistercian convent was founded at Haddington, and in 1517, a Dominican convent was founded in Edinburgh and rapidly established a reputation for holiness and learning.⁴

All these houses were secularized or dissolved at the Reformation. Some embraced reform: for example, when the Cistercian abbey of Coupar was purged of "Idolis and Imagis and tubernaculis" in 1559, the abbot and his community became Protestants.⁵ None of the religious orders was able to maintain a foothold within Scotland. Priests were required to conform at the Reformation: an act passed in 1573 required all benefice holders to subscribe to the Confession of Faith. Many did. Some refused and were deprived of their livings, and a substantial number left the country.⁶ Others became tutors and household chaplains in the homes of Catholic magnates and so continued to function as priests from the safety of attachment to a great household.⁷ Catholic culture was kept alive in Scotland by the Jesuits' and secular priests' missions to the Lowlands and the Northeast, and by an Irish Franciscan mission to the Gaelic speakers of the Western Isles.⁸

The Northeast was noticeably cooler towards reform, and the reception of reform in Gaelic-speaking Scotland was extremely mixed.⁹ Even in the largely reformed South, Alexander Seton, Lord Dunfermline, chancellor of Scotland and one of the most powerful men in the Scotland of James VI as well as the guardian of the infant Prince Charles, was discreetly Catholic like most of his family. In an English memorandum called "The Present State of the Nobility of Scotland," made in 1583, he is described thus: "He hath ben always Frenche in

4 For an overview of the religious orders' presence in Scotland, see Ian B. Cowan and David E. Easson, *Medieval Religious Houses: Scotland* (London: 1976).

5 F.D. Bardgett, *Scotland Reformed: The Reformation in Angus and the Mearns* (Edinburgh: 1989), 73.

6 Margaret H.B. Sanderson, "Catholic Recusancy in Scotland in the Sixteenth Century," *IR* 21 (1970), 87–107, esp. 88–89.

7 Sanderson, "Catholic Recusancy in Scotland," 96.

8 Cathaldus Giblin, *The Irish Franciscan Mission to Scotland, 1619–1656* (Dublin: 1964). Also see Michael Lynch, *Scotland: A New History* (London: 1992), 365–66.

9 Fiona A. Macdonald, *Missions to the Gaels: Reformation and Counter-Reformation in Ulster and the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, 1560–1760* (Edinburgh: 2006).

affection, and is in harte a Papiste, though he dare not aduowe it.”¹⁰ None of the nobles surveyed are described as unequivocally “Papist,” but a good third are given as “religion suspected,” “religion doubted,” or “religion not thoroughly assured.” Dunfermline’s education is outlined in obituary verses published by the Presbyterian minister of Dalkeith, which suggest that his religion was a fairly open secret:

Scotland first gave him the light, France, the rudiments of grammar, Padua taught him the laws, and Rome, rhetoric, where [lived] that well-known Tullius. To know the writings of the fathers, thus Salamanca taught him. Scotia first gave him the light, and took it away at the last; she was thus both his parent and his stepmother.¹¹

Evidently, Dunfermline was sent abroad to study in Catholic universities and colleges in Paris, Padua, Rome, and Salamanca, emerging as a man of wide cultivation, with particular interests in mathematics, architecture, and heraldry. Gordon Donaldson points out that there were clearly some Scottish families, among whom the Setons are notable, who must have been as much at home in France as in Scotland; and France, of course, remained a Catholic country.¹² Incidentally, it would be hard to point to a single noble family that had a similarly close relationship with England.

Doubtlessly, the Kirk would have liked to have the power to force such men into conformity or exile, but it was evidently unable to do so. The Catholic William Douglas, 10th Earl of Angus, was indeed forced into exile and died in Paris in 1611, but though a French eulogist represented this as “for the sake of religion,” there had also been a good deal of actively treasonable conduct, to his discredit.¹³ *The First Book of Discipline* (1560) proscribed Catholic worship,

10 “A brieve opinion of the state, faction, religion and power of the severall noble men of Scotland,” in David Laing (ed.), *Bannatyne Miscellany*, vol. 1 (Edinburgh: 1827), 53–72, esp. 69.

11 Scotia prima dedit lucem: dat Gallia semen Grammatices: docuit juraque Patavium Romaque rhetoricen, ubi notus Tullius ille Noscere scripta patrum, sic Salamanca dedit. Scotia prima dedit cui lumina, et ultima ademit; Haec fuit ipsa Parens, ipsa Noverca fuit. Archibald Simson, “Musarum Lachrymae de obitu cancellarii,” preface to *Hieroglyphica animalium* [...] *Quae in Scripturis Sacris inveniuntur* [...] (Edinburgh: 1622).

12 Gordon Donaldson, *All the Queen’s Men: Power and Politics in Mary Stewart’s Scotland* (London: 1983), 67.

13 Thomas Pelletier, *Discours funèbre sur la mort de feu M. le Cte d’Anguys, seigneur escossois, décédé à Paris, où il estoit réfugié pour y avoir libre exercice de la religion catholique* (Paris: 1611).

but even after the deposition of Mary, there were still Catholics and crypto-Catholics in positions of power. Moreover, powerful families such as the Hays, Hamiltons, and Gordons resented insults to family members, even if they were Jesuits. Thus, for example, Fr John Hay, S.J., dined comfortably in the Protestant stronghold of Dundee because the local minister had previously told his landlord exactly when to expect the arresting officers. This posse took good care to arrive *after* the Jesuit had gone his way and congratulated the landlord on his tact: as Hay commented subsequently, "they quite understood they had gone as far as they durst without offending any of my clansmen."¹⁴

One factor that made things easier for Scottish Catholics is that their experience of recusancy was rather different from that of English Catholics. They were similarly required to conform in order to play any part in the public life of the country, but many seem to have considered they could legitimately be church papists, making a show of outward conformity while maintaining their own religion in private. Lord Dunfermline is an obvious example, but at lower levels of society, there were Catholic baillies who managed to hold onto office and, importantly, a number of schoolmasters, in a position to influence the next generation.¹⁵ Also, it was up to local Kirk sessions and magistrates to inquire into the orthodoxy of suspected individuals, so in areas where suspected Catholics were either numerous or influential, inquiry was not always made very closely. In 1587–88, the General Assembly of the Kirk was aware that Jesuits were openly active in Aberdeen, celebrating Mass and distributing Catholic literature, but could do nothing, due to the power of George Gordon, 6th Earl of Huntly.¹⁶ English Catholics were forbidden to attend Protestant services, but there is not an equivalent literature for Scotland.¹⁷ By contrast with English Catholic leaders such as Cardinal William Allen, who wrote passionately on this topic, Robert Abercromby, S.J., leader of the clandestine Jesuit mission to Scotland in the 1580s and 1590s, permitted Scottish Catholics to attend the Kirk, or at least did not make a point of forbidding them to do so.¹⁸

Furthermore, Scotland did not persecute Catholics. Though popular opinion has it that early modern Scotland was considerably wilder and more

14 Anthony Ross, "Reformation and Repression," in David McRoberts (ed.), *Essays on the Scottish Reformation* (Glasgow: 1962), 371–414, at 410.

15 Sanderson, "Catholic Recusancy in Scotland," 94–95.

16 Sanderson, "Catholic Recusancy in Scotland," 90–92.

17 Alexandra Walsham, *Church Papists: Catholicism, Conformity and Confessional Polemic in Early Modern England* (Woodbridge: 1999), 22–49.

18 This policy of discreet accommodation was objected to in Rome but seems in practice to have continued. See G. Martin Murphy, "Abercromby, Robert (1536–1613)," in *ODNB*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/46>.

violent than its southern neighbor, in 16th- and 17th-century England, some hundreds of priests and Catholic laymen, and also some women, were tortured and judicially murdered: more than in any other European country.¹⁹ By contrast, in Scotland, hardly any Catholics were killed for their faith. Some unfortunate monks and priests fell victim to mob violence, and a few priests were hanged: David Chalmers's account of the sufferings of his coreligionists singles out an Aberdeen Dominican and Catholic apologist, John Black, executed in Edinburgh, and a priest called Thomas Robertson, executed in Glasgow for celebrating Mass.²⁰ Cardinal David Beaton was certainly murdered but not necessarily martyred: he had provoked both the reformers, by executing George Wishart, and the secular nobility, for being implicated in bringing about war with England. Archbishop John Hamilton was executed for alleged involvement in the assassination of Regent Moray (the assassin, a relative of his, fired from his house).²¹ Saint John Ogilvie was executed for refusing to acknowledge the rule of James VI, not for being a priest. No laypeople whatsoever are known to have been killed for their religion, though a good few were fined for attending Mass, or otherwise put under pressure to conform.

However, Catholics clearly did not find it easy to live in Protestant Scotland. William Chisholm, Bishop of Vaison, published a book denouncing the Calvinist creed, which, alongside its main theme, laments the destruction of the Scottish monasteries and churches. Chalmers's *De Scotorum fortitudine* also gives some insight into the trials of Scottish Catholics, though it is worth noticing that he knows of very few contemporary confessors or martyrs.²² Thus, though they were not persecuted to the extent that their English contemporaries were, Catholic Scots could not worship openly, could not get a Catholic education within Scotland, could not publish without going abroad (an issue to which I will return), and seldom enjoyed the services of a priest. In the second half of the 17th century, a remarkable secular priest, Robert Munro, was the only Gaelic-speaking Scottish priest active in the Highlands, where he

19 MacCulloch, *Reformation*, 392.

20 Ross, "Reformation and Repression," 386 and 402. See David Chalmers, *De Scotorum fortitudine, doctrina ac de ortu et progressu haeresis in regnis Scotiae et Angliae libri quatuor, nunc primum in lucem editi* (Paris: 1631), 202–03.

21 Amy Blakeway, "The Response to the Regent Moray's Assassination," *SHR* 88 (2009), 9–33, at 10–11.

22 William Chisholm, *Examen confessionis fidei Caluinianæ, quam Scotis omnibus ministri Caluiniani subscribendam et iurandam proponunt: an rectius, propter i[n]numeras verae fidei detestationes Catholicæ fidei confossionem [sic] uocemus* (Avignon: 1601), 226–28; Chalmers, *De Scotorum fortitudine*, 273.

labored for 33 years.²³ Toleration was highly area specific. In areas controlled by covertly or openly Catholic magnates such as the dukes of Gordon in the Northeast, Jesuit and secular missionaries could preach, celebrate Mass, and minister to the faithful with relative impunity; and there were also Catholics at James VI's court, protected by Anne of Denmark.²⁴ Anyone trying to stay Catholic in the environs of Saint Andrews, on the other hand, would have found life very difficult.

One area where there were conspicuous difficulties was education. Scotland's universities were officially Calvinist. Their principals and staff were required to subscribe to the reformers' Confession of Faith and reform their discipline in 1560: though Aberdeen initially refused, it was forced to conform in 1569.²⁵ Some Catholics squared this with their consciences and took a first degree in Scotland, but in any case, the intellectually ambitious tended to regard a Scottish degree as no more than a step on the way. A glance at the biography of any early modern Scottish intellectual, whatever his religious position, usually reveals a first degree taken in Scotland in his mid-teens, followed by some years of study on the Continent: in effect, Scottish universities were performing the function of high schools, where students perfected their Latin. Catholics were more likely to go on to centers such as Paris, Orléans, Poitiers, or Rome; Protestants to Protestant universities such as Sedan, Leiden, or Wittenberg (though very seldom to England, where the requirement to subscribe to the Thirty-Nine Articles was a real stumbling block to almost all Scots).

Catholic Scotland did not go down without a fight. Reform was bitterly disputed in the years around 1560, both in public debates and in print. John Knox was challenged by, among others, Quintin Kennedy, abbot of Crossraguel (in debate), Bishop John Leslie (in debate), Ninian Winzet (in debate and in print), the Jesuit James Tyrie (in print), and John Hamilton (in debate).²⁶ On more than one occasion, the defender of Catholicism was considered to have the

23 Gerald FitzGibbon, "Robert Munro, Secular Priest in the Highlands (1645–1704)," *IR* 48 (1997), 165–73.

24 On the Jesuits, see Thomas M. McCoog, "'Pray to the Lord of the Harvest': Jesuit Missions to Scotland in the Sixteenth Century," *IR* 53 (2002), 127–88; and on the secular priests' mission in Scotland, see Thomas McNally, *The Sixth Scottish University: The Scots Colleges Abroad, 1575 to 1799* (Leiden: 2012), 43–47.

25 McNally, *Sixth Scottish University*, 7.

26 Quintin Kennedy, *The refutation of ane ansuer made be Schir Iohne Knox to ane letter send be Iames Tyrie, to his vmquhyle brother. Sett furth be Iames Tyrie* (Paris: 1573). Kennedy also published *Ane compendius tractiue conform to the Scripturis of Almichtye God* (Edinburgh: 1558), arguing against reform.

better of the argument, but that was insufficient to prevent the reform. One by one, these men left Scotland, mostly for France, where Scots felt most at home outside their native land,²⁷ though Leslie and Winzet both initially spent some time in England with Mary, Queen of Scots.

Exile was always problematic: the first question always had to be how the exile was going to establish a financially viable life, since he had to abandon his preexisting livelihood. For example, David Chalmers of Ormond took service with James Hepburn, 4th Earl of Bothwell, and amassed a considerable landholding on the Black Isle. In June 1567, he shared the downfall of Bothwell and Mary. He was forfeited in August 1568, and his estates passed to the Munros of Newmore. In 1574–75, he was in Spain and the Netherlands, trying unsuccessfully to enter Spanish service. By February 1576, he had reentered Mary's service and was thus dependent on her limited resources. By 1578, he was her master of requests. He eventually returned to Scotland in 1582 and was successful, after a fight, in dislodging the Munros and regaining his estates, a battle which took him four years.²⁸ His story illustrates the difficulty exiles faced: if the individual was deemed to be an outlaw, he might lose his property. Though there were such things as bills of exchange and, by the 1650s, a Scottish banker at Rome, James Mowat, who specialized in dealing with English and Scottish exiles,²⁹ even when the family as a whole retained control of their lands, there was no way of translating Scottish landholdings into any kind of stipend payable in France. Exiles were therefore forced to find a job, or a patron, with the odds stacked against them, since they were normally outside the networks of kinship and recommendation that formed the basic structure of early modern life.

One conspicuous group of Scottish Catholic exiles took military service with foreign rulers, some of them very successfully – the Leslie family is particularly noteworthy in this context.³⁰ The Catholic neo-Latin poet James Halkerston

27 Norman Macdougall, *An Antidote to the English: The Auld Alliance, 1295–1560* (East Linton, East Lothian: 2001).

28 Julian Goodare, "Chalmers [Chambers], David, of Ormond (c.1533–1592)," in *ODNB*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/5069>. He became a judge and royal administrator under James VI without relinquishing his Catholic faith.

29 McNally, *Sixth Scottish University*, 42.

30 David Worthington et al., "Leslies in Central and Northern Europe during and after the Thirty Years' War," in *Ad Honorem Josef Polišenský (1915–2001)*, ed. Ivo Barteček, Miloš Kouřil, and Zdeněk Šamberger (Prague: 2007), 350–69; and *Scots in Habsburg Service, 1618–1648* (Leiden: 2003).

similarly fled Scotland for Antwerp in 1574 and became a mercenary.³¹ Additionally, and more relevantly to the literary culture of Scottish Catholics, Catholic scholars could compete with natives for positions in foreign universities, as many did with success: the stress on teaching Latin that characterized Scottish education in the 16th and 17th centuries was of considerable help to such men.³² Others were successful in attracting the direct patronage of Philip III of Spain, as David Colville did, for example, or of one of France's successive Henrys, Sigismund II of Poland, or a Catholic magnate – again, this meant direct competition both with the native born and with other exiles.

The Catholic Scots also established alternative centers of education abroad, which both taught Scottish students and provided employment for Scottish professors. Scots colleges were founded in Paris, Rome, Madrid, and Valladolid, with financial assistance from Mary, Queen of Scots, who funded the Rome college with her French dowry estates, Philip II of Spain, and a variety of wealthy or committed individuals, who included the Guise family, Archduke Albert, Hapsburg regent in the Netherlands (who contributed to the Scots college at Douai), successive popes, and private individuals such as the Scottish Jesuit Hippolytus Curle, who also helped to fund Douai.³³ There were also Scottish Benedictine monasteries in Germany: Würzburg, Regensburg (also known as Ratisbon), and Erfurt, known as *Schottenklöster*,³⁴ though there was no Continental foundation for Catholic Scotswomen.

All of these institutions were culturally active. The most intellectually lively of the monasteries was Würzburg, where Francis Hamilton, the rector, published both controversial writings and public orations, and the monk Thomas Duff left a variety of Latin verse, mostly in manuscript. In addition to his published Latin translation of Alexander Montgomerie's *The Cherrie and the Slae*,³⁵ two of these manuscript poems indicate Duff's knowledge of, and affection for, Scottish poetry. There was something of a Scottish tradition of sacred parody, and it is this that explains his reworking of a popular song, "Lowse

31 Roderick J. Lyall, "Kinship, Kingship and Latinity: The Surprising Career of James Halkerston," in *Sixteenth-Century Scotland: Essays in Honour of Michael Lynch*, ed. Julian Goodare and Alasdair A. MacDonald (Leiden: 2008), 237–55.

32 See John Durkan and Jamie Reid-Baxter, *Scottish Schools and Schoolmasters, 1560–1633* (Edinburgh: 2013).

33 McNally, *Sixth Scottish University*. On funding, see John Durkan, "Early Letters of John Brown, Minim & Report to Propaganda, 1623, by Scots Minims," *IR* 52 (2001), 63–79, at 74–75; and Jos E. Vercruysse, "A Scottish Jesuit from Antwerp: Hippolytus Curle," *IR* 61 (2010), 137–49.

34 See Mark Dilworth, *The Scots in Franconia: A Century of Monastic Life* (Edinburgh: 1974).

35 Thomas Duff, *Cerasum et sylvestre prunum* [...] (Würzburg: 1631).

Thy Pock, Laurie," into a poem celebrating Abbot John Whyte of Würzburg and a version of Montgomerie's "Solsequium," a courtier's tribute to his king, into "Κάποιδια de solsequio / Ad Iesum solem in praesepio ortum" (Cradle-Song of the Solsequium / To Jesus the Sun Risen in the Manger).³⁶ Bishop John Leslie was instrumental in getting his fellow exile Ninian Winzet elected as abbot of Regensburg, the richest of the three *Schottenklöster*, on 13 June 1577, which solved the problem of what the latter was going to live on.³⁷ Winzet became a Benedictine and concentrated on building up his community; he also provided for it by instituting a college. By 1583, this had up to 100 pupils. Winzet taught the higher forms himself and continued to publish works of controversy.³⁸

The reason why the Scots came into possession of Würzburg, Regensburg, and Erfurt after the Reformation does them little credit. The tale is set out by an ingenuous traveler from Aberdeenshire, James Fraser, who visited Regensburg in the mid-17th century and wrote a journal of his travels. He wrote:

When we came to the gate of this Monastery, the Porter stopt our entry until he would acquaint the Prior; who came instantly to us and asked quhat we were and finding by our passes, and Father William Leslies Letter of recommendation from Rome that I was a Scotchman & my Cammarad Godfrey an Englishman, he heartily welcomed us; and made an Apology for the porter who denied us onely Because the Irish Croud up and down the Country; and they never admitt of any of these, within any of the Scottish Convents, and lest we might be Irish the Prior himselfe came in person to know the Certainty of it For as he insisted and told us what the Irish most Cunninly & Knavishlie had asserted, tearming them selves *Scoti Maiores*, And thus gulled and cheated the [Brethren] out of many Monasteries in Germany which now they possesse & by a right from severall Popes are Confirmed in them, and this hath bred that Jarr and animosity betwixt the two Nations all this Country over, for that off ten Convents which the Scotch had within this Kingdom they enioy now but 3 of them, viz Ratisbon, Erfort, & Wirtspurg, the Irish possess all the other 7, this many yeares by gon.³⁹

36 Mark Dilworth, "The Latin Translator of *The Cherrie and the Slae*," *Studies in Scottish Literature* 5 (1967), 77–82. The poems are preserved in Würzburg Universitätsbibliothek, M.ch.q.62.

37 McNally, *Sixth Scottish University*, 13.

38 J.H. Burns, "Catholicism in Defeat: Ninian Winzet, 1519–1592," *History Today* 16 (1966), 788–95.

39 Aberdeen, University Library, MS 2538, III, fol. 8v.

Of course, the Irish were perfectly right, and it was the Scots who had gulled and cheated them, not vice versa. Under leaders such as Marianus Scotus, the 11th-century founder of Regensburg, early medieval Irishmen had founded a variety of monasteries on the Continent, including the three that came under Scottish rule. These Irishmen were known to their contemporaries as “Scoti,” a term that in the Middle Ages meant someone culturally Irish and hailing from either Ireland or Highland Scotland. For various reasons, these monasteries were ailing institutions by the 16th century. Würzburg was left empty after its last Irish abbot, Philip, died in 1497, and it was taken over by the German Benedictine congregation of Bursfelde. After the Reformation, Scots petitioned the pope to have these three monasteries reassigned to them, claiming that since they were “the Scots,” these institutions properly belonged to them, and their argument was treated as either true, or expedient, although there was no ethnic or cultural connection between Lowland Scots-speakers such as Winzet and the Irish founders of these institutions.⁴⁰

Since many Catholic exiles, both Scottish and Irish, were desperately looking for means of subsistence, ancient Continental possessions were of considerable importance.⁴¹ Thomas Dempster, whose work is discussed below, cannot have been the original author of this fable, since the first Scots’ claims to the German monasteries date back to the 16th century, but it is certainly one he enthusiastically promoted, as did Chalmers. It is clear from Fraser that early modern Scots believed it and that it drove a most unfortunate wedge between the two exiled Catholic communities. Rather than making common cause as dispossessed Catholics, early modern Scots and Irish were competing for scarce resources.

Once their own education was complete, Scots taught at many Continental universities. Many taught at Paris in the course of the 15th century, and after the Reformation, many Scottish Catholics still did.⁴² Other French universities that had a considerable variety of Scottish Catholic professors throughout the early modern period include Orléans, Bordeaux, Poitiers, Avignon, and Montpellier. For example, William Hegate and Robert Balfour overlapped as professors at Bordeaux. Élie Vinet may have been referring to them when he wrote to George Buchanan in 1581: “This school is rarely without a Scotsman;

40 McNally, *Sixth Scottish University*, 12, n. 25.

41 McNally, *Sixth Scottish University*, 12–16.

42 See Hubert Elie, “Quelques maîtres de l’université de Paris vers l’an 1500,” *Archives d’histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Âge* 18 (1950–51): 193–243; and John Durkan, “The French Connection in the Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries,” in *Scotland and Europe, 1200–1850*, ed. T.C. Smout (Edinburgh: 1986), 19–44, at 41–43.

it has two at present, one of whom is Professor of Philosophy, the other of the Greek language and mathematics. Both are good, honest, and learned men, and enjoy the favourable opinion of their auditors."⁴³ Balfour published nine books on theology and philosophy. Hegate published four sets of occasional verse and was also the author of a Latin allegorical drama, *Gallia Victrix*, published in Poitiers in 1591, which celebrates the triumphs of Henry IV over the Catholic League.⁴⁴ Both wrote exclusively in Latin and were highly regarded by their colleagues.

The willingness of Scottish Catholic intellectuals to travel far in search of employment is illustrated by the life of William Bruce. He had an unusually adventurous career: having been born at Stanshill in Caithness around 1560, he took a doctorate of law at Cahors in 1586. After a period lecturing in law at Toulouse and Cahors, he went via Rome to Würzburg to take up the chair of law at the university there. He then interrupted his academic career to join the military campaign against the Ottoman Empire on the Slovak-Hungarian front and subsequently accepted the Polish chancellor's offer to teach Roman law at a new humanist academy, the Hippaeum, in Zamość in 1596. The rest of his career was spent in Poland, with occasional sabbaticals from his academic duties in order to undertake military or diplomatic missions. He was the author of two books, a diatribe urging war against the Ottoman Empire, *Ad principes populorumque Christianos de bello adversum Turcos gerenda*, published in both Leipzig and Cracow, and a descriptive account of the customs of the Tatars, *De Tataribus diarum Gulielmi Brusci*, published in Frankfurt am Main.

Additionally, a number of Scots joined the Society of Jesus. Some of them taught at Jesuit colleges such as Pont-à-Mousson and Ingolstadt while others returned to their native land: there was a continuous Jesuit mission in Scotland from 1582 to 1603.⁴⁵ Robert Abercromby was one of the most visible Jesuits within Scotland, since he spent 19 years there, and it was he who secretly received Anne of Denmark into the Catholic Church.⁴⁶ He was not, however, a writer, though other Scottish Jesuits published quite extensively. Two of the more productive were both called James Gordon and both from

43 David Irving, *Lives of Scottish Writers* (Edinburgh: 1839), 237; *Georgij Buchanani Scoti ad viros sui seculi clarissimos, eorumque ad eundem, epistolae* (London: 1711), 33.

44 Henry converted to Catholicism only in 1593. However, he was undoubtedly ruler by right of descent, a principle that many Scots considered important, especially in the light of the deposition of Mary, Queen of Scots. For more on Hegate and Balfour, see John Durkan, "A Post-Reformation Miscellany II," *IR* 55 (2004), 52–72, at 67–71.

45 McCoog, "Pray to the Lord of the Harvest".

46 W.J. Anderson, "Narratives of the Scottish Reformation, I: Report of Father Robert Abercrombie, S.J., in the Year 1580," *IR* 7 (1956), 27–59.

Aberdeenshire, unsurprisingly, since the Gordons were a major Catholic family in the Northeast. They mutually distinguished themselves as James Gordon of Lesmore and James Gordon of Huntly (the 5th son of the 4th earl of Huntly). Gordon of Huntly was a controversialist who taught at the Sorbonne: he issued a series of works in Latin defending the Catholic faith, some of them answering Protestants, which were very widely distributed, since they were printed in Vienna, Cologne, Wittenberg, Greifswald, Poitiers, Paris, Zaragoza, and Bordeaux. Most of his writings were also translated into English and printed at the English College press at Saint-Omer. Gordon of Lesmore wrote a world history, which was evidently successful since editions were published at Cologne, Poitiers, and Paris; a compendium of moral theology; and a Bible commentary. Some insight into his life is given by a letter he wrote to the Jesuit superior general Claudio Acquaviva in 1607, asking to be excused from returning to Scotland as head of the Jesuit mission following the retirement of Robert Abercromby. In this, he details his health problems but also explains that, having left Scotland aged 14 to pursue his education abroad, in the intervening 40 years he had completely forgotten the Scottish language and communicated with fellow Scots only in French or Latin.⁴⁷

One of the most remarkable of all early modern Scots, George Strachan of the Mearns (fl. 1592–1634), was associated with the Society of Jesus, though not himself a Jesuit: when he returned to Scotland in 1602 after studies at Paris and a variety of southern French universities,⁴⁸ it was as a courier between Claudio Acquaviva and Robert Abercromby and other Jesuits in Scotland.⁴⁹ Later in life, he became fascinated by Oriental languages. He accordingly went to Constantinople around 1613, and from there, to Aleppo and into Persia, acquiring a deep and thorough knowledge of Arabic by taking service with Emir Feyyad, a Bedouin prince, for some years. He also learned Hebrew, Syriac, and Greek. He took service with the East India Company in 1619, based in Isfahan, and eventually died in Persia after a visit to India.⁵⁰ He made an important collection of more than 60 Oriental manuscripts, some of them old and very rare, at least 25 of which ended up in the Vatican Library, and he translated

47 Alasdair Roberts, "Gordon, James (1553–1641)," in *ODNB*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/11049>.

48 Pont-à-Mousson, Leceur, Toulouse, Bordeaux, Montauban, Montpellier, and Carpentras: quite a few 17th-century Scots university students hopped around, though not normally to quite this extent.

49 Georgio Levi Della Vida, *George Strachan: Memorials of a Wandering Scottish Scholar of the Seventeenth Century* (Aberdeen: 1956), 7–9.

50 Della Vida, *George Strachan*, 50–55 and 59.

a number of works from Arabic to Latin.⁵¹ He was also the author of a long Latin elegy on the death of Patrick Seton, a young nobleman for whom he had acted as cicerone until the latter's untimely death in Rome, a work which was admired by contemporaries: William Barclay, a professor of medicine at Paris and Nantes, wrote two poems in its praise.⁵²

Strachan was not the only early modern Scottish Catholic Orientalist. Fr James Bonaventure Hepburn, a Catholic convert, became keeper of Oriental books and manuscripts at the Vatican. His publications include an extraordinary broadsheet of praise for the Virgin in 72 languages.⁵³ Another, David Colville, took his first degree from St Andrews in 1601, and in 1617, after further studies at Avignon, was made royal interpreter to Philip III. His other duties included teaching Greek, Hebrew, and Arabic to the Hieronymite monks of the Escorial, and his contributions to the study of Arabic are of lasting value.⁵⁴ Another Scottish Minim friar, John Brown, was an outstanding Hebraist,⁵⁵ and in 1580, a young Scottish polymath called James Crichton so impressed the Venetians, particularly the scholar-publisher Aldo Manuzio, that he was dubbed "admirabilis," meaning wonderful or astonishing, a title not readily accorded in that sophisticated city.⁵⁶

It is clear from these stories that many Scottish Catholics were writers of both poetry and prose and that they published their work in all the Catholic countries of Europe. They did not, however, publish in Scotland. Until quite late in the 17th century, there were seldom as many as three printing presses active in Scotland at any one time, so the authorities, religious and secular, were able to keep printing under very tight control. A printer called John Scot was active from the 1550s and does not seem to have held religious views that stood in the way of his business. But the year after the Reformation, in 1561, Robert

51 Della Vida, *George Strachan*, 71 and 108. London, BL, Add MS 7720 contains two of his translations.

52 George Strachan, "Lacrymae in obitu Patricii Setoni, filii Baronis a Parbroto," in *Delitiae poetarum Scotorum huius aevi illustrium*, ed. John Scot and Arthur Johnstone, 2 vols (Amsterdam: 1637), 2:504–09. Barclay's poems are at 1:141.

53 James Bonaventure Hepburn, *Virga Aurea septuaginta duobus encomiis b.v. Mariae coelata* (Rome: 1616).

54 John Durkan, "Three Manuscripts with Fife Associations: And David Colville of Fife," *IR* 20 (1969), 47–58, and "David Colville: An Appendix," *IR* 20 (1969), 139. For Colville's significance as an Arabist, see Peter E. Pormann, "Colville, David (c.1581–1629)," in *ODNB*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/98330>.

55 Durkan, "Early Letters of John Brown," 63, and "The Career of John Brown, Minim," *IR* 18 (1967), 164–70.

56 James Crichton, *Nobilissimo Iuueni Iacobo Critonio Scoto, in M. Tullii Ciceronis paradoxa cum commentario Aldi Mannuccij, Paulli F. Aldi N. praefatio* (Venice: 1581).

Lekpreuik also began printing and was encouraged by the general assembly of the Kirk: he printed *The Forme of Prayers* in 1562, a Protestant service book based on Genevan practice, along with three polemics against the Catholic Quintin Kennedy in 1563, one of which is by John Knox. He was also given a £200 loan to print an edition of the Psalms, which appeared in 1564, and in 1565 he was licensed to print parliamentary records. The capacity of print to influence opinion was recognized by the reformers and was evidently a source of anxiety. A close eye was kept on Lekpreuik, and each individual book was separately licensed. John Scot was raided by the Edinburgh magistrates in 1562 and caught in the act of printing the priest Ninian Winzet's *The Last Blast of the Trompet*. He was imprisoned, perhaps for as long as six years, and his press was impounded. *The Last Blast* was the last Catholic book to be printed in Scotland till the 18th century: with the Kirk exercising control as tight as this, no printer was prepared to risk his liberty and livelihood.⁵⁷

It should be added that printing Catholic books in Scotland would have been unnecessarily risky. It was much easier to print them abroad and smuggle them in: in 1601 the Burntisland General Assembly complained about "the iniquitie of skippers, mariners and owners of shippes, that under the name of passingers, transport from other places, and bring within the countrie, Seminarie Preests, Jesuits and uther traffiquing Papists, with their coffers and books; and the impunitie of such as convoy and sparpell their books through the countrie." (Burntisland was a seaport on the coast of Fife, on the other side of the River Forth from Edinburgh, but not far from the capital.)⁵⁸ From the viewpoint of Catholics, this more probably felt like a highly discontinuous supply of religious instruction.

It is hardly surprising in these circumstances to find that Catholic literary culture thrived on the Continent but not at home. The most important Catholic writer to remain in Scotland after 1560 was Alexander Montgomerie, a member of James VI's coterie of poets. He was a poet in Scots, a talent that would have availed him nothing outside his native land; it is significant that the only verse of his that was published outside Scotland is a Latin translation of his *The Cherry and the Slae* by the Scottish monk Thomas Duff of Würzburg, mentioned above, and that most of his work was scribally circulated.⁵⁹ He

57 Alastair J. Mann, *The Scottish Book Trade, 1500–1720: Print Commerce and Print Control in Early Modern Scotland* (East Linton, East Lothian: 2000), 59.

58 Mann, *Scottish Book Trade*, 57.

59 Alexander Montgomerie, *Cerasum et silvestre prunus opus poematum* (Würzburg: 1631). His published works within Scotland were *The Cherrie and the Slae* (Edinburgh: 1597); and posthumously, *The Mindes Melodie. Contayning certayne Psalmes of the Kinglie Prophete David* (Edinburgh: 1605), and *The Flying betwixt Montgomery and Polwart*

converted to Catholicism as an adult, but his close relationship with the king seems to have protected him for much of his life.⁶⁰ Montgomerie avoided writing about controversial issues in his verse, although his Catholicism eventually manifested in a treasonous sympathy for Catholic Spain. He became involved, in late 1596 or early 1597, in a Catholic plot to seize the castle of Ailsa Craig, in the Firth of Clyde, as support for a Spanish intervention in Tyrone's Rebellion in Ireland, led by his friend, fellow poet, and fellow Catholic, Hew Barclay of Ladyland. Barclay was killed in the attempt, and on 14 July 1597, Montgomerie was declared an outlaw.⁶¹ He died a year later, without having left Scotland, although, according to Thomas Duff, intending to become a monk in Würzburg.⁶² After 1600, scribally published Catholic poets are not conspicuous in Scotland; Montgomerie's poet nephew, William Mure of Rowallan, was proud of his association with his uncle, but he was himself a Calvinist.

Montgomerie aside, it is evident that Scottish Catholic writers, or would-be writers, went abroad after the Reformation, where they could publish their work and find employment in Catholic universities or in the service of Catholic rulers. However, it is interesting to find that although the majority, of course, wrote in Latin, and some of them also wrote in French, some of them made a point of writing in Scots. Whether Scots is properly described as a dialect or a language is a matter of opinion, but by the early 16th century, the written language had its own literary characteristics, vocabulary, grammar, and orthography. It was used by educated Scots and was quite distinct from English.

However, the Kirk embraced an increasingly anglicized form of the written language. This was partly because its early architects hoped for a "godly conjunction" of the two realms: as the Englishman Anthony Gilby put it, "joyninge that Ile together in perfect religion, whom God hath so many waies coupled and strengthened by his work in nature."⁶³ To achieve this end, Scots were prepared to read English, but the English were not prepared to read Scots; the Scottish reformers therefore wrote in English.⁶⁴ Furthermore, the economic logic of

(Edinburgh: 1629). The bulk of his verse survives in the Ker manuscript, Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Library Special Collections, William Drummond of Hawthornden Collection, De.3.70.

60 Roderick J. Lyall, *Alexander Montgomerie: Poetry, Politics, and Cultural Change in Jacobean Scotland* (Tempe: 2005), 223–24.

61 Lyall, *Alexander Montgomerie*, 118.

62 Mark Dilworth, "New Light on Alexander Montgomerie," *Bibliothek* 4 (1965), 230–35.

63 Anthony Gilby, *An Admonition to England and Scotland to Call Them to Repentance* (Geneva: 1558).

64 The upmarket French printer Antoine Vérard published, he thought, an English translation of two popular French texts, *The kalendar of the shypers* and *The book intituled the art of good byvynng and good deyng* (Paris: 1503), which were in fact translated into Scots.

printing drove towards the creation of English as a master language: for pragmatic reasons, the reformers focused on smuggling English-language Geneva Bibles into Scotland rather than on persuading Continental printers to issue a Scots-language Bible, even though one such existed, the creation of the Scottish Lollard Murdock Nisbet.⁶⁵ The greater cost effectiveness of printing in English gave the reformers access to the English book market, and that was a consideration that outweighed national sentiment. The 1576 Scottish edition of the Geneva Bible, which is in English, has a preface in heavily anglicized Scots, addressed to James VI, which says: "Trueth it is that the godly (men of the nation of England for the maist part) banisht from thair countrie for the Gospelis cause and convenit at Geneva, quha did faithfullie and lernedlie translate this buke ... aucht to have thair awne praise for thair labouris bestowit to the common weil of thame that speake *our language*." Thus the architects of the Kirk used an anglicized vocabulary, orthography, and even grammar, and the core texts of the reformed religion were printed in English.⁶⁶

As a minor aspect of their total output, Scottish Catholics abroad fostered the survival of Scots as a literary language. With a Latin Bible and liturgy at the center of their religious practice, they did not have to sacrifice their vernacular to the economics of producing instructional material as the reformers had to. They therefore refused to elide the difference between English and Scots, and some were even inclined to taunt the reformers for selling out their own language: the Catholic priest Ninian Winzet wrote to John Knox (all of whose published works are in English), "gif you throw curiositie of narations has forgot our auld plane Scottish quhich yor mother lerit [taught] you, in tymes cuming I sall write to you my mynd in Latin, for I am not acqwynted with your south-eroun." William Bruce is another clear example of a Scottish Catholic whose education had been in Scots and Latin but had not included English: as English representative in Danzig, he began a letter to Robert Cecil, dated 4 November 1606, with the apology, "Pardon me Lord that I wrytte to your honor in Scottis. I had not ane that I might trust qhua culde wrytte Inglesse at this time."⁶⁷

Richard Pynson, explaining why he was publishing a new English translation in 1506, observed that "these bokes that were brought into Englande no man coude understand."

65 David Reid, "Prose after Knox," in *The History of Scottish Literature: Origins to 1660 (Medieval and Renaissance)*, ed. R.D.S. Jack (Aberdeen: 1988); and Roderick J. Lyall, "London or the World? The Paradox of Culture in (Post-) Jacobean Scotland," in *The Accession of James I: Historical and Cultural Consequences*, ed. Glenn Burgess, Rowland Wymer, and Jason Lawrence (Basingstoke: 2006), 88–100.

66 M.A. Bald, "The Anglicisation of Scottish Printing," *SHR* 23 (1926), 107–15.

67 Sebastian Sobiecki, "The Authorship of *A Relation of the State of Polonia*, 1598," *Seventeenth Century* 18 (2003), 172–79, at 173.

Among the Scots-language texts published on the Continent are Nicol Burne's *The Disputation Concerning the Controversit Headdis of Religion, haldin in the Realme of Scotland* [...] *Betuix the pretendit Ministeris of the deformed Kirk of Scotland, and, Nicol Burne Professor of philosophie in S. Leonardis College, in the Citie of Sanctandrois* (Paris: 1581); John Colville's *Paraenese or admonition* (Paris: 1602); and works by John Hamilton, James Tyrie, Adam King, and Ninian Winzet.⁶⁸ One of Winzet's translations is titled *The Necessare and Assvrit Way to pluk awa al discord in Religion* [...] *Translatir in Scottishe be Niniane Winzet à catholik Preist* (Paris: 1565). These works must have had some circulation among the Scottish Catholics in Continental exile, but it seems probable that most of them were written to be read at home. As we have seen, Catholic controversial writing was certainly smuggled into Scotland, for the authorities' eagerness to control the circulation of contraband books outran their capacity to do so.

Additionally, since most educated Scots spent some time abroad, nothing prevented travelers from picking up such works in recognized centers of the book trade such as the Rue Saint-Jacques in Paris. The library lists of Protestant Scots such as William Drummond of Hawthornden and John Lindsay of Balcarres, Lord Menmuir, often contain Catholic Latin belles-lettres and even controversy: Drummond owned John Colville's *Paraenesis* (the Latin version), two poems by Thomas Dempster of Muiresk, the Jesuit James Gordon of Huntly's *Controversiae*, a copy of Ignatius of Loyola's *Spiritual Exercises*, and even Robert Persons's scurrilous anti-Elizabeth pamphlet published under the name of Andreas Philopater. Menmuir, who was a colleague and close friend of the Catholic Lord Dunfermline, owned a copy of James Tyrie's *The Refutation of Ane Answer Made Be Schir Iohne Knox, to ane letter, send be James Tyrie, to his ymquhyle brother* (Paris: 1573), which is now in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France. When Scot of Scotstarvit (in Fife) wanted to round up Scottish neo-Latin for *Deliciae poetarum Scotorum*, an enterprise that was under way by 1615,⁶⁹ although the volumes were not forthcoming till 1637, he seems to have had no trouble procuring texts of Scottish Catholic writers such as William Barclay and James Halkerston.

One interesting minor Catholic poet is Thomas Bicarton from Caskie, who published five collections of neo-Latin verse, mostly in Poitiers, where

68 This was not without its problems: an address to the reader in Hamilton's *A Facile Traictise, Contenand, first ane infallible reul to discerne trew from fals religion* (Louvain, 1600) apologizes: "Excuse, guid reider, the erreurs commitit in ye prenting; considder the difficultie to prent our lantage in a strage [*sic*] country."

69 Alexander Crawford Lindsay, *Lives of the Lindsays; or, A Memoir of the Houses of Crawford and Balcarres*, 3 vols (London: 1849), 2:5–6.

he was professor of rhetoric. Like a number of other Scottish Catholic writers, he retained an interest in writing in Scots, since in one of these volumes, *Miscellanea*, he included an elegy in Scots and Latin parallel texts:⁷⁰

Si coram Phrygio certans pastore fuisset
 Forma, inter ternas Cynthia visa Deas
 Non collapsa forent antiquae moenia Troiae,
 Hectors Pelides non rapuisset equis:
 Non Phrygii tanto stagnassent sanguine campi,
 Non foret à Graio rapta Lacaena viro
 Nec pastor croceo donasset Cyprida pomo:
 Cessissent Dominae praemia tanta meae.

Hed scho bein sein amang the laddays thri
 Before Paris striuing of pulchritude
 Troy zet hed stand vith tours and castels hi;
 Hed nocht bein spelt sa mekle gentle blude,
 Quein Helena in Grece hed bedden gude,
 Venus het nocht the aple borne away,
 She hed bein vard, and baith ye uter tuay.⁷¹

These parallel versions show an interesting sense of the different discourse he felt appropriate to the two languages. A literal version of the Latin would be: "If her shape had been competing before the Phrygian shepherd and [my] Cynthia seen among the goddesses, the ancient walls of Troy would not have collapsed, the son of Peleus would not have dragged Hector with his horses, nor would the Phrygian fields have stifled with so much blood; and the Lacanian [woman] would not have been snatched from Greece by a man, nor would the shepherd have given the yellow apple to the Cyprian: they would have yielded the entire reward to my Mistress." The Scots version sticks to names rather than sobriquets and with the exception of "pulchritude," chooses a notably un-Latinate vocabulary. It has an engaging simplicity and is written in rhyme royal, a form associated with Geoffrey Chaucer, and with older Scottish poets such as William Dunbar, and in this and other ways, it has more in common with the

70 Thomas Bicarton, "Elegia 6, Latinoscotica," in *Miscellanea* (Poitiers: 1588), 176.

71 Zet, "yet" (with a z); *spelt*, "spilt"; *bedden*, "remained," preterite of *bide*. *Vard*, probably "expended," in the sense of "made as nothing," preterite of *war*, "to use, use up, spend, expended," a verb cognate with the English noun *ware*, meaning something vendible.

poetry of the pre-Reformation court than with the new style of Scottish poetry popularized in the circle of James VI.⁷²

One *cause célèbre* that naturally generated a good deal of Catholic literature was the downfall of Mary, Queen of Scots. Many Scottish Catholics had personal cause to be grateful to her. Adam Blackwood, who went into exile *causa religionis* in 1558, was sponsored by her at the University of Paris during her brief reign as queen of France. Later he became a member of the Parlement of Poitiers and a judge. His various writings include poetry addressed to Scottish Catholic exiles in France and praise of the house of Guise, to which Mary belonged on her mother's side. When Mary was executed, he published *Martyre de la Reine d'Escoce*, which went through five editions.⁷³ Similarly, John Leslie, bishop of Ross, received the personal patronage of his queen, to whom he owed his bishopric. He was her principal adviser in religious matters and remained unwaveringly loyal. He acted as her ambassador once she was under arrest in England and published a series of works on her behalf: *A defence of the honour of the right highe, mightye and noble Princesse Marie, Quene of Scotlande*, printed in Reims in 1569; a similar book in French exculpating her from involvement in Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley's murder; a book defending the right of women to rule, countering the well-known argument of John Knox; a treatise on her right to inherit the English throne (published in French, Latin, Spanish, and English); and several responses to her death. It is worth observing that Leslie and Blackwood write in English – unlike the works of writers such as Winzet cited above, these pro-Mary tracts are evidently hoping to reach English readers, as well as the Continental Catholic readership implied by French, Spanish, and Latin editions. The Englishman Gabriel Harvey, for one, was reading “thos tragical pamflets of the quen of Scots” by 1573.⁷⁴

Another Scottish Catholic writer whose work is replete with political subtexts is the brilliant but erratic Thomas Dempster, who was born at Cliftbog in Aberdeenshire, probably in 1579. Having briefly been a student at Cambridge and Paris, he subsequently matriculated at Louvain. However, William

72 David J. Parkinson (ed.), *James VI and I, Literature and Scotland: Tides of Change, 1567–1625* (Leuven: 2013).

73 His poems are in *In novae religionis asseclas carmen inuectivum* [...] (Paris: 1563) and *Varii generis poemata* (Poitiers: 1609), his praise of the Guise in *De Principis Augustissimi Francisci Ducis Guisani Obitu* (Paris: 1563), and the first edition of *Martyre de la Reine D'Escoce* [...] came out in Paris under a false imprint, 1588.

74 Priscilla Bawcutt, “Crossing the Border: Scottish Poetry and English Readers in the Sixteenth Century,” in *The Rose and the Thistle: Essays on the Culture of Late Medieval and Renaissance Scotland*, ed. Sally Mapstone and Juliette Wood (East Linton: East Lothian: 1998), 59–76, at 62.

Crichton, S.J., principal of the Scottish College at Louvain, decided to send a group of promising Scots for further education in Rome, Dempster among them. After further travels and misadventures, he finally took his MA from Douai. His adult life was as checkered as his student career, but he published quite extensively throughout it. His most famous, or notorious, work is his *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Scotorum*, first published in Bologna in 1627, two years after his death. Despite its title, it is not an equivalent to Bede's Anglo-Saxon ecclesiastical history but a calendar of Scottish Catholic luminaries – interpreting “Scottish” so liberally that his list includes Saint Aldhelm, from Malmesbury in Wiltshire, the reputed author of 18 books (of which three are genuine); Saint Boniface, from Crediton in Devon (supposed author of ten books of which two may be genuine); and Budica, queen of the Iceni, to whom he attributes six.⁷⁵ He also caused utter fury in Irish learned circles by claiming the entire body of Ireland's saints and scholars as Scots, due to the fact that early medieval sources refer to them as “Scoti”: as we have seen, this claim had a significant impact on the practical question of who controlled the ancient Irish foundations in Germany and greatly damaged Scoto-Irish relations.⁷⁶ A proportion, how large a proportion is unclear, of Dempster's worthies are simply invented, though his work bears some relation to fact: Thomas Bicarton certainly existed, and Dempster's information about him is accurate. However, Dempster also writes, for example, about a Patrick Bisset, a professor of canon law at Bologna in 1401, who allegedly wrote two treatises entitled “De irregularitate” and “Lectiones feriales.”⁷⁷ There is no evidence in Bologna or anywhere else for this man or his works. Dempster's method overall is to create a vast Scoto-Latin prosopography, featuring a host of shadowy figures from the Middle Ages, and an inflated bibliography: the author of one known and surviving work is often credited with four or five other plausible-sounding books for which there is no evidence whatsoever. Dempster's wholesale annexation of early medieval Irish and Anglo-Saxon Christianity for Scotland was supported by Chalmers, in *De Scotorum fortitudine*, and by Robert Strachan, a

75 Thomas Dempster, *Historia Ecclesiastica gentis Scotorum* [...] (Bologna: 1627), 6–8, 71–74, and 108.

76 Irish refutations include G.F., *Hiberniae sive antiquioris Scotiae vindiciae adversus immodestam parecbasim Thomae Dempsteri* (Antwerp: 1621); David Roche, *Hibernia resurgens, sive refrigerium antidotale* [...] (Rouen: 1621); and Poitiers, Médiathèque François-Mitterrand, MS 258 (Stephen White, “Scoto-Caledonica cornix deplumanda ab avibus orbis, hoc est refutatio recentium pseudo-historiarum prisco-scoticarum Thomae Demsteri, Scoto-Britanni, uxorati, professoris latinarum in Academia Bononiensium Italiae”), anciently 229.

77 Dempster, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 95.

monk of Würzburg, whose *Germania Christiana* similarly claims the Irish and Anglo-Saxon missions of the Carolingian era for Scotland: however, this latter work was never printed.⁷⁸

Dempster, while clearly unscrupulous, albeit patriotic, was by no means a fool; he was a considerable scholar, and his Latin poetry was admired by contemporaries. These virtues are more evident in another, very different publication, a neo-Latin play called *Decemviratus abrogatus*, based on the story of Virginia and Appius, from Livy, one of several plays Dempster wrote, though it is not clear, due to his tendency towards multiplication, how many.⁷⁹ Although most other Scottish Catholic writers tended to support royal authority, especially in the context of the deposition of Mary, Queen of Scots, Dempster here sides with revolution. His play is the product of a specific political context, since, at the time of its performance, the University of Paris was debating James I's theory of absolute monarchic power. The Jesuit Francisco Suárez countered this with two treatises published in 1612 and 1613, both of which defend the position that the civil community of the people has the right to depose an unjust or tyrannical ruler.⁸⁰ While this principle is more often found among Calvinists, such as, in Scotland, George Buchanan and Andrew Melville, it should be remembered that the bull *Regnans in excelsis* issued by Pius V in 1570 had dispensed English Catholics from allegiance to Elizabeth I and encouraged her overthrow. Thus, it was evidently not entirely alien to early modern Catholic thought.

Dempster's play was performed on 1–2 May 1613: as it is plotted, the tragedy of Virginia is made to illustrate Suárez's political argument. The Senate and its magistrates are the authentic repository of Roman political authority. The usurping *decemviri* are headed by Appius, who schemes to get his hands on the chaste Virginia and is foiled only when her father murders her so she may keep her honor. The *decemviri* are deposed for reasons of personal wickedness, political illegitimacy, and political incompetence: Rome is under serious threat from a coalition of Italian peoples (Dempster has re-dated this conflict for the purposes of his plot), and they are failing to respond adequately to the

78 Mark Dilworth, "'Germania Christiana': A Seventeenth-Century Trilogy," *IR* 18 (1967), 118–40. The manuscript is Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, M.ch.q. 53.

79 Thomas Dempster, *Tragoedia, decemviratus abrogatus* (Paris: 1613).

80 Francisco Suárez, *Tractatus de legibus ac Deo legislatore* (Coimbra: 1612) and *Defensio fidei Catholicae et Apostolicae adversus Anglicanae sectae errores* [...] (Coimbra: 1613). See Ronald G. Asch, *Sacral Kingship between Disenchantment and Re-Enchantment: The French and English Monarchies, 1587–1688* (New York: 2014), esp. "The Anglo-Gallican Moment: The French and English Monarchies from the Death of Mary Queen of Scots to James I's *Remonstrance for the Right of Kings*, 1587–1615."

emergency. It was not unusual for neo-Latin dramatists to use stories from classical history to point a contemporary moral, but the nature of the moral here is unusual for a Scottish Catholic writer.

Among Scoto-Latin poets, the greatest was undoubtedly George Buchanan (1506–82), who began his career as a Catholic but subsequently embraced Protestant reform,⁸¹ but there were some able Catholic Latin poets. One of the more industrious was George Crichton. He was professor of civil law in the University of Paris, and his status as a man of letters is suggested by the fact that he was chosen to pronounce the funerary oration on Pierre de Ronsard.⁸² He was a very prolific writer of *vers d'occasion* and Latin orations: 34 survive. He was admired by the Dane Ole Borch (Olaus Borrichius), who singled him out in his study of contemporary neo-Latin poets, and also praised other Catholic Scottish Latin poets, notably Thomas Segat.⁸³ Adam Blackwood and his brother and nephew, both called Henry, all based in France, published occasional Latin verse celebrating patrons, execrating Elizabeth I and so forth, as did the Jesuit Andrew Leech, whose 68 or more pamphlet poems were printed in various cities of Poland.⁸⁴ The poetry of many Catholic exiles was heavily biased towards *vers d'occasion*, for the obvious reason that many of these men needed either to express gratitude to existing patrons or to solicit the attention of new ones.

One who seems to have had the leisure to write for less interested reasons was George Chalmers, professor of humanities at Padua. He published a volume dedicated to his friend John Leech (a talented and prolific wandering Scot, a Protestant, though he had Catholic friends and acquaintances), and he also published an elegant volume of emblems and Ovidian elegies, *Emblemata amatoria*.⁸⁵ The illustrations of the emblems are mostly taken from Crispin de Passe's *Thronus Cupidinis*, and the contents mostly cast an eye over the ardors and errors of human love. However, some seem intended to bear a more

81 Having taught at a number of Catholic institutions, he was tried by the Inquisition in Coimbra in 1550; he was released in 1552 but thereafter it was increasingly clear that his sympathy was with the Protestants.

82 *Georgii Crittonii laudatio funebris habita in exequiis Petri Ronsardi, apud Becodianos, cui praeponuntur ejusdem Ronsardi carmina partim a moriente, partim a languente dictata [...]* (Paris: 1586).

83 Ole Borch [Olaus Borrichius], *Dissertationes academicae de poetis [...]* (Frankfurt: 1683), 151 and 157.

84 Antoni Krawczyk, "The British in Poland in the Seventeenth Century," *Seventeenth Century* 37 (2002), 254–71 and 265–66.

85 George Chalmers, *Sylva Leochaes suo [...]* (Paris: 1620), and *Emblemata amatoria* (Venice: 1627).

spiritual interpretation, notably this one, where Perseus merges into Christ, Andromeda into the Catholic Church, or the human soul:⁸⁶

[engraving on facing page: Perseus flies to the rescue of Andromeda]

Pro pulchris militat Aether

Ut te monstra petant, ut te spumantia Cete
 Fortunam vincit forma, virago, tuam.
 Undis orta Venus, crudelibus imperat undis,
 Et sua magnanimus regna tuetur Amor
 Ales eques summis te protegit ortus ab astris
 Qui sola, qui saevas iam tibi subdet aquas.
 Quid vehit hunc? Virtus. Sed et haec cur surgit in alas
 Hanc fert quae nostrum gloria spernit humum.
 Quicunque innocuae defendit munera formae
 Spiritus e celo devolat ille suo.

The Air Fights for the Fair

Though monsters seek you, and spouting whales,
 Lady, your beauty overcomes your fortune.
 Venus, risen from the waves, commands the cruel waves
 And great-hearted Love defends his kingdom.
 A winged knight protects you, appearing from the starry heights
 Who now subdues the earth and the savage waters for you.
 What rides here? Virtue. But also, why this ascends on wings,
 Is that it brings that which rejects our earth for glory.
 Whoever defends the gifts of innocent beauty,
 That Spirit will fly down from heaven for him.

Other Continental exiles achieved a reputation as writers of prose, locally or even internationally. The most successful was John Barclay, a Scoto-French Catholic, the son of William Barclay, exiled from Scotland on account of his religion. John Barclay was the author of one of the most notable bestsellers of the 17th century, *Argenis* (first published in 1621). This is a very long picaresque romance, with a dashing hero, shipwrecks, pirates, a heroine in danger of being forced to marry the wrong man, and other *topoi* of the classical novel.

86 Chalmers, *Emblemata amatoria*, 36 (text), 37 (engraving). My translation.

It was believed by many to be a political allegory, and some issues were printed with “keys,” which added to its popularity, and it certainly has much to say about government, both good and bad. There were at least 40 Latin editions before 1700, and it was translated into French (three times), English, Italian, Spanish and German (twice in each case), Dutch, Polish, Greek, and Icelandic. There were also continuations, responses, condensed versions, and dramas. His *Satyricon*, the earlier of his two romances (first published in 1610), was also enormously popular and repeatedly issued in most European countries: more loosely plotted, it is a series of episodes rather than a coherent narrative, and to some extent an imitation of the *Satyricon* of Petronius. While some of his satire was directed against the Jesuits, they are one of many targets, along with parvenus, university professors, and doctors: there is no reason to think that his mockery implies Protestant sympathies. In another work, *Paraenesis ad sectarios* (1617), he detailed his experiences as a Catholic in Protestant England, where he briefly attempted to establish himself, in which he made it clear that he had not been prepared to sacrifice his religion for the sake of personal advancement.

George Conn, chiefly remembered as papal envoy to Charles I, was also a published poet and controversialist, who wrote in Latin; his works also included a life of Mary, Queen of Scots, published in Rome in 1624, which, like other writings by Scottish Catholics, makes the point of the legitimacy of her claim to the English throne, occupied at the time by her grandson.⁸⁷ Another Scottish queen is memorialized by a 17th-century Leslie, William Aloysius Leslie, S.J., who became a canon of Bratislava Cathedral. He wrote a life of Margaret of Scotland, in French: Italian and English translations were also issued.⁸⁸ Margaret (ca. 1045–93), apart from being Scotland’s principal royal saint, was mainly remembered for reforming the Church of Scotland and bringing it into conformity with Roman Catholicism. She is represented here as a model of perfect queenship: pious, chaste, obedient to her confessor, and maternal. The book has the secondary, or perhaps primary, purpose of publicizing an alleged relic of Saint Margaret in the Scots College at Douai, with a careful account of its provenance and how it came to survive.

87 George Conn, *Vita Mariae Stuartae Scotiae reginae, dotariae Galliae, Angliae et Hiberniae haeredis* (Rome: 1624).

88 Guillaume Aloys Leslie [William Aloysius Leslie], *L’Idée d’une reine parfaite en la vie de S. Marguerite, reine d’Ecosse; avec les éloges de ses enfans, David et Matilde* (Douai: 1660), *The Idaea of a perfect princesse in the life of St Margaret Queen of Scotland [...] written originally in French and now Englished* (Paris: 1661), and *Vita di Santa Margherita Regina di Scozia* (Rome: 1675).

There were also a number of Scottish Catholic scientists. A Scottish Jesuit, Hugh Semple, published on mathematics, a subject that interested many Scots of various religious persuasions. As rector of the Scots college in Madrid, he amassed a fine collection of astronomical instruments.⁸⁹ His work was not particularly original, but another Scottish Catholic who made genuine contributions to knowledge was William D'Avissonne, or Davidson. He took a first degree at Aberdeen, then went on to Montpellier, where he took his MD. He was a Paracelsian chemiatrist, and by 1644, he had become royal physician to Louis XIV, professor of chemistry, and superintendent of the Jardin du Roi, the king's physic garden. Thomas Segat of Seton, astronomer and poet, is also worth mentioning in this context. Something of a wandering scholar, he spent some time at the University of Padua, when Galileo was resident in the city, and subsequently went to Prague, where Johannes Kepler was astronomer to Rudolf II.⁹⁰ Arthur Williamson has drawn attention to the intricate connections between Protestant apocalyptic, the measurement of time, mathematics, and political thought, but an interest in chronography, astronomy, and mathematics is also found among Catholics, notably Lord Dunfermline.⁹¹

It is thus clear that Scottish Catholic culture was extensive and, also, that it was the culture of a diaspora. It could hardly be said to have a center; the Scots colleges and monasteries provided permanent homes for a variety of individuals in which a distinctively Scottish culture could be, and was, maintained, but large numbers of Catholic Scots lived by ones and twos throughout Catholic Europe. Evidence such as *alba amicorum* and letters makes it clear that Scottish Catholics networked and maintained connections among themselves.⁹² But a notable feature of the Scottish Catholic diaspora is that it appears to be entirely male. There were, of course, university professors who married: not all these men were celibate. But, when their wives can be identified, they are locals from wherever that particular wandering Scot had come to rest. Catholic Scots were not going abroad by families; and, unlike early modern Englishwomen, some

89 McNally, *Sixth Scottish University*, 74.

90 O. Szabolcs Barlay, "Thomas Seget's (from Edinborough [sic]) Middle European Connections in Reflection of Cod. Vat. Lat. 9385," *Magyar Könyvtzsemlé* 97 (1981), 204–20.

91 Arthur H. Williamson, *Scottish National Consciousness in the Age of James VI* (Edinburgh: 1979).

92 Two particularly important and informative *alba amicorum* are those of Thomas Seget, Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Lat. 9385, and George Strachan, Aberdeen, University of Aberdeen Library, Special Collections, SCA CB/57/12, previously Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, Deposit 221, MS 12. For the latter see James Fowler Kellas Johnstone (ed.), *The Alba Amicorum of George Strachan, George Craig, Thomas Cumming* (Aberdeen: 1924), 1–17.

3800 of whom joined English convents abroad before 1800,⁹³ mostly in the Low Countries, with the rarest of exceptions, Scotswomen did not exile themselves as nuns.

One such exception is revealed by James Drummond, 4th Earl of Perth, lord chancellor of Scotland, in a letter to his sister, Anne Hay, Countess of Erroll, in August 1674:

We went to Bruxelles the 16th July, where we waited for a second time on our old great-aunt Mad^{lle} d'Argile, who is near 80 years old. ... She speaks no English, is a good soul as lives, and in esteem with all the great folks of Bruxelles. She has another sister a *chanoinesse religieuse* of Saint Augustine, Lady Victoria, a very fine lady. She herself is a most excellent musician, and although her voice fails much she sings true still, and plays finely on many instruments, but chiefly the organ. She composed a song for my wife.⁹⁴

The family history of the cultivated Isabella Campbell, "Mad^{lle} d'Argile," was exceptional in a variety of ways. Her father, Archibald Campbell, 7th Earl of Argyll, had converted to Catholicism in 1618: under the pretext of taking the waters at Spa, he and his wife, a Catholic Englishwoman, fled to the Continent together, where the earl took service with the Spanish army in Flanders. It seems that he set up a household in Brussels with his wife and their children. His Scottish estates had passed to his son by his first wife.⁹⁵ The earl and his countess eventually went to England and lived quietly in London from 1629, but their daughters chose to enter religion in Belgium, though apparently not together: Victoria became an Augustinian canoness, Barbara a Benedictine, and it is not known where Isabella and Anne (the fourth sister, who entered a convent in widowhood), were professed. Another aristocratic Scotswoman, Alexander Lindsay, 1st Earl of Balcarres's oldest daughter Anne Lindsay, spent a couple of years at the English court after the Restoration, converted to Catholicism under the influence of the dowager queen Henrietta Maria and her circle, and became an Augustinian canoness in Paris in 1663.⁹⁶

93 Information from the database Who Were the Nuns?, <https://wwtn.history.qmul.ac.uk>.

94 John Wilcock, *The Great Marquess: Life and Times of Archibald, 8th Earl, and 1st (and Only) Marquess of Argyll* (Edinburgh: 1903), 342–44.

95 John Callow, "Campbell, Archibald, 7th Earl of Argyll (1575/6–1638)," in *ODNB*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/4471>; and Rosalind K. Marshall, "Cornwallis, Anne, Countess of Argyll (d. 1635)," in *ODNB*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/68036>.

96 Lindsay, *Lives of the Lindsays*, 2:115.

These women's circumstances were quite exceptional. The experience of most Scottish Catholic women was very different. In his elegiac poem on Patrick Seton, a youthful cadet of the Seton family who died at Rome, George Strachan writes:

Nunc ignara parat redituro mater honores,
 Emptaque Patricio nomine villa jacet.
 Forte etiam votis expectant scripta sorores,
 Etque peregrinis dona remissa locis ...

Now his mother, unaware, prepares a reception in honor of the expected one, and a country house, bought in Patrick's name, lies empty. Perhaps his sisters, too, are looking forward to letters and to gifts sent from far countries ...

The passage is reminiscent of the famous ballad of Sir Patrick Spens, which Strachan may well have known.⁹⁷ What it takes for granted is that women stay at home and wait. And that in turn tells us that though early modern Scottish Catholic intellectual life is effectively synonymous with exile, its continuity lay within Scotland itself.

97 O lang, may their ladies sit:
 Wi' thair fans into their hand,
 Or eir they se Sir Patrick Spens
 Cum sailing to the land.

Scottish Catholic Material Culture

Peter Davidson and David W. Walker

Some important distinctions have to be made as a prologue to any study of Scottish Roman Catholic culture after Scotland's comparatively late Protestant Reformation in 1560. Scottish law and governance were wholly separate from those of England until the accession of James VI of Scotland as James I of England in 1603. The classic (and perhaps still widely accepted) narrative of the Scottish Reformation is of a Calvinist movement far more popular and universal than in England. To some extent, this view, as expressed by the magisterial 20th-century *Edinburgh History of Scotland*, and particularly in Gordon Donaldson's 16th- and 17th-century third volume,¹ has been less questioned subsequently than might have been expected in the light of parallel developments in English historiography.² Unlike England and Wales, where pockets of Roman Catholic resistance and recusancy were comparatively broadly spread across the more remote areas, however many reservations about the Calvinist revolution may have been held in private, especially by the court elite of the Scottish Lowlands³ (which is to say broadly the area north of the English border and south of the Highland geological fault, encompassing the cities of Glasgow and Edinburgh; the royal towns of Stirling, Dunfermline, and Linlithgow; and the university city of Saint Andrews), the Calvinist church was publicly triumphant there. Matters were very different in the territory defined by the former Catholic diocese of Aberdeen (the shires of Aberdeen, Banff, and much of Moray) where the power of Catholic magnates and a local determination to keep the peace within the community seem to have joined with a lukewarm enthusiasm for reform to enable a discreet but consistent maintenance of Catholic worship

1 Gordon Donaldson, *The Edinburgh History of Scotland*, vol. 3: *Scotland: James V to James VII* (Edinburgh: 1965). A detailed description of the religious position of late 16th- and 17th-century Scotland is found in Jane Stevenson's essay (chap. 9) in this volume.

2 Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, 1400–1580* (New Haven: 1992) has prompted a considerable revision of ecclesiastical and cultural history for England; it would be fair and accurate to say that no parallel development has been visible in Scotland, despite individual articles and studies.

3 Peter Davidson, "Alexander Seton, First Earl of Dunfermline: His Library, His House, His World," *BCH* 32 (2015), 315–42.

and culture.⁴ This was not just a matter of the power of the Catholic earls of Huntly, or of the considerable financial support available to a Catholic mission from Catholic families of mercenary soldiers on the Continent, especially the Leslies;⁵ it also reflected the lasting success of the reform-from-within carried through by William Elphinstone, bishop of Aberdeen (1431–1514) at the turn of the 16th century.⁶ It is therefore with the northeastern counties that almost all of this account of Scottish Catholic material culture will concern itself, bearing in mind that in this region, the town councils, Kirk sessions, and rural magnates were often unable or reluctant to enforce Protestant conformity, and as a result a more lasting and visible Catholic material culture can be traced after the Reformation than has hitherto been attempted.

It is of particular interest to look at material culture in the context of Scotland, in that it is still widely believed that almost nothing survived Presbyterian iconoclasm and that the post-Reformation climate would have been so hostile to any attempts at Catholic revival that nothing would have been created by or for the Catholic community. This was demonstrably not the case, particularly in the northern counties of Aberdeen, Banff, and Moray. Accordingly, this chapter proceeds by considering representative specimens of Catholic material culture that have survived: architecture; painted decoration; descriptions of lost decoration; books and manuscripts; and objects, salvaged and created. So little has been written about this topic that no apology is offered for a descriptive and documentary approach. A tentative conclusion is offered that the aesthetic choices of this Catholic community under penalty seem to reflect an acute awareness of the past of the region, especially a retrospectively perceived golden age of revitalized Catholicism at the beginning of the 16th century.

The survival of so much is remarkable, given the ferocity of Scottish Reformation rhetoric: to some degree, the policy of the authorities seemed to have been to ignore those regions where they failed to enforce conformity. To some degree, Scottish historiography, despite notable recent exceptions, has followed suit in ignoring the dissident and conservative Northeast of the

4 Margaret H.B. Sanderson, "Catholic Recusancy in Scotland in the Sixteenth Century," *IR* 21 (1970), 87–107 and 88–89. Given that oaths were only locally and sporadically enforced, the term "recusancy" is intensely problematic for Scotland. For more, see chap. 12 in this volume, esp. the section on "Scotland."

5 David Worthington, *Scots in Habsburg Service, 1618–1648* (Leiden: 2003); Steve Murdoch and Alexia Grosjean, *Alexander Leslie and the Scottish Generals of the Thirty Years' War, 1618–1648* (London: 2016).

6 Leslie J. Macfarlane, *William Elphinstone and the Kingdom of Scotland, 1431–1514: The Struggle for Order* (Aberdeen: 1985).

country. The refusal of Walter Scott to engage with the northeastern counties in his vastly influential Scottish historical novels, except for the appearance of a melodramatic caricature of a Catholic landowner in *The Antiquary* (itself a fiction obsessed with misreadings of the material remains of the past) is both symptomatic and fascinating.⁷

1 Conn-Type Tower Houses in Northeast Scotland

In the Northeast of Scotland, there survives a stylistically unified group of gentry houses, all documented as having been built for Catholic families by one family of masons and designers [see Figure 10.1]. The families that owned these houses were also at the center of a lively and international nexus of Catholic writers, intellectuals, and soldiers. This chapter therefore begins with a detailed study of these buildings, since they have never before been documented in detail, and in that they constitute perhaps the most substantial survival of the 16th-century Catholic built environment anywhere in Britain.

The Conn group of tower houses are a product of distinctive local circumstances. In Scotland, the gradual progression of the Reformation, which had begun long before the official break with Rome in 1560, resulted in the dispersal of church lands to the laity. Throughout the country, however, Presbyterian worship was received with varying degrees of acceptance, many landowners only paying lip service and continuing to adhere to their Catholic faith in private, while others felt strong enough to reject it openly. Such a desperately unsettled situation encouraged both Catholic and Protestant landowners to engage in a major program of building defensive houses – the characteristic Scottish tower houses – not just to stamp their authority on their lands but in many cases to protect themselves, their families, and their chief followers from their neighbors.

In 1929 Douglas Simpson identified four Aberdeenshire tower houses – Craig, Gight, Delgatie, and Towie Barclay – all of which had been built for Catholic families in the mid-to-late 16th century and which, through close similarities of plan and detail, he could confidently attribute to a single master mason.⁸

⁷ Sir Walter Scott, *The Antiquary* (Edinburgh: 1816).

⁸ W. Douglas Simpson, "Craig Castle and the Kirk of Auchindoir, Aberdeenshire," *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 64 (1929–30), 48–96. More recently, Joachim Zeune in *The Last Scottish Castles: Investigations with Particular Reference to Domestic Architecture from the 15th to the 17th Century* (Rahden: 1992) has questioned Simpson's dating of these tower houses, dismissing their armorials as later decor. As will be shown here, however, their

The houses were exceptionally defensive for their period. Their massive stone walls were of a thickness that would have been much more common in the 15th century, and at least in the case of Craig and Towie – and probably Gight and Delgatie as well – they were vaulted in stone not only at the ground floor, which was unusual at the time, but also at the second floor, with timber joists and flooring being confined to the upper stories. They thus took very substantial commitment to build, dictated by the clear and present threat of violence during the Reformation period. Their internal planning was unusual too, with their stairs located discreetly away from the entrance. Their great halls seem to have been specifically designed to accommodate large numbers of followers in times of danger, and for the celebration of Catholic rites safely out of reach of the Protestant authorities.

In the first volume of *Epitaphs and Inscriptions*, published in 1875, the antiquarian Andrew Jervise recorded a local tradition that Delgatie had been built by the first of the Conns of Auchry, who was himself a minor Catholic landowner, part of his lands having apparently been acquired from the Hays of Delgatie in payment for its building.⁹ Recent research has identified a number of other tower houses in northeast Scotland that share the same distinctive fundamentals of plan as Simpson's group, which therefore would appear to have been built by the Conn family, or those who had worked for or with them. Taken together, these tower houses constitute perhaps the largest group of buildings anywhere in Britain, the planning and construction of which was determined by the practical and spiritual needs of their Catholic owners during the Reformation period.

Information on the early Conns of Auchry (a sept, or subdivision, of the Clan MacDonald) is very sketchy, and Jervise does not even give the first Conn's forename. Charles MacKean conjectured two generations of Alexanders. The family acquired Little Auchry, close to Delgatie within the intensely Catholic territory around Turriff, in 1540. Part of the fabric of Delgatie itself may date

Catholic builders had compelling reasons to adhere to earlier and more defensible tower-house plan types.

9 Jervise provided no references, and without documentary support, Simpson seems to have been doubtful of his attribution of Delgatie to the Conns. But there is corroborative evidence: the very distinctive form of the dovecot at Delgatie is exactly paralleled by that at Auchry. The Conns' Red Castle at Auchry is long gone. Alexander Conn himself was supposedly shot dead, from a considerable distance across the Burn of Monquhitter, by his neighbor Mowat of Balquholly while standing within his own front doorway. The attribution of Craigston Castle to Conn, also recorded by Jervise, appears much less likely, but it may refer to a predecessor house. The present house seems never to have corresponded to those which we shall be discussing here.

from that time, the Conns perhaps receiving Little Auchry in consideration of works carried out there; some sort of stronghold must have existed by 1549, as is borne out by a surviving charter. William Conn, who appears to have been a master mason, is first mentioned in a document of 1552; the family acquired Meikle Auchry (Meikle, or Muckle, meaning "Great") in 1553–54. Whether this relates to further work at Delgatie, the original construction of which may have been phased in two stages, or whether it was funded by the proceeds that the Conns derived from building other tower houses, is unclear. William Conn died in or shortly before 1580 and was succeeded by his son Patrick, who may or may not have been a master mason; Patrick was among those who fought with Catholics Francis Hay, 9th Earl of Erroll, and George Gordon, 6th Earl of Huntly, in their famous victory over the Protestant Archibald Campbell, 7th Earl of Argyll, at Glenlivet in 1594. He married Isabella Cheyne of Esslemont and was the father of George Conn (d. 1640), the scholar-priest who was an important figure at the court of Henrietta Maria, wife of Charles I, during the years 1636–39, but who spent most of his life in Italy. There must, however, have been other Conns over several generations who either worked in the family firm or perhaps set up in business on their own.

Of Simpson's four tower houses, Craig Castle, built by a branch of the Gordons, is much the best preserved, having survived virtually unaltered. It is a very tall L-plan, its harled rubble walls rising with a slight taper for 40 feet above the ground. Its windows are so small that it is practically impossible to discern the three main stories of accommodation that are inside. Above the severely plain wallhead parapets is an attic "cap-house," but either during construction or very shortly afterwards, its roof has been swept over the wall-walks on each side to rest on the parapets, the openings or "crenels" of which have been subsequently glazed. This was a French rather than a Scottish arrangement, designed to shelter the tower's defenders and to keep the wallheads dry.

From every aspect, Craig does indeed present itself as a massively strong defensive shell. Its doorway within the angle of the L-plan is well protected by shot-holes at ground floor and second floor. Above the doorway are three heraldic panels, that in the center which bears the Royal Arms, probably both a declaration of loyalty to Queen Mary and to signify that the Gordons held their land from the Crown directly, without any feudal superior between them.

Craig's walls are a massive seven feet thick, and like most tower houses of its time, all its ground-floor rooms have been vaulted to limit the risk of its being set on fire. Immediately within the doorway, a single-bay rib vault forms a vestibule. Its central boss displays the Royal Arms, and of the four corbels supporting the ribs, that on the northwest is carved with the Gordon arms and the initials V.G. for William Gordon, while that on the southwest is carved with

the *Arma Christi*, seemingly an invocation of divine protection against attackers, as well as a signifier of Catholic loyalties.¹⁰

Access to the upper floors is by a turnpike staircase nine feet in diameter. Unlike most other Northeast towers of this vintage, the turnpike does not rise solely to the second (or principal) floor, with a separate smaller turnpike rising to the upper stories; instead, the main turnpike continues without any interruption through the whole height of the house. Before the second-floor hall was horizontally divided by the insertion of an additional story during the 18th century, it was of substantial height. Originally, there was a mezzanine level within the thickness of the wall at its north end with an arched opening that looked out over the hall. This is now enclosed within the later refitting, but during the Reformation, it served as an oratory. With its curtains closed, it could discreetly serve the needs of the immediate Gordon family, or with them open, a priest could celebrate the Mass before a much larger congregation standing in the hall beneath.

Towie Barclay Castle was built for the Barclay family.¹¹ Like Craig, it is an L-plan, but during the 1790s, its height was reduced to just two stories, and the short wing or “jamb” of the L was truncated. The fundamentals of its plan are, however, the same as Craig’s. Its splendid second-floor hall, clearly much grander than Turriff’s medieval parish church, which had by then fallen under control of the Protestant ministers, is the only one of Simpson’s group that has survived substantially intact and unaltered. It is double height and rib vaulted in two compartments, the boss of the north compartment at the “high” end displaying the Royal Arms, and that of the south compartment at the “low” end the Barclay Arms. The vaults may originally have been painted with overtly Catholic imagery, and one wonders what role might be designated for the Royal Arms within that context. The gallery running across the south window has clearly been used as an oratory, the four corbels that support the ribs of its vault having been decorated with emblems of the evangelists, while the central boss displays the *Arma Christi*, the Five Wounds of Christ. The altar *mensa* still survives and faces east. Patrick Barclay suffered for his longstanding adherence to Queen Mary, and the much-eroded inscription over the castle’s

10 See Penelope Dransart, “*Arma Christi* in the Tower Households of North-Eastern Scotland,” in “*A House That Thieves May Knock At*”: *Proceedings of the 2010 Stirling and 2011 Dundee Conferences*, ed. Richard Oram (Donnington: 2015).

11 The ancestors of Field Marshall Michael Andreas Barclay de Tolly (1761–1818), Tsar Alexander I’s minister of war during the Napoleonic invasion of Russia in 1812 and the War of the Sixth Coalition, 1812–14.

entrance once read “In tim of valth al men sim friendly – an frind is not knawin but in adversity.”

Gight Castle is ruinous, only its ground floor and parts of its second and third floors surviving, but it was once much the largest of Simpson's group. The entrance, in the same position as those at Craig and Towie, again opens into a single-bay, rib-vaulted vestibule. The central boss behind the doorway is carved with symbols of the Passion – the Five Wounds, the Crown of Thorns, the Ladder, Hammer, Nails, Reed, and Spear. Although the second-floor hall is now very incomplete, it had a simple vault and - it would seem - an oratory gallery like those at Craig and Towie running across its west window. In 1564, Gordon of Schivas and Gight was charged with “hurting and wounding” Master William Conn of Auchry, perhaps in relation to a dispute over contracts or delays.¹²

The fate of Delgatie Castle, much reconstructed and now the massively tall centerpiece of a rather larger house, demonstrates that the fears of its Catholic builders were entirely justified. Delgatie was built by George Hay, 7th Earl of Erroll, probably between 1570 and 1579. Here again the L-plan followed the familiar pattern, but with a longer wing or jamb and a more architectural treatment as befitted a nobleman. As in the other houses, the original entrance (which has here been concealed by later additions) opens into a rib-vaulted vestibule and a corridor, with an exceptionally broad turnpike stair at its far end rising undiminished through the full height of the tower. A more detailed examination of the L-plan structure, however, reveals some very striking anomalies. Although the walls of both the main block and the wing or jamb are consistently seven feet thick at ground floor, and within the jamb remain so all the way up to the corbelled wallhead parapet, the west flank of the main block at second floor and above is only three feet thick and rises into a simple roof without any parapet whatsoever: it is thus not nearly so defensible. Furthermore, the walls of the jamb are slightly intaken above the second-floor vaulting, whereas those of the main block rise absolutely sheer.

From this it is evident that the main block has been substantially rebuilt, and that the later construction was inferior. Its fabric thus appears to confirm the Hay family tradition that after his defeat by the earls of Erroll and Huntly at Glenlivet in 1594, the earl of Argyll laid siege to Delgatie for six weeks, eventually bombarding it with cannon that he was obliged to ship north from Leith

12 M.R. Apted and Susan Hannabuss, *Painters in Scotland, 1301–1700: A Biographical Dictionary* (Edinburgh: 1978), 64–65; John Melvil summoned by the Presbytery of Aberdeen for making “ane Crucifix at the burial of the Lady of Gicht,” suggesting that there were painters operating in the region and circles defined by this group of Conn tower houses.

and then transport for a considerable distance inland. Tradition further relates that the earl of Erroll being absent when the siege began, the castle garrison was commanded by his 19-year-old daughter (or perhaps his mistress?) Rohaise; Rohaise and her followers are said to have escaped when the castle collapsed by means of a secret passage that may still survive, there being a heavy flagstone with a ring pull at the foot of the stairs. After Mary's son James VI made his peace with the rebels in 1597, the earl of Erroll was allowed to rebuild Delgatie, but not so strong that it might resist another siege. Whether the upper levels of the turnpike stair date from the 1570s or from the reconstruction in the late 1590s is uncertain, but its remarkable 12-foot diameter makes it one of the largest in Scotland and places it almost on a par with the much more famous stair at Fyvie Castle built around 1599–1603. The solar within the jamb retains its rib vault, and the hall was probably vaulted like those of Gight and Towie; although vaults strengthen a solid structure, particularly against the threat of being set on fire, the effects of Delgatie's being shaken down during the bombardment must have been absolutely devastating.

At Delgatie the rib-vaulted oratory gallery still survives, but both its opening into the hall and its window have long since been blocked up. Unlike those at Craig, Towie, and probably at Gight, however, it is not in one of the hall's end gables but rather at the center of the hall's east flank and within the angle of the L-plan, a position from which it was equally accessible from the main stair. It is the only surviving oratory to be correctly orientated east-west, and the arrangement of the congregation sitting or standing longitudinally (that is, lengthwise rather than depthwise) within the hall would have ensured that no one was too far back from the celebration of the Mass to see clearly, even if their view were an oblique one. The oratory's sacrament house, a small, pointed-arch recess finely carved with stone curtains draped back, has been reset as a cupboard or ambry within "Queen Mary's Room."

Although not discussed by Simpson in the context of these four houses, the similarity of the hall at Balbegno in Kincardineshire, built for John Wood and Elizabeth Irvine sometime before 1569, to the hall at Towie Barclay has long been recognized. It is of almost exactly the same dimensions, and more particularly, its vaulting is constructed in the same French rather than English manner, the masonry webs or infill being laid consistently parallel to the central and transverse ribs. The oratory at Balbegno is no longer visible, but it retains a relocated sacrament house with carved stone curtains similar to that at Delgatie. While the involvement of the Conns thus seems certain, Balbegno, although an L-plan, is fundamentally different from the Simpson group in that its stair has always been within the angle formed between the main block and

the jamb. It is not at the back wall in the junction of the main block and the jamb as in other houses of the Conn plan-type.¹³

Fedderate, however, while not exactly corresponding to the Simpson group, does seem to have been very closely related. Built for the Crawfords in 1557, it survives only in fragmentary condition now, but it was well recorded in the 19th century by the artist James Giles and by David MacGibbon and Thomas Ross.¹⁴ Within the L-plan, the turnpike stair was in the same position as those of the Simpson group and rose through the full height of the structure. The oratory appears to have been in the hall's southwest gable next to the stair, but by 1887 the gable had fallen. The key difference at Fedderate was that the entrance was not within the angle but instead within the long wall formed by the main block and the jamb, opening onto the stair directly. There must have been some reason for this since it was not such a secure arrangement in defensive terms, the access to the upper floors being much more vulnerable.

Craigievar Castle is one of the most celebrated of all Scottish tower houses. Its present picturesque appearance dates from 1626 when it was remodeled with the distinctive upper works characteristic of the Bell family of master masons for the Baltic merchant William Forbes, the son of a noted Protestant family. However, the house as first built in the later 16th century has been identified by Ian Bryce as a smaller example of a Conn-type L-plan tower house built for the Catholic Mortimers, who were obliged to sell their estate in 1610.¹⁵ Craigievar's main block is smaller than those of Simpson's group, and as such it is particularly interesting since it illustrates a developing expertise in the tighter planning of smaller tower houses. The short wing or jamb is offset to give more wall space for windows and to encompass the projection of the stair, which has been in the usual Conn position, a further outshot on the north front accommodating the hearth of the kitchen. The vault of the second-floor great hall is – uniquely – a groin rather than a barrel vault, its masonry now

13 The building history of Balbegno is a complex subject that falls outside the scope of this chapter. It should be noted, however, that the walls are not intaken above the second-floor vaulting, and only the jamb has a parapet. As Balbegno has a remarkable resemblance to Monymusk as first built (Monymusk was recorded by the early 18th-century architect Alexander Jaffray), its design would appear to have been changed during the course of construction. While not specifically Catholic, its external sculpture is of extraordinary interest, as is the painted armorial of its vault commemorating those who engineered the downfall of the Regent Morton in 1581.

14 As authors of *The Castellated and Domestic Architecture of Scotland from the Twelfth to the Eighteenth Century*, 5 vols (Edinburgh: 1887–92), 1:357.

15 Ian B.D. Bryce, "Craigievar: A Fresh Look at Scotland's Premier Tower-House," *Architectural Heritage* 11 (2000), 1–11.

concealed by magnificent Forbes Renaissance plasterwork. As in the larger Conn houses, the hall at Craigievar originally had an oratory gallery. This was correctly orientated, extending across the hall's east-end window and accessed from the turnpike stair rising between the main block and the jamb. It was destroyed when the window was deepened in 1826, but clear evidence of it has been preserved within the fabric.

As first built, all of the Conn-type tower houses of the mid-to-later 16th century were remarkable in still being 15th century in their concept and appearance. They had parapet walks and cap-houses at a time when simple roofs with dormer-headed windows and angle turrets were beginning to become the norm. Their very conservative and robust construction reflects the continuing need for defensive structures for even the most powerful Catholic landowners. Delgatie seems to have been the finest of them, as befitted an earl, in having corbeled parapets executed in polished ashlar masonry and open turrets (or "bartizans") at the angles. Its jamb survives intact and gives the best impression of what Gight and Towie Barclay must once have looked like when they were first completed.

But where did the Conns learn the business of building? Their plan types are unique in the Northeast of Scotland, and comparisons are not easily found beyond it; and nowhere else except at Schivas¹⁶ do we find their elevated oratory galleries, all the other surviving examples being at floor level. These oratories were clearly designed for more than family use, positioned so that servants and tenants could attend the Mass, an important consideration if their parish church were by then in Reformed hands. In the words of Stewart Cruden, "Nowhere else does the Gothic spirit communicate itself so unambiguously as at Towie Barclay."¹⁷ The origins of the Conns' plan type, with the turnpike stair against the long wall at the junction of the main block and the jamb, can be traced back to Neidpath in Peeblesshire, where the entrance for good defensive reasons adjoins the stair, as at Fedderate. The *Inventory* of Peeblesshire compiled by the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland ascribes Neidpath to the late 14th century, more than a century earlier than the Conn houses.¹⁸ Rather closer to the usual Conn arrangement is the late-15th-century tower house nucleus of Craigmillar where, however, there are three separate turnpike stairs, which between them rise from story

16 Also in Aberdeenshire; almost certainly the work of Thomas Leiper, ca. 1585.

17 Stewart Cruden, *The Scottish Castle: Studies in History and Archaeology* (Edinburgh: 1960), 166.

18 Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland, *Peeblesshire: An Inventory of the Ancient Monuments*, 2 vols (Edinburgh: 1967), 2:243–61.

to story through the full height of the house, probably to confuse and disorient intruders. Almond Castle, Stirlingshire, which was built at the same date as Craigmillar or perhaps slightly earlier, is also similar, but there the entrance is at second floor, an arrangement that the Conns consistently avoided. None of these has the rib-vaulted vestibules linked by corridors to broad turnpike stairs that are so characteristic of the Conns. Whether the Conns had seen or worked on any southern house of this type can only be a matter of speculation, but what is beyond all doubt is that they learned the craft of rib vaulting from a French or French-trained master, perhaps in the Royal Works. What is perhaps most interesting about this group of houses is that it seems to express a unified aesthetic shared by a lively and quietly defiant Catholic community around the time of the Scottish Reformation.

If the Conn-type tower houses seem to represent a distinctly Catholic, Counter-Reformation trend in Northeast Scotland, its most potent architectural expression took quite another form [see Figure 10.2]. The Gordon earls of Huntly had served as adjutants to the Scottish kings since the mid-15th century, but their great power, and their adherence to their Catholic beliefs, resulted in Huntly Castle being sacked three times within the space of 80 years.

The potential threat that the Gordons posed to the Crown, and particularly to the Crown's relationship with its prickly Protestant nobles, was recognized even before the Reformation by Mary of Guise, as regent for her daughter Mary, and her fellow countryman the French ambassador, who after a particularly lavish reception dubbed the fourth earl "the Cock o' the North" and urged her to clip his wings. Within a year of Mary's accession to the throne she was obliged – although herself a devout Catholic – to confront the earl in battle at Corrichie in 1562. The earl himself fortunately died of apoplexy immediately afterwards, but his son and six others were executed, their lands were forfeited, and Huntly Castle was looted of its treasures and burned. In 1565 the titles were restored, and Huntly Castle was rebuilt, but in 1594 the sixth earl was implicated in the Spanish Blanks Plot¹⁹ and with the earl of Erroll led a rebellion that resulted in the defeat of the Protestants under the earl of Argyll.

In the face of this challenge to his authority, James VI himself came north, shattering Erroll's tower house at Slains before he arrived at Huntly. The great tower house that stood in the center of Huntly Castle's courtyard was likewise shattered with explosives lent by Protestant burgesses in Aberdeen, but the palace block as a separate and much less defensible structure was only partially

19 Francis Shearman, "The Spanish Blanks," *IR* 3 (1952), 81–103.

demolished, losing its northeast entrance tower that faced inward toward the castle court. The palace's main block and the big southwest drum tower attached to it, which together presented the principal front, survived structurally unscathed. After the king forgave the earl in 1597 and two years later advanced him as a marquess, Huntly Palace was resurrected in the most splendid fashion, the main block's third floor and attic being rebuilt as an elegant sequence of oriels by the English master mason Ralph Raleyn or Rawlinson, with an inscription carved in raised Roman capitals proclaiming the Gordons' elevation to ever-greater status. Surprisingly for an English mason, the architecture was earlier 16th-century French in character rather than Elizabethan, leaving one to wonder whether the marquess had obtained a design from France or whether Raleyn himself had worked there.

Within the castle courtyard, the palace's entrance tower was rebuilt. Over the doorway was a remarkable heraldic panel, rising up the tower's circular shaft. This displayed the arms of the marquess and his wife, Henrietta Stewart, with above, those of James VI and his queen, Anne of Denmark, flanked by supporters and the Scottish crest, a front-facing lion: all in all, a clear expression of loyalty to the nation and the sovereign. But above these again two further panels represented a still higher allegiance, which in Protestant eyes was wholly unacceptable: first, a very complete set of Symbols of the Passion – the Cross, Christ's pierced heart, hands, and feet, the Crown of Thorns, the clothes for which the Roman soldiers drew lots, and the instruments of the Crucifixion, with the motto *Absit Nobis Gloriari Nisi in Cruce Domini Nostri Iesu Christi* (from Gal. 6:14: "God forbid that I should glory save in the Cross of our Lord Jesus Christ"); then above again, the head of Christ in Glory with – for the marquess – the singularly appropriate motto *Divina Virtute Resurgo* ("I rise again with divine power").²⁰ The composition was surmounted by a figure of either Saint George slaying the dragon or (more probably) Saint Michael in combat with the devil, in reference not just to the defeat of heresy but to the elevation of both the fourth earl and the marquess himself to the French Ordre de Saint-Michel in 1548 and 1594 respectively. James VI's own father, Henry Stewart, Lord Darnley, and his grandfather, James V, who had died after the disastrous defeat by the English at Solway Moss in 1542, had also been members of the order, and

²⁰ Although very much more directly expressed, the message conveyed by the carved panel at Huntly is similar to that encoded in the last of the recusant Sir Thomas Tresham's emblematic buildings in Northamptonshire, Lyveden New Bield (1602–04), positioning the patron in relation to both religious and political allegiances. Tresham also quotes *Absit Nobis Gloriari* on the inscription frieze at Lyveden, and among its hieroglyphics is a complex roundel of the instruments of the Passion.

the unmistakable inference was that the interests of the sovereign and those of the Counter-Reformation in Scotland were inextricably entwined.²¹

In 1640 a garrison of Covenanters was billeted in the castle against the second marquess's wishes, and the palace's religious iconography was chiseled off by Captain James Wallace. The castle was seized back for the Royalists by the marquess of Montrose in 1644, but three years later, James Gordon of Newton was starved into surrender. He and his "Irish" (meaning, Gaelic-speaking) retainers were summarily executed and the marquess himself beheaded in 1649. Huntly Palace survives as a magnificent shell, and for its future preservation perhaps there remains some hope that it might yet be reroofed, John Claude Nattes having recorded its appearance when it was still almost complete.

The tower houses associated with the Conn family are grouped in a relatively small geographical area, and it is an area notable also for the production of Christian humanist writers, who remained Roman Catholic after the Reformation – four of them were all born in the area of the Conn castles, near to the Aberdeenshire town of Turriff, in the second half of the 16th century. John Hay of Delgaty, S.J. (1547–1607), controversialist, scholar, and miscellaneous writer, was in fact born just before work began on the present castle at Delgaty.²² His writings, and his spheres of Continental activity, were very varied: as well as the vernacular controversy of his 1580 *Certaines Demandes concerning the Christian Religion*, he published recensions of Jesuit reports from the foreign missions to China and Japan, and ended his career as rector of the Jesuit University of Pont-à-Mousson. William Barclay (ca. 1570–1627), medical doctor and Latin poet,²³ was son of Walter Barclay

21 The Aberdeenshire Leslies, who enjoyed considerable success on the European mainland as mercenary soldiers throughout the 17th century, being ennobled in the Holy Roman Empire, sent a representative, Count Patrick Leslie, back to their chief seat of Fetternear near Inverurie at the end of the century. He rebuilt the Palace of Fetternear in the years 1691–93, placing two carved panels over the entrance to the central block – the lower, larger panel some six feet high represents Patrick Leslie's arms impaled with those of his wife, the coronet seemingly that of a count of the Empire; but above is a much smaller panel with the initials I.H.S., *Iesus Hominum Salvator*, and M.R.A., *Maria Regina Angelorum*, together with Patrick and Mary's own initials, expressing not only their Catholic faith but the Counter-Reformation cult of Holy Names. That was a bold statement even in the conservative climate of Northeast Scotland during the late 17th century, particularly after the crisis of 1688–89 and the purges of Aberdonian non-jurors during the early 1690s. Cf. Worthington, *Scots in Habsburg Service*.

22 Alasdair Roberts, "Hay, John (1547–1607)," in *ODNB*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/12724>.

23 Matthew Steggle, "Barclay, William (b. c.1570-d. in or after 1627)," in *ODNB*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/1353>.

of Towie and his wife Elspeth Hay (not to be confused with the celebrated civil lawyer William Barclay [1546–1608] who was descended from Barclay of Gartly, near Huntly in Aberdeenshire, and was father of the author of *Argenis*).²⁴ Barclay of Towie studied at Pont-à-Mousson, when his namesake was also there, and then went on in the 1590s to be a favorite student of Justus Lipsius at Louvain. He would appear to have spent his later life in Scotland and England and to have written on medical topics and composed Latin verse.²⁵ The controversialist, antiquarian, and poet Thomas Dempster of Muiresk (1579–1625) was also born within a few miles of Turriff,²⁶ and despite a pugnacity of temper that caused him to live an unusually nomadic life even for an early modern scholar, he taught at the University of Paris and eventually secured the chair of humanities at the University of Bologna and a papal knighthood. His edition of Rosinus's *Antiquitatum Romanorum corpus*, initially published at Paris in 1613, was widely reprinted, and his controversial *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Scotorum*, was first published in Bologna in 1627, two years after his death. The family of Conn the architect itself produced a scholar and papal diplomat, George Conn of Auchry (d.1640), nuncio to the court of Henrietta Maria²⁷ and author of a hagiographic biography of Mary, Queen of Scots published at Rome in 1624. He also wrote a work of controversy, claiming Celtic saints for Scotland rather than Ireland, which was published at Bologna in 1621. Considered together, these scholars and controversialists demonstrate the extraordinary internationalism and energy of the Catholic community in Aberdeenshire around the time of the Reformation, suggesting anything but a backwater fading into insignificance and indeed raising the question whether Catholic education of real quality might not have been available somewhere near Turriff, perhaps at Delgaty Castle.

24 Marie-Claude Tucker, "Barclay, William [Guillaume] (1546–1608)," in *ODNB*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/1352>.

25 His verse is gathered in W.K. Leask (ed.), *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, vol. 3: *Poetae minores* (Aberdeen: 1910), 3–20.

26 Alexander Du Toit, "Dempster, Thomas (1579–1625)," in *ODNB*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/7473>.

27 R. Malcolm Smuts, "Conn, George (d. 1640)," in *ODNB*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/6082>.

2 Two Painted Rooms

The early modern interiors of Huntly and Delgaty Castles have disappeared, only fireplaces having survived in the roofless palace block at Huntly. One of these is emblematic, with the garlanded obelisk wreathed in ivy, implying the motto *Te stante virebo*, expressing loyalty to the sovereign (an interesting assertion in context) from Claude Paradin's *Devises heroïques*.²⁸ It is not unreasonable to conjecture that the walls of at least some rooms were covered with the vigorously painted emblematic schemes that are found in gentry houses throughout Renaissance Scotland.²⁹ This was most likely also the case at another major Aberdeenshire castle, Fyvie, which belonged to a Catholic magnate, Alexander Seton, 1st Earl of Dunfermline (1555–1622), whose painted gallery in his Lowland house is discussed below, but any trace of early modern work at Fyvie has been obliterated by subsequent alterations.

Only one significant painted interior survives in Northeast Scotland that can be identified with certainty as an early modern Catholic chapel: the painted gallery in the townhouse in the Guestrow in Aberdeen, known as Provost Skene's House [see Figure 10.3]. This has been discussed in commendable detail by Fern Insh, in her 2012 *Recusant History* article,³⁰ so a summary account here will suffice. Dating from the mid-1630s and commissioned by Matthew Lumsden (d.1644), whose arms, and those of his wife, appear in the painting, the room's coved ceiling is painted with scriptural scenes, strapwork, angels, and symbolic objects and devices. The standard of design overall is high, the execution of the figurative scenes being modest imitations of contemporary Continental prints, including one, now very damaged, imitation of Albrecht Dürer. Overall, the scheme – allowing for much damage over the centuries – would appear to represent the 15 mysteries of the rosary, despite the apparent discrepancies of numbers of panels:

There only appeared to be eleven possible scenes in the scheme. The combined scene [Assumption and Coronation] in the central roundel, however, takes the count up to twelve. Three other missing events

28 Claude Paradin, *Devises heroïques* (Lyon: 1557), 73. The verse epigram or commentary offers the explanation that the monarch is the obelisk and the plant climbing up it is the faithful subject depending on the monarch for support.

29 For the definitive account of these, see Michael Bath, *Renaissance Decorative Painting in Scotland* (Edinburgh: 2003).

30 Fern Insh, "Recusants and the Rosary: A Seventeenth-Century Chapel in Aberdeen," *RH* 31 (2012), 195–218.

from the Mysteries, the Visitation, the Crowning with Thorns and the Scourging at the Pillar, are not represented by figurative scenes in the panels based on continental prints, but are instead provided emblematically in cartouches embedded within the strapwork frame surrounding the other scenes. The Crowning with Thorns and the Scourging at the Pillar are, for example, represented together by a literal crown of thorns encircling the Arma Christi.³¹

The IHS is also present in a roundel; Insh suggests that it recalls the Visitation as well as the Presentation and also brings the badge of the Society of Jesus to mind, raising the possibility that this was a confraternity chapel: "The likelihood of this function is further reinforced when one notes that Rosary beads were originally entwined throughout the strapwork frame of the ceiling and are traceable in a couple of photographs depicting remnants of the original form."³²

Her conclusion, that to commission such a painted room and to "sign" it heraldically in the Aberdeen of the 1630s represented no unreasonable risk to the patron, is certainly correct. Many instances of the moderation of the Aberdonian Reformation could be cited, and toleration between religious communities seems to have been practiced to an unusual degree. There is at least antiquarian assertion that there was no serious disturbance of the image of the Virgin in the cathedral until the threat of the arrival of the English armies in 1642 prompted its removal, but not destruction.³³

In one of the comparatively few Catholic houses in the Lowlands, Alexander Seton's Pinkie House, at Musselburgh near Edinburgh, is the most extensive painted room to survive from early modern Scotland. Certainly, his painted gallery's emblems and inscriptions convey a message of stoicism, self-control, and wariness as well as praising the merits of friendship, hospitality, and retirement [see Figure 10.4]. It also seems wholly possible that Seton fostered an explicitly Counter-Reformation educational culture there, while on his lands in Moray, he seems to have gone to some lengths to preserve his control over what remained of Pluscarden Priory, possibly even repairing the priory church after the first incursion of iconoclast reformers.³⁴

31 Insh, "Recusants and the Rosary," 210.

32 Insh, "Recusants and the Rosary," 211.

33 William Orem, *A Description of the Chanonry in Old Aberdeen, In the Years 1724 and 1725* (London: 1782), 102–04. The image, venerated as Our Lady of Good Success, is now in the Church of Notre-Dame du Finistère in Brussels.

34 See Davidson, "Alexander Seton," 315–42.

The painted gallery at Pinkie has been so extensively described by Michael Bath³⁵ that it is necessary here only to observe that it is a scholar's room, which is also to some extent a statesman's palace of memory, reflecting Seton's Christian humanist education at the Collegium Germanicum in Rome. It is in part an evocation or re-creation of the classical past, an evocation of the painted gallery of antiquity, but, in its series of emblem paintings and related inscriptions, it is also redolent of contemporary Jesuit college cultures of *emblemata* and the *affixiones*. Indeed, the ranks of emblems on the unified theme of the wise conduct of a life recalls vividly the visual culture of festal days in a Jesuit college.³⁶ The chief work on which Seton draws is the *Emblemata horatiana* by Otto van Veen, published at Antwerp in 1607, but it is possible that the *trompe l'oeil* architecture of the whole ceiling, with its principal and subsidiary domes, is derived from the frontispiece engraving of Blaise de Vigenère's *Images ou Tableaux De platte peinture desdeux Philostrates Sophistes*, which was published at Paris in 1614 with illustrations by Jaspar Isaac.³⁷

The ceiling functions in a complex way: as allusion to Philostratus and Horace; as a subtle and sustained exercise in applied emblematics; as a recollection of Jesuit festal *affixiones*; as a treatise on restraint, stoicism, and governance; and even as self-portrait (there is indeed a portrait of Seton in an emblem of temperance on the ceiling). It is perhaps most urgently, in the context of Seton's Christian humanist education, a place of privacy, retreat, and consolation. The oriel window at the end of the gallery, which faces towards Edinburgh, is guarded by the emblematic figure of the crane, the bird believed by the ancients never to sleep, a reflection of the importance of vigilance to a discreet Catholic statesman in a militantly Protestant Lowland society.

35 Michael Bath, "Literature, Art and Architecture," in *The Edinburgh History of Scottish Literature*, vol. 1: *From Columba to the Union (until 1707)*, ed. Thomas Owen Clancy et al. (Edinburgh: 2007), 248–49; Bath, *Decorative Painting in Renaissance Scotland*, 79–94; Bath, "Alexander Seton's Painted Gallery," in *Albion's Classicism: The Visual Arts in Britain, 1550–1660*, ed. Lucy Gent (New Haven: 1995), 79–109.

36 For Jesuit festal *affixiones*, see Karel Porteman, *Emblematic Exhibitions (Affixiones) at the Brussels Jesuit College (1630–1685): A Study of the Commemorative Manuscripts* (Brussels: 1996).

37 Michael Bath, "Philostratus Comes to Scotland: A New Source for the Pictures at Pinkie," *Journal of the Northern Renaissance* 5 (2013), <http://www.northernrenaissance.org/philostratus-comes-to-scotland-a-new-source-for-the-pictures-at-pinkie/>, accessed 30 November 2016.

3 James Fraser's Description of the Scottish Benedictine House at Regensburg (1659)

These survivors in Scotland itself are complimented by the survival of an unpublished account in some detail of the decoration and iconography of the exiled Scottish house of Benedictines at Regensburg in Germany. This account is particularly interesting in the way that it shows the perpetuation of a distinctly Scottish Catholic version of the Scottish past. The manuscript *Triennial Travels* of James Fraser of Phopachy, a young graduate of the University of Aberdeen, connected to both Catholic and moderate Protestant branches of the extended Fraser clan, records his travels throughout Europe in the years 1657–60, and particularly his use of an astonishing network of exiled Catholic clerics, Scottish mercenary soldiers, merchants, and academics to assist him in his travels. The most significant passage for the study of Scottish Catholic material culture comes in his description of the Scottish Benedictine monastery in Regensburg. This house had been transferred from Irish to Scottish hands only in 1577 and had had the scholar and polemicist Ninian Winzet (1518–92) as its abbot. It can therefore be assumed that, while most of the fabric and some of the fitting of the church might predate the year of transfer, everything with specifically Scottish reference must date from the late 16th or early 17th centuries.

Fraser's description gets off to a bad start with a fictitious claim to a Scottish king (from the fictitious king lists of Hector Boece's *Historia gentis Scotorum* of 1527) as founder of the monastery, with further fictitious subventions from historical figures: "It was founded in the yeare 820 by Achaius K. of Scotland, and was at first but a Cell for 3 Monks. King David and King William gave it revenues being its onely benefactors."³⁸ But then he describes the fabric as he saw it, suggesting that quite considerable adaptation had taken place since the Scots took control in the 1570s:

The Church is a noble fabrick and well lighted with a high stone 4-cornered steeple upon the east end of it towards the City and a peece of the top covered with Lead ... ye best prospect in the City and 4 Choice bells, James, Andrew, John and Tom, their Christian names. The High Alter is a statly curious Carving in Stone. It hath 4 Chappells two at each side of the Church. S Andrewes & St Giles to the South and St Bridget & St Katherine north, with their statues over the entry, exactly done in whit

³⁸ Aberdeen, Aberdeen University Library, MS 2538, III, fols 9v–12r.

marble, with their names and dates of Canonization, in each of those Chappells there is masse, successively on ordinary holy dayes, Matins & Vespers Dayly and a Case of Organs above the west entry the sweetest though not the greatest in Ratisbone, which brings a great Concourse here very often.

It can be reasonably conjectured, despite the presence of Saint Brigid of Kildare (also culted extensively in Scotland) that this scheme, with Saints Andrew and Giles, dates from the late 16th century. A retrospective Scottish history has been written over the centuries of Irish history that preceded the change of ownership.

Fraser's description continues:

The pavement of this Church is a checker worke, yellow and dark stone, a rich work, and at ye west end near the great door St Felix Scotus his tomb, of black marble, as smooth as glas, curiously [worked], wt his name Martyrdom and Miracles in Gothick Letters round about; this Saints day is solemnly kept. S. Felix Fest: March 31. Over the Porch to the weste is the Statue of Christ uppon the Cross: most lively done in curous bright stone, the [rayes] about his head done with great art, with this verse or dis[tych] litle under

Solus Amor Fecit transfigere vulnere Christum;

*Solus Amor mihi, Stigmata Sacra figit.*³⁹

There is a handsome stone wall round about the Church, and many Burialls especially of Strangers Scots and English, and one statly Tomb of an [*sic*] Maior Alexander [Lessly] who died in the Emperor Ferd. 2 his service, Anno 1620. To the Southward of the Church stands the Monastery, a great house, the Stately entry built by Abbot Michell 1530. The Hall of the ground well paved & great lights; to the westward yow pass to the [Dining] roome a pleasant [light] lodging and a lamp of light, above ye 3 windowes the pictures of K. Achius, K. David and King William of Scotland [and] the pictures of the 5 greater Prophets & 17 lesser on the north side with the history of their lives and martyrdom, in Choice Latin, this parlor is paved after the same maner that the Church is of Checker work, a door to lead yow out into the garden, a delight full pleasant walke the tower to the South or Starecase built by 3 Abbots q[uah] the Abbots Chamber

39 This must refer to sculpture inside the church because outside, the Romanesque tympanum is still *in situ*; there appears to be no record of the shrine or cult of Saint Felix.

is, and also the Priors and also the Liberary on the Top from ye old work to the new, a long and large Roome, is well furnished with varieties of Bookes especially Manuscripts of all sises in qu[hilk] they Glorie.⁴⁰

The likenesses in Regensburg of fictitious Scottish founders may relate to a painting of unknown provenance in the collections of the University of Aberdeen, apparently of 17th-century date, showing a fair-bearded, crowned king in fantastical armor, with the scalloped armholes and collar that often indicate a remote historical period in baroque painting, and with a breastplate ornamented with two roundels of the Pelican in Its Piety. This object, although its provenance is unknown, might be conjectured to be close in purpose to the king pictures that Fraser records in Regensburg, as a simulacrum of an ancestor or founder, comparable to the sequences of pictures of Saxon royal saints exhibited in the 17th century in the English College at Valladolid and the English convent at Lisbon.⁴¹

4 The Survival and Preservation of Objects of Veneration and Memory

As has been suggested hitherto, the rate of survival of post-Reformation Catholic material culture is considerably better than is generally believed. One indication of the mentality of the Catholic community in its heartlands of Aberdeenshire and Moray is given by the pattern of post-Reformation preservation of Scotland's first printed book, the ambitious *Breviarium Aberdonense* of 1510. This is a crucial demonstration of who that community believed themselves to be in that this book represents a concerted attempt by Bishop Elphinstone and his circle to collect a comprehensive calendar of Scottish saints with their legends and with readings and prayers for their feast days, combined with newly composed hymns (some in classical meter) for the major Marian feasts as celebrated in Aberdeen. It is of importance as the first surviving book printed in Scotland (and indeed a copy was presented to the University of

⁴⁰ The likenesses of the kings of Scotland represent part of the impulse to overwrite the actual Irish history with a fictional Scottish history, even going so far as to supply a first millennium legendary Scottish founder for the monastery. Some of the Regensburg manuscripts, having been brought to Fochabers in Scotland in the 19th century by the last of the monks, were at Fort Augustus for most of the 20th century, and are now in the National Library of Scotland.

⁴¹ Catalog no. ABDUA 39116.

Edinburgh library as early as the 1630s, presumably as an object of historical or bibliographical interest), but it is also the chief source that preserves Scottish liturgical material and records a wide conspectus of pre-Reformation local and national cults. In short, despite its many shortcomings of layout, printing, and organization, it is perhaps the most comprehensive single printed record of what Elphinstone's reformed-from-within *Ecclesiae Scotticanae* had believed and celebrated in the age of Scottish *devotio moderna*, and what Elphinstone's church had recorded and preserved from the ages that had gone before.

After the Reformation, of five surviving copies, two were in the possession of Catholic gentry in Aberdeenshire: the Strathmore copy (now in the National Library of Scotland) belonged to Francis Hay of Delgaty (fl.1676). He would appear to have been a pupil at Regensburg and then a soldier on the Continent, like so many Scottish Catholics, and to have died at the Leslie castle at Ptuj in Slovenia;⁴² the Ker copy (also in the NLS) belonged to a George Arbuthnot. The *Compassio Beatae Mariae* pamphlet, now bound with the Strathmore copy, belonged to John Lesley of Lesley in Aberdeenshire, and it is tempting to speculate that it may have been united with what is now the Strathmore copy of the breviary either at Ptuj or on the Lesleys' return to Fetternear Palace in the late 17th century. Copies now lost belonged to the Scots College in Paris and to the controversialist Thomas Dempster of Muireisk in Bologna.⁴³ While the interest of Dempster can be assumed to be primarily rooted in the study of history as a weapon of religious controversy, and while the use later made of the Paris copy by Abbé Thomas Innes was historical and scholarly, the value of a pre-Tridentine prayer book to Catholic laypeople, in Aberdeenshire or in exile, in the 17th century poses interesting questions.

It cannot have been of direct contemporary devotional use, as it would have been supplanted by the Tridentine breviary, and by the Counter-Reformation devotions introduced by what was predominantly a Jesuit mission. Therefore, its preservation of necessity implies a degree of awareness of the present and past states of Scottish Catholicism, even if it was as simple a desire as to preserve the commemorations of local saints contained in the text. Thus, some

42 Recorded as having died at "Pettavia in Styria" in 1676; see William Forbes-Leith (ed.), *Records of the Scots Colleges at Douai, Rome, Madrid, Valladolid and Ratisbon*, vol. 1: *Registers of Students* (Aberdeen: 1906), 277.

43 For a census of all surviving copies of the *Breviarium*, see Iain Beavan, Peter Davidson, and Jane Stevenson, "The Breviary of Aberdeen," *Transactions of the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society* 6 (2011), 11–41.

consciousness of a community and its history, as recorded by the *Breviarium*, must have constituted an element of personal and communal identity.⁴⁴

The rate of survival of material from Aberdeen Cathedral is on the whole poor, although this may well be the result of accident rather than of deliberate destruction.⁴⁵ Elsewhere in Aberdeen, attempts seem to have been made to preserve at least some ecclesiastical possessions: King's College Chapel preserved its woodwork intact, and the *mensa* of its high altar has been returned to its pre-Reformation position after centuries of reuse as a tombstone. Several objects, including possibly the Joachim and Anna vestment, discussed below, were salvaged from Saint Nicholas, the town church of "New" Aberdeen.

As with the *Breviarium*, local piety may have influenced the preservation of the Antwerp-made *Epistolar* presented to Saint Machar's Cathedral in 1527 by Bishop Gavin Dunbar.⁴⁶ This subdeacon's book of Epistle readings is the sole survivor of the furniture of the pre-Reformation high altar. It is a finely written volume of the New Testament Epistle readings for the year, following the use of Sarum or Salisbury, modestly illuminated with flowers and Bishop Dunbar's arms on the first page. It also includes a calendar of the saints to be commemorated on each day of the liturgical year, and this follows the Scottish use of Elphinstone's *Breviarium Aberdonense*, thus demonstrating that his introduction of a distinctively Scottish ecclesiastical use had become the practice of at least the cathedral church of his own diocese. Again, an element of local identity is maintained with the preservation of Dunbar's *Epistolar*.

Similarly, the book of hours of James Brown has its origin in Aberdeen Cathedral, where Brown was dean during the episcopate of Elphinstone.⁴⁷ The manuscript vanished from sight between its first owner in the Chanonry of Aberdeen in the 1490s and its appearance in the collection of Duns Castle in the second half of the 19th century.⁴⁸ The manuscript bears every appearance of having been made specifically for a northern Scottish cleric, with connections

44 Apart from an Irish mission to the Irish- (Gaelic-) speaking Western Isles, and the activities of a few secular priests, the mission to Scotland was overwhelmingly a Jesuit initiative. Thomas M. McCoog, "Pray to the Lord of the Harvest": Jesuit Missions to Scotland in the Sixteenth Century," *IR* 53 (2002), 127–88.

45 Orem offers at least anecdotal evidence that certain images were not removed from Aberdeen Cathedral until the 1640s, with the threatened approach of the English army; *Description of the Chanonry in Old Aberdeen*, 100–04.

46 Iain Beavan, Peter Davidson, and Jane Stevenson, *The Library and Archive Collections of the University of Aberdeen: An Introduction and Description* (Manchester: 2011), 126–27. The manuscript is Aberdeen University Library, MS 21.

47 It is now in Edinburgh, NLS, MS Acc.4118.

48 David McRoberts, "Dean Brown's Book of Hours," *IR* 19 (1968), 144–67.

to Angus or the Mearns, and was most likely written and illuminated in Flanders around 1498, presumably having been ordered in the autumn of 1497 when Dean Brown was traveling home from Rome.⁴⁹ We can only conjecture that its calendar, including many of the specifically Scottish feasts that would shortly appear in the *Breviarium*, contributed to its preservation, possibly in the post-Reformation Catholic community at home or abroad, as much as did its fine illuminations and the beauty of its appearance.

Scottish saints are inserted in the litany on fols 101r–110v, and the calendar contains many of the Scottish saints culted in the *Breviarium*,⁵⁰ leading David McRoberts to suggest that Brown was indeed one of Elphinstone's colleagues in the task of compiling that work. Although the first of the full-page illustrations shows Dean Brown kneeling in prayer, attended by a bishop saint, presumably Saint Machar, the founder of the see of Aberdeen, the statue of Our Lady before whom they kneel, while corresponding to what we might call the general Scoto-Flemish appearance of ecclesiastical art associated with pre-Reformation Aberdeen, does not correspond to any known surviving image.

Also with a provenance in Northeastern Scotland at the turn of the 16th century is a much humbler primer, now fragmentary, of native manufacture and probably preserved from the early 16th century in the Catholic community of the North. It is now one of the Blairs Manuscripts on deposit in the library of the University of Aberdeen.⁵¹ Internal evidence dates the volume to around 1500, and its first owner names himself in the frequently found formula on fol. 4r:

Andrew Lundy with my hand
In my defens God me defend.

The combination of saints culted in the brief calendar (although there are in fact comparatively few Scots among them) would suggest a location of Fintray, north of Aberdeen, particularly the decisive presence of the name of Saint Modan combined with the rubrication of the name of Saint Giles.⁵² A series of devotions to the Virgin, both as the Woman in the Sun and in her nativity and childhood, accord with known northern Scottish devotions, to the *Mulier in Sole* in a chapel of the Abbey of Kinloss, and to the infancy in the dedication

49 McRoberts, "Dean Brown's Book of Hours," 162.

50 McRoberts, "Dean Brown's Book of Hours," 158.

51 William James Anderson, "Andrew Lundy's Primer," *IR* 11 (1960), 39–51.

52 Anderson, "Andrew Lundy's Primer," 40.

of King's College Chapel in Old Aberdeen, and in the Marian hymns of the *Breviarium*.⁵³ The history of the Lundy Primer is unknown until it appears, after the 19th-century restoration of the Catholic hierarchy, in the library of the archbishop of Saint Andrews and Edinburgh.

Exceptionally, in the British Isles, the colleges of early modern Aberdeen seem to have been happy to preserve, or receive as gifts, earlier codices, including medieval illuminated manuscripts, perhaps because there was enough of a Catholic presence in the region to assert that these were no longer current devotions, however much the Catholic community would appear to have valued them as objects of memory for themselves. The library of King's College was undisturbed at the Reformation, a direct index of the slow progress of Reformation in 1560s Aberdeen, as well as of the conservatism of Elphinstone's university foundation, thus being the only university library in the English-speaking world not to have been purged at this time. The library of Aberdeen's second college, the post-Reformation Marischal College, happily accepted the royal secretary Thomas Read's donation, including illuminated manuscripts, as early as 1624.⁵⁴

Local piety and tradition also preserved portraits of founders: the university has exhibited the fine 1500s portrait of the founder William Elphinstone continuously until recent decades.⁵⁵ The question of copies of, and substitutes for, lost pre-Reformation portraits will be considered below.

A certain amount was salvaged from the Aberdeen town churches, possibly through the intervention of local Catholic families, most notably the Leslies. Writing in 1899, F.C. Eeles noted the survival in the Blairs Library Collection of a missal, printed at Rouen in 1506,⁵⁶ which had been given in 1711 to the Scots College in Paris by Dominus Patrick Leith, probably a member of the family of Leith of Leith Hall. What is interesting, in the light of earlier speculations about liturgical material that survived the Reformation, is that this missal is also rich in manuscript additions, particularly to the calendar, thus constituting another memorial of the "Scottis use" of Elphinstone's Aberdeen.

53 Anderson, "Andrew Lundy's Primer," 45–46.

54 By the time of the Thomas Read bequest to Marischal College, Aberdeen, in 1624, there seems to have been little anxiety about accepting illuminated medieval manuscripts, even quite probably the magnificent Franco-Flemish book of hours, known erroneously as "The Burnet Psalter"; Beavan, Davidson, and Stevenson, *Library and Archive Collections*, 12–18 and 73–77.

55 Its museum number is ABDUA 30005.

56 F.C. Eeles, "Notes on a Missal Formerly Used in S. Nicholas, Aberdeen," *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 33 (1899), 440–60.

A set of *opus anglicanum* orphreys, probably dating from the later 15th century, now made up into a chasuble and in the collection of the Blairs Museum, depict events related to the nativity and infancy of the Virgin, most notably the meeting of Joachim and Anne at the Golden Gate.⁵⁷ It is not certain whence this was rescued by the Leslies, but it was kept at their palace of Fetternear, escaping destruction in the early 20th-century fire there, being one of a group of vestments lent to the contemporary bishop of Aberdeen. There would appear, on the evidence of the commemorations in the *Breviary of Aberdeen*, to have been a considerable devotional focus on the birth and childhood of the Virgin: there are hymns for her conception and nativity, both local compositions, and both in classical meters:⁵⁸

Sidus hoc primum rutilare cepit
 Ut careremus tenebris opacis
 Ut procellosos via per timores
 Tuta pateret

Anne conceptus reticendus ille
 Tantus ac talis canit ecce terra
 Pontus exultat recinuntque coelo
 Phoebus et astra.

The original dedication of the chapel of Elphinstone's university, subsequently known as King's College, was to the Virgin in her nativity, as the dedication of the parish church of the cathedral district of Old Aberdeen was to the Virgin of the Snows, from which the burial ground in its ruined shell is still known as the Snow Kirk. In the light of this devotional focus, it would seem overwhelmingly likely that the orphreys had been ordered, probably from the prestigious embroidery workshops of England, specifically for one of the Aberdonian

57 Penelope Dransart and N.Q. Bogdon, "The Material Culture of Recusancy at Fetternear," *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 134 (2004), 466. This article also mentions, without giving its current location, a Spanish statue of the Immaculate Conception believed to have been at Fetternear.

58 "This star first begins to shine / So that we may be freed from deep darkness / So that the way through storming terrors / May lie safe. / Should so great and wonderful a conception of Anna's / Be greeted with silence? Behold, the earth sings, / The sea rejoices, the sun and the stars re-echo / From the heavens."

foundations with a dedication or a particular devotion to the infant Mary, whose figure can be seen on Elphinstone's own episcopal seal.⁵⁹

In the mid-19th century, the Leslie's also gave to the Catholic parish church that they had founded on their lands at Fetternear an early 16th-century banner, now in the National Museum of Scotland. This banner, professionally embroidered in silk on linen, and abandoned incomplete, shows the Image of Pity – the bleeding Christ surrounded by the instruments of the Passion in an edicule, the whole surrounded by a stylized representation of a rosary. The banner bears the arms of Gavin Douglas, poet, translator, and bishop of Dunkeld from 1515 until 1522, but appears to relate rather to his previous position as provost of the collegiate church of Saint Giles in Edinburgh, where there was a strong confraternity of the Holy Blood⁶⁰ and where various members of the family of Graham of Fintry (whose arms also appear on the banner) were attached to the church and confraternity. The fate of the banner, between the work on it being abandoned around 1521 and its appearance at Fetternear in the mid-19th century, is unknown and probably unknowable, but it is more than likely that the Leslie's maintained, over the centuries, a tradition (it might be too strong to call it a policy) of collecting and securing the few material remains of pre-Reformation Catholicism.

5 Preservation and Creation of Memorials of a Post-Reformation Martyr

There remains the question of objects created after the Reformation as substitutes for unavailable relics, which form part of the emerging cult of the Catholic queen thought of as a martyr: Mary, Queen of Scots. There are two authentic objects associated with Mary, Queen of Scots, which passed after her death to Antwerp in the Spanish Netherlands: her red velvet prayer book [see Figure 10.5] and a version of the Sheffield miniature of her that subsequently became the centerpiece of the composite reliquary now in the Blairs Museum in Aberdeen and known as the Blairs Jewel.

These objects inevitably generated others, the most significant being the memorial portrait of Mary painted in Antwerp, probably by Frans Pourbus

59 Walter de Grey Birch, *A History of Scottish Seals from the Eleventh to the Seventeenth Century, with Upwards of Two Hundred Illustrations Derived from the Finest and Most Interesting Examples Extant*, 2 vols (Stirling: 1907), 2 29–30.

60 David McRoberts, "The Fetternear Banner," *IR* 7 (1956), 69–86.

the Younger.⁶¹ This group of objects, either preserved or newly created, are all associated with the Curle family, Catholic refugees closely connected to Mary Stuart, living in Antwerp from the beginning of the last decade of the 16th century. This is confirmed by the copy of the testament in which Hippolytus (or Hugh) Curle, S.J. (ca. 1590–1638), disposed his family property before he joined the Society of Jesus in 1618, which is preserved in the Scottish Catholic Archives, currently on deposit at the University of Aberdeen.⁶² This document has been studied and partially transcribed in an article by Jos Vercruysse⁶³ and offers considerable evidence as to the origin of these objects in the household of Hugh's mother, Barbara Curle née Moubray (1559–1616), and her sister-in-law, Elizabeth Curle (1560–1620), both of whom had been Mary's attendants in her English captivity.

In this group of objects, almost the whole repertory of baroque art and ceremonial is represented – all intended to advance the posthumous reputation of Mary Stuart, which had beyond doubt become a crucial preoccupation of the Curle family. The final shaping of the whole narrative was in the hands of the next generation of the family, particularly those of Hippolytus Curle, whose education at Douai and membership of the Society of Jesus is crucial, especially to the form in which the reliquary known as the Blairs Jewel expresses its narrative, and it is from his testament, made before entering the Society and signed on 1 September 1618, that we can date the transfer of ownership of what has come to be known as the *Blairs Memorial Portrait of Mary, Queen of Scots* into the hands of the Jesuits.

To consider these objects roughly in chronological order of their creation – the mid-16th-century red velvet-covered prayer book that belonged to Mary Stuart (having been originally made in France as a diplomatic gift for Mary Tudor, whose arms as well as her badges of the rose of England and pomegranate of Aragon appear on the sumptuous binding) was almost certainly brought from England by the Curle family, and eventually given to the Jesuits, and thence to the Jesuit English College of Saint-Omer, whose successor school, Stonyhurst College in Lancashire, preserves it to this day.

The next object, considered chronologically, is the first version of the *Memorial Portrait* now at the Blairs Museum in Aberdeen, most probably painted in Antwerp in the 1590s. This object is fascinating as the focus of a cult,

61 This is now in the collections of the Scottish Catholic Heritage Trust at the Blairs Museum, Aberdeen.

62 University of Aberdeen, Special Collections Centre, PL/8/24, Testament of Hippolytus Curle. This is an authenticated copy transcribed in Douai on 21 March 1772.

63 Jos E. Vercruysse, "A Scottish Jesuit from Antwerp: Hippolytus Curle," *IR* 61 (2010), 137–49.

a deliberately created substitute for the corporeal remains that had been stringently retained by the Elizabethan authorities explicitly to prevent their being culted as relics. The scene of execution in the background is imitated from the engraving used by Richard Verstegan (ca.1550–1640), who closed his *Theatrum Crudelitatem Haereticorum Nostri Temporis* with an account of the execution of Mary as the culminating atrocity in a series of atrocities.⁶⁴ Closely related to this portrait is the monument to Barbara Mowbray Curle and Elizabeth Curle erected in 1618–20 by Hippolytus in Saint Andrew's Church in Antwerp, with its painted inset portrait of Mary on a copper panel,⁶⁵ which painting is clearly a version of the *Memorial Portrait*.

The superb composite reliquary now known as the Blairs Jewel, whose center is a miniature of Mary, almost certainly brought from England by the Curles, would appear to date also from around 1620 and was most plausibly assembled under the direction of Hippolytus Curle, with assistance from British Jesuits in the Low Countries. We know from Curle's 1618 testament that he also gave to the Jesuits a white-and-black encaustic agnus dei hanging on a golden chain, with an image of Saint Ignatius of Loyola painted on a crystal on one side and various relics on the other side.⁶⁶ This work is lost, but its nature as a Jesuit composite reliquary, double sided and under glass, relates it closely both to the Blairs Jewel and to the Sicheim composite reliquary now at Stonyhurst.⁶⁷ Both of these reliquaries draw on holdings of relics whose range matches precisely with the relic collections documented as in the ownership of the exiled British Jesuits at Saint-Omer and Watten.

The primary narrative of the Blairs Jewel is about martyrdom and the continuities of the Latin church. The miniature of Mary Stuart (taking the place of the corporeal relics that the Elizabethan authorities controlled stringently after her execution) is set in the context of women saints through the ages but also firmly associated with the Jesuits, whose IHS badge is set immediately above her likeness. The relics of women saints associate Mary Stuart with martyrs back to the persecutions of the Roman Empire but also with royal saints and a recent beata admired throughout Catholic Europe, Teresa of Ávila, beatified in 1614, and soon thereafter canonized in 1622 and adopted as patroness of Spain.

64 Richard Verstegan, *Theatrum Crudelitatem Haereticorum Nostri Temporis* [Theater of the cruelties of the heretics of our time] (Antwerp: 1587), 85.

65 <https://inventaris.onroerenderfgoed.be/erfgoedobjecten/6299>, accessed 27 July 2016.

66 Vercruyse, "Scottish Jesuit in Antwerp," 139.

67 See the article by Janet Graffius (chap. 17) in this volume.

The other side of the reliquary is an exposition of the continuities of the saints of the Roman church; it is also a bold assertion of the status of the queen of Scots as a contemporary martyr, and, crucially, one associated with the Jesuit mission to England. The names in the crown, which is surmounted by two splinters *ex ligno S. Crucis*, contains relics of Saint Quirinus and Saint Victor, both first-millennium martyrs, and of Saint Bernard of Clairvaux. In the letters MRA is one more first-millennium martyr, Saint Florian,⁶⁸ but all the other relics are of Jesuits, either formally beatified or else martyrs on the English mission: B. Aloysius, B. Stanislas, B. Pater Xavier, B. Pater Ignatius, B. Garneti [Henry Garnet], B. Walpoli [Saint Henry Walpole], and B. Campiani M [Saint Edmund Campion]. The description of Ignatius and Francis Xavier as blessed, together with the presence of Saint Teresa, then also blessed, indicate a date range: Saint Teresa was beatified in 1614 while Saint Ignatius and Saint Francis Xavier were canonized in March 1622, along with Teresa, so the jewel must have been made between 1614 and 1622.

At some later time, most likely in the 1640s, a second version of the *Memorial Portrait* (now part of the Royal Collection at Holyroodhouse in Edinburgh) was made. It clearly derives from the Blairs archetype, which was then in the Scots College at Douai, with altered inscriptions and much coarser handling of particularly the background elements. One possible interpretation of this later version is that it was made with the propagandist intention of rallying support to the Royalist cause of Charles I in Catholic Europe by reviving the memory of an earlier Stuart monarch illegally executed by an English parliament.

6 Works of Art for Catholic Families in Exile

Much work remains to be done on the holdings of the Scottish colleges on the Continent, especially the colleges at Douai and Valladolid (now Salamanca), although there is a full published account of the Scots College in Paris, which discusses papers and objects preserved there, and mostly destroyed by the French Revolution.⁶⁹ Also lost at that time were Stuart memorials, including the brain of James II/VII, preserved as a potential relic against his possible eventual canonization. The material culture of the Aberdeenshire Catholic families the Gordons of Wardhouse and Beldorney, in the wine trade at Cádiz,

68 The English Jesuits of Saint-Omer had a relic of Saint Florian that they had obtained from Italy, further evidence that the relics gathered in the Blairs Jewel beyond doubt came from a Jesuit source and almost certainly from Saint-Omer and Douai.

69 Brian M. Halloran, *The Scots College, Paris, 1603–1792* (Edinburgh: 1997).

and the Gordons of Letterfourie, in the Madeira trade, is yet to be studied in depth, but the Catholic Church of Saint Mary, Huntly, still known as “The Chapel of the Spanish Gordons,” with its imported paintings, gives some idea of the kinds of visual art that were patronized by the Catholics in the wine trade around the time of Emancipation.

The visual culture of the Leslie family in the Holy Roman Empire developed over several generations from the initial success of Count Walter Leslie (1606–67) in the assassination of Albrecht von Wallenstein at Cheb (also known as Eger) on 25 February 1634 and his subsequent collections at the castles of Nové Město nad Metují (Neustadt an der Mettau) in East Bohemia (now the Czech Republic) and Ptuj (Oberpettau) in Slovenia, the latter of which survive intact to a remarkable degree to the present day, including a Kaisersaal with portraits of real and imagined benefactors of the family, and a room of *turqueries*.⁷⁰ The scheme of mural decoration at Nové Město, briefly mentioned by the pioneering architectural historian of central Europe, Brian Knox, is a generalized mythological and emblematic glorification of a military family, which avoids all inconvenient specifics of recent family history.⁷¹ Little of what James Leslie, 2nd Count Leslie, sent to Scotland in the 1690s to furnish Fetternear Palace in Aberdeenshire (either sacred or secular) has survived two Jacobite risings, various lawsuits, and a fire, but one superb set of High Mass vestments survives at the Blairs Museum. What is particularly fascinating about these is their combination of Central European embroidered flowers with elements of reused gold work from Turkish banners captured at the Siege of Vienna.⁷²

There are a few other items now without context that probably also owe their origins to the Scottish Catholic diaspora, such as the ostrich egg shallow-carved with Jacobite emblems, dated 1766, now in the Marischal Museum in

70 Marija Hernja Masten, “Eduard Damisch: Zgodovina plemiške rodbin Leslie”; David Worthington, “‘On the High Post-Way between Vienna and Venice’: The Leslie Family in Solvenia”; Igor Weigl, “‘In a Caftan before the Emperor, with the *Haiduks* around Fraz and with a Library in Ptuj’: The Counts Leslie and Their City and Country Residences in the Seventeenth and the Eighteenth Century”; and Marjeta Ciglencečki, “The Legacy of the Leslie Family at the Castle of Ptuj,” in *Zapuščina rodbine Leslie na ptujskem gradu: Razstavni katalog muzeji se predstavljajo, Narodna galerija, Ljubljana*, 22. januar–24. februar 2002 [The legacy of the Leslie family at the castle of Ptuj: Exhibition catalog, Narodna Galerija, Ljubljana, 22 January–24 February 2002], ed. Polona Vidmar (Ptuj: 2002), 11–18, 81–86, 88–96, and 97–106.

71 Brian Knox, *The Architecture of Prague and Bohemia* (London: 1962), 75; a baroque fantasy of Leslie family history is offered in the late 17th century by an illustrated folio: William Aloysius Leslie, *Laurus Leslaeana explicata* (Graz: 1692).

72 These works are discussed at length in Peter Davidson and Prue King, “The Fetternear Vestments at the Blairs Museum,” *BCH* 33 (2016), 259–77.

Aberdeen. It is a hybrid artifact of the late baroque period that offers a closing point to this survey, at the moment when what had been exclusively religious iconography has begun to cross a shadowy line into the territories of Jacobite ideas of the sacrality of kingship, and the causes of minority Catholicism and Jacobitism have become inextricably linked.

7 Conclusion

Apart from the as yet not fully investigated material culture of the Scottish Catholic diaspora, both in the Scots colleges on the Continent and in the villas and castles of exiled magnates and merchants, the objects discussed here are broadly of the same kinds as those that survive from the English Catholic community after the Reformation. There are objects and books salvaged from the reformers, a process of salvage certainly rendered easier by the comparative moderation and slow pace of the Reformation in Aberdeen and the northern counties, and there are a few objects created for the exiled colleges, especially the group of objects commemorating Mary, Queen of Scots associated with the Curle family in exile in the Spanish Netherlands.

The rest of the objects, books, and manuscripts preserved and cherished by the northern Catholic families are of a piece with the aesthetic of the remarkable group of Aberdeenshire tower houses built for Catholic landowners by the family of Conn of Auchry. There is some sense of shared nostalgia for a perceived golden age, in visual terms the Scoto-French aesthetics of 20 years either side the turn of the 16th century, the years of Scoto-French cooperation leading up to the building of the palace at Stirling Castle, with its unequivocal Continental influences. In religious terms, these years are more or less coincident with the Catholic reform during the episcopate of William Elphinstone, clearly perceived by the northern Catholic community as crucial to the formation of the identity that they wished to preserve. This clear identification of a local golden age also aided the preservation of Scottish liturgical and devotional texts of the period of Aberdonian *Devotio Moderna*, particularly the “Scottis use” of the marked-up Saint Nicholas Missal, of the *Epistolar* of Aberdeen Cathedral, and of copies of the *Breviarium Aberdonense*. Indeed, the conclusion might be advanced that the survival of Roman Catholicism (and of Catholicizing doctrine and aesthetics in the Episcopal Church) in the North was rooted in the very success of Elphinstone’s reform from within, as much as in the early adoption of Tridentine and Counter-Reformation devotions and ideas by the cosmopolitan northern elite.



FIGURE 10.1 Plans of Tower Houses built in the mid-16th century by the Conn Family of Auchry in Aberdeenshire. Drawings from David MacGibbon and Thomas Ross, *The Castellated and Domestic Architecture of Scotland* (Edinburgh: 1887–92). PUBLIC DOMAIN. ARRANGED BY DAVID W. WALKER.



FIGURE 10.2 Overdoor sculpture at Huntly Castle, ca. 1597. Unknown stonemasons, working for the 6th Earl of Huntly. Carved red sandstone.
PUBLIC DOMAIN. PHOTOGRAPH: THE AUTHORS.



FIGURE 10.3 Decoration in the “painted gallery” or chapel. Provost Skene’s House, Guestrow, Aberdeen, 1630s. Unknown burgess painter, working for Matthew Lumsden. Tempera on pine boards.

PUBLIC DOMAIN. PHOTOGRAPH: THE AUTHORS.



FIGURE 10.4 Painted gallery at Pinkie House, Musselburgh, Midlothian, ca. 1613. Unknown painters, working for Alexander Seton, 1st Earl of Dunfermline. Tempera on pine boards.

PUBLIC DOMAIN. PHOTOGRAPH: PROFESSOR MICHAEL BATH.



FIGURE 10.5 Prayer Book of Mary, Queen of Scots, Lyons, 1558. Printed by Robert Granjon, Lyon, unknown bookbinders and embroiderers. Silver-gilt lettering and enamel on gold, red silk velvet, and silver thread over pasteboard. British Province of the Society of Jesus.

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Catholics in Wales

Hannah Thomas

1 Introduction

While the importance of the Catholic perspective to British history was largely lost in a stream of dominant Protestant narratives until the 1970s, with regard to Welsh Catholicism more particularly, its impact on the wider survival of post-Reformation Catholicism in the British Isles has been almost entirely overlooked. The impression created by the existing historiography relating to the early modern religious history of Wales is that the contribution to, and impact of, the principality on the Counter-Reformation was one of insignificance and minimal importance: Catholicism in Wales has hitherto been assumed to have died out rapidly after the reign of Elizabeth I, with the final blow being dealt by the successful scaremongering and furor of the Popish Plot in the late 1670s. John Bossy notes in the introduction to his germinal work *The English Catholic Community, 1570–1850* that his comments on “things Welsh are valid only to the degree that Welsh history may be incorporated with English; in so far as there is a Welsh Catholicism distinct from English, I am not competent, and have not sought, to talk about it.”¹ Similarly, Christopher Haigh noted that “missioners’ concentration upon the gentry and the south-east of England meant leakage from hitherto promising Catholic groups in the north, the north-west, the Welsh borders and Wales. Elizabethan losses in these areas cannot entirely be explained by Protestant preaching ... the organization of the mission was partly at fault.”²

Even some recent contributions to the field have little or nothing to say about the vital role played by the Catholic community in Wales, and Welsh historians themselves have paid little attention to the principality’s role as a Catholic stronghold, despite the region having been noted as a key component in the fight for survival by those working to find strategies in Rome by the early 1570s.³ Glanmor Williams writes off Catholicism as a faith that, where

1 John Bossy, *The English Catholic Community, 1570–1850* (London: 1979), 6.

2 Christopher Haigh, “Catholicism in Early Modern England: Bossy and Beyond,” *Historical Journal* 45 (2002), 482.

3 For example, Thomas McCoog’s recent volume on the Jesuit mission in the British Isles, covering the period 1598–1606, only mentions briefly Wales as a flourishing mission but provides

it survived at all in Wales, was practiced out of habit rather than conviction, inspiring no more loyalty and devotion than the remnants of paganism, and merely a case of resorting to familiar and reassuring habits, regardless of confessional denomination.⁴ This is echoed by John Davies, who describes Catholics in Wales as only “a tiny minority” that eventually languished almost into extinction, replaced by the far more popular and successful brand of Protestant Nonconformity that took hold from the late 17th century onwards; and Martin Johnes has recently noted that the translation of the New Testament into Welsh in 1567 “ensured that Wales followed England’s new Protestantism rather than Catholicism.”⁵

The myth of the insignificant impact of Welsh Catholicism in the post-Reformation period has persisted, even though the academic community has moved far from the grip of Protestant triumphalist historiography. Though today the focus is instead on strong, thriving, and vibrant pre- and post-Reformation Catholicism, as presented by the likes of Bossy, even he, with little or no evidence, talks of the “relative failure of the Catholic mission in Wales,” while Diarmaid MacCulloch comments that “to be Protestant was to be truly Welsh,” following the success of William Morgan’s Welsh-language Bible and prayer book in 1588.⁶ Some steps have been made to correct this glaring omission in the historiography of Catholic Britain. Scholars such as Alexandra Walsham, Katharine Olson, and Robert Scully have published studies of particular elements of Welsh Catholicism, such as the continued use of Holywell as a place of pilgrimage; the reception in Wales of the Henrician changes, seen through the 16th-century chronicle of Ieuan ap William ap Dafydd ap Einws; or the importance of Wales to the Jesuit missionaries.⁷ Similarly, examinations of

no further analysis or discussion on the topic; McCoog, *The Society of Jesus in Ireland, Scotland, and England, 1598–1606: ‘Lest Our Lamp be Entirely Extinguished’* (Rome: 2017), 14.

4 Glanmor Williams, *Welsh Reformation Essays* (Cardiff: 1967), 12 and 16–21.

5 John Davies, *A History of Wales* (London: 1994), 248–49 and 287; Martin Johnes, *Wales: England’s Colony? The Conquest, Assimilation and Recreation of Wales* (London: 2018), 70.

6 Bossy, *English Catholic Community*, 98–99; Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Reformation: Europe’s House Divided, 1490–1700* (London: 2003), 395–96.

7 Alexandra Walsham, “Holywell and the Welsh Catholic Revival,” in *Catholic Reformation in Protestant Britain* (Farnham: 2014), 177–205; Katharine K. Olson, “Religion, Politics, and the Parish in Tudor England and Wales: A View from the Marches of Wales,” *RH* 30 (2011), 527–36; Robert E. Scully, S.J., “Elizabethan Wales: A Unique Challenge and Opportunity,” in *Into the Lion’s Den: The Jesuit Mission in Elizabethan England and Wales, 1580–1603* (Saint Louis: 2011), 153–93; and Hannah Thomas, “The Society of Jesus in Wales, c.1600–1679: Rediscovering the Cwm Jesuit Library at Hereford Cathedral,” *JJS* 1 (2014), 572–88. It is hoped that Olson’s long-awaited monograph will spark renewed interest in Welsh Catholic culture: *Popular Religion, Culture and Reformation in Wales and the Marches, c.1400–1603* (Oxford: forthcoming).

the impact and use of Welsh-language devotional and polemic material for the Welsh Catholic diaspora by scholars, and studies of influential individuals produced by Geraint Bowen, Philip Jenkins, Peter Davidson, Anna Orofino, James January-McCann, and others have added to our understanding of the role of Wales and Welsh Catholicism in the wider successes of post-Reformation Catholicism.⁸

Although not *legally* distinct from England, Wales and Welsh Catholicism have unique cultural identities, different and distinct from that of England, Scotland, or Ireland, and there is a body of evidence that suggests that there existed a strong and thriving Catholic community in Wales and the Marches from at least the latter years of Elizabeth's reign until the mid-18th century, and beyond. Central to this thriving Catholic identity were centers of Catholicism that were the focal points for the Catholic community in the principality – centered around Raglan Castle and the Cwm estate in Monmouthshire in the southeast, focused around Powis Castle in mid-Wales, and around the pilgrimage site of Holywell in the northeast.

The geography of Wales, particularly a band of mountains across the middle of the principality, made travel from north to south especially difficult, and the two halves of the region functioned around these geographically separate, but religiously connected, focal points. Interestingly, these centers of Catholic activities in the region are all located within striking distance of the Wales-England border, as well as near several county borders. This was a deliberate tactic employed by the Welsh Catholic community, and one that has been largely overlooked by historians of recusancy as a vital tool employed by the post-Reformation Catholic community more widely. The importance of borders in 17th-century British religious history cannot be underestimated: methods of law enforcement in place at the time were organized according to geographical

8 See for example Geraint Bowen, *Welsh Recusant Writings* (Cardiff: 1999); Bowen, "The Jesuit Library in Hereford Cathedral," *Bulletin of the Association of British Theological and Philosophical Libraries* 20 and 21 (1965), 13–34 and 17–27 respectively; Philip Jenkins, "A Welsh Lancashire? Monmouthshire Catholics in the Eighteenth Century," *RH* 15 (1980), 176–88; and Jenkins, "Anti-Popery on the Welsh Marches in the Seventeenth Century," *Historical Journal* 23 (1980), 275–93. See also Peter Davidson, "Perceptions of the British Isles and Ireland among the Catholic Exiles: The Case of Robert Corbington, S.J.," in *British and Irish Emigrants and Exiles in Europe, 1603–1688*, ed. David Worthington (Leiden: 2010), 315–22; Anna Orofino, "Sir Edward Carne of Ewenni, c.1496–1561," *RH* 34 (2018), 199–221; James January-McCann, "Robert Gwyn and Robert Persons: Welsh and English Perspectives on Attendance at Anglican Service," *RH* 32 (2014), 159–71; and January-McCann, "Exiles and Activists: A Comparison of the Counter-Reformation in Wales and Norway," in *Northern European Reformations: Transnational Perspectives*, ed. Salvador Ryan et al. (London: 2020).

boundaries, such as parishes and counties, and therefore jurisdiction obtained only within these areas. Thus, for the various groups of Catholic clergy covertly ministering to a large recusant Catholic population, and indeed for these very Catholics themselves, the ability quickly to pass into a different county, or even country, would have provided some measure of security against the dangerous work being undertaken.⁹ By the time anyone in pursuit had reached the main town of the next county, alerted the sheriff or local magistrate, raised a posse, and returned to where the suspect had last been seen, the person or persons in questions would have long been gone. The potential linguistic difference between English and Welsh border towns added a further element of possible delay in the efficient pursuit of a suspect.

This is particularly visible in the geographical location of both focal points of Welsh Catholicism: the Cwm estate in the southeast, headquarters of the Jesuit territorial College of St Francis Xavier by 1623, is located on the Welsh-English border, as well as near the three county borders of Monmouthshire, Herefordshire, and Gloucestershire.¹⁰ The estate is also within close proximity of the three borders of the Church of England dioceses of Hereford, Llandaff, and Saint Davids, with a fourth ecclesiastical border, that of the diocese of Gloucester, also within striking distance. Similarly, in North Wales, an almost identical pattern is visible: Holywell is very close to the Welsh-English border in the northeast of the region and is near the county borders of Cheshire and Shropshire, as well as the northernmost reaches of Herefordshire. Perhaps most interestingly, this Catholic center was also within striking distance of three Anglican diocesan borders, namely Chester, Lichfield, and Hereford.¹¹

9 County borders were utilized by the Catholic community in many similar locations elsewhere in Britain; for example, Stonor Park, within striking distance of the Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire, and Berkshire county borders, operated as a missionary headquarters for both Edmund Campion, S.J., and Robert Persons, S.J., in the early years of the Jesuit English mission. See Bede Camm, *Forgotten Shrines: An Account of Some Old Catholic Halls and Families in England and of Relics and Memorials of the English Martyrs* (London: 1936), 97–103; and Hannah Thomas, “Missioners on the Margins? The Territorial Headquarters of the Welsh Jesuit College of Saint Francis Xavier at the Cwm, c.1600–1679,” *RH* 32 (2014), 173–93.

10 The Cwm estate comprises three farms: the Cwm and the Upper Cwm, where the Jesuits of the college lived and worked, and Llangunville, which operated as the main supply farm. Thomas, “Missioners on the Margins?,” particularly 175 for map of Cwm and surrounding area.

11 See map of recusant and Jesuit activities in northeast Wales, in T.W. Pritchard, *St. Winefride, Her Holy Well and the Jesuit Mission, c. 650–1930* (Wrexham: 2009), 122. Contemporaneous diocesan borders as shown in diocesan maps, in Anne Whiteman (ed.), *The Compton Census of 1676: A Critical Edition* (Oxford: 2014), 242 (Hereford), 428 (Lichfield), 456 (St Davids), 510 (Llandaff), and 630 (Chester).

This strongly suggests that these locations were deliberately chosen to minimize dangers of detection or capture by government authorities and to maximize potential means of escape.

2 Establishing a Stronghold, 1570–1623

Wales had established itself as a stronghold for Catholicism very quickly after the religious changes of the first half of the 16th century, and as early as 1572, Morys Clynnog (1525–80), a Welsh Catholic exile and author, asserted that as the Israelites awaited the Messiah, so the Welsh awaited the restoration of Catholicism.¹² The strength of support for Catholicism in Wales, despite the penal laws in force in Elizabethan England, had been one of the reasons cited by William Allen, later cardinal, in 1575, for encouraging the Jesuit superior general, Everard Mercurian (1514–80), to sanction a Jesuit mission to England and Wales. Furthermore, Clynnog declared that, despite Wales being a third of the size of England:

There is in it scarcely one man in a thousand who is a heretic [Protestant]. For the Welsh are the original inhabitants of that island, a people who retain both their own ancient language, Welsh, ... and the Catholic Faith of Their Fathers, although they no longer dare to hear Mass, or hold publicly their other things proper to the Catholic Faith, because they are physically oppressed by the Princess [Elizabeth].¹³

12 Meic Stephens (ed.), *The Oxford Companion to the Literature of Wales* (Oxford: 1990), 94. See also Geraint Bowen, "Morys Clynnog (1521–1580/1)," *Transactions of the Caernarfonshire Historical Society* 27 (1966), 92; Bowen, "Clynnog, Morys (or Maurice Clenocke) (c.1525–1581)," in *Dictionary of Welsh Biography*, ed. John Edward Lloyd and R.T. Jenkins (London: 1959), <https://biography.wales/article/s-CLYN-MOR-1525>, accessed 19 August 2020; and T.F. Mayer, "Clenock, Maurice (c.1525–1580?)," in *ODNB*, <https://doi-org.libproxy.union.edu/10.1093/ref:odnb/5610>.

13 Morys Clynnog to Pope Gregory XIII, 1575, quoted in T.J. Hopkins and Geraint Bowen, "Memorandum Morys Clynnog at y Pab Gregorii XIII yn 1575," *NLW Journal* 14 (1965), 12 and translated by Paul Bryant-Quinn in "To Preserve Our Language: Gruffydd Robert and Morys Clynnog," *Journal of Welsh Religious History* 8 (2000), 22. See also Patrick Ryan (ed.), "Some Correspondence of Cardinal Allen, 1579–85: From the Jesuit Archives," *Miscellanea VII* (CRS) 9 (London: 1911), 63; Thomas M. McCoog, "The Society of Jesus in Wales; the Welsh in the Society of Jesus, 1561–1625," *Journal of Welsh Religious History* 5 (1997), 1 and 19; and J.M. Cleary, "Dr Morys Clynnog's Invasion Projects of 1575–6," *RH* 8 (1966), 306–07.

Clynnog worked closely with both Pope Gregory XIII and Owen Lewis (1533–94), bishop of Cassano, on a council of war in 1576, which aimed to invade Britain from the Menai Straits in Anglesey, provide aid to the beleaguered Mary, Queen of Scots, and use the strength of Catholic support in Wales to restore the religion throughout the British Isles. Although these plans were never realized, partly due to a lack of the required financial support, a byproduct of the process was the complete revitalization of the English Hospice in Rome: the passionate work of Clynnog and Lewis, supported by Allen, among others, saw the institution transformed into the Venerable English College in order to train English and Welsh men for the priesthood, and Clynnog was appointed its first rector by 1578.¹⁴ Some years earlier, in 1569, Clynnog had also been one of 12 witnesses who appeared before Pope Pius V to give evidence against Elizabeth, beginning the process that led to her excommunication in 1570.¹⁵

Welsh Catholicism in these early days had a distinctly militant flavor, and was in many ways underpinned by strong currents of ethnic tension between the Welsh and the English that would manifest themselves in the well-known struggle for control of the Venerable English College in the Lent of 1579.¹⁶ This episode also provides a valuable glimpse into the minds and motives of Welsh Catholics in this period, revealing that they viewed the Welsh church as distinct from the English church. Although ethnic tension was at the heart of the conflict, another, often overlooked, point of difference between the factions was a debate about the best way to deal with the Reformation in England and Wales. The English students in Rome favored the modern, proactive, Counter-Reformation missionary techniques espoused by the newly created Society of Jesus, whereas the Welsh students pushed for a more conservative approach, preferring the college to train men for suitable occupations on the Continent, where they could maintain a low profile until the inevitable return of England (and Wales) to Rome.¹⁷

14 See Jason A. Nice, "Being 'British' in Rome: The Welsh at the English College, 1578–84," *CHR* 92 (2006), 6–7; and Michael E. Williams, *The Venerable English College Rome: A History* (Leominster: 2008), 5–9.

15 Glanmor Williams, *Wales and the Reformation* (Cardiff: 1999), 259. See also John Hungerford Pollen, *The English Catholics in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth: A Study of Their Politics, Civil Life, and Government, 1558–80* (London: 1920), 147–51. Two other members of the Welsh Marian clergy also gave evidence against Elizabeth: Thomas Goldwell, bishop of St Asaph (d. 1585), and Edmund Daniel, dean of Hereford (fl. 1558–59).

16 See Pollen, *English Catholics in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth*, 274–82; Bossy, *English Catholic Community*, 25–29; Williams, *Wales and the Reformation*, 266–68; and Williams, *Venerable English College*, 8–9.

17 Nice, "Being 'British,'" 9–10 and 22–23.

The arrival into Wales of the Jesuit Robert Jones (1564–1615) in February 1595 signaled the end of these simmering anti-Jesuit tensions among Welsh Catholics, perhaps providing a clue as to his selection for this mission in the first place. Jones, who operated under at least ten aliases, and who was appointed head of the English and Welsh mission in 1609, was the founding father of Jesuit missionary endeavor in Wales, having been sent there directly from Rome in early 1595.¹⁸ Born near Chirk in North Wales and likely a first-language Welsh speaker, his proactive missionary zeal in his homeland probably soothed ruffled feathers after the tensions in Rome and helped to shift perceptions away from the feeling that Jesuit missionary techniques were inherently anti-Welsh, as encapsulated in the Rome struggles.

Jones was also closely involved with the selection and successful use of the Welsh Jesuit missionary headquarters at the Cwm estate by 1615 and with developing the extensive library that was successfully built up from approximately 1600 onwards. His close links with, and patronage by, the wealthy and powerful Somerset family, earls of Worcester, based at Raglan Castle, ultimately provided the financial security that allowed the *Missio Walliae* to be developed into the new College of St Francis Xavier by 1623. Jones had been active in establishing an organization of Welsh gentry, secular priests, and Jesuits from a base in Monmouthshire within a decade of his arrival, and by 1604, this network was sufficiently robust to allow students to be safely sent from Shropshire, Worcestershire, Herefordshire, and Monmouthshire to be trained at the English colleges at Valladolid and Douai.¹⁹

Robert Persons, S.J. (1546–1610), was also keenly aware of the value of Wales and Welsh Catholics to the success of Jesuit missionary endeavors more widely, writing in 1581 to Superior General Mercurian that the region should be a focal point of the Jesuit mission. Persons notes that he had come to an agreement with “a gentleman to take them in” that had “opened wide the door” for further Jesuit successes in Wales.²⁰ This suggests that Persons himself had visited, or was very familiar with, the main centers of Catholic support within Wales

18 Thomas M. McCoog, “Jones, Robert (c.1564–1615),” *ODNB*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/37615>. See also McCoog, *Society of Jesus, 1598–1606*, 35.

19 McCoog, “Jones, Robert.” A number of the leading Welsh Catholic families also sent several daughters to the various English convents on the Continent. See *Who Were the Nuns? A Prosopographical Study of English Convents in Exile, 1600–1800*, <http://wwtn.history.qmul.ac.uk>.

20 The gentleman referred to by Persons is likely to have been Edward Somerset, 4th Earl of Worcester (1550–1628). See Hannah Thomas, “‘The hidden merite of that noble house’: The Somerset Family, Earls of Worcester, and the Welsh Catholic Network, c.1590–1679,” *Historical Research* (forthcoming).

and was keenly aware of the strength of support for Catholicism in the region. Recent research has traced Persons as far as Ludlow Castle for a few days at some point between July and October 1580, under the care of John Throckmorton (ca. 1520–80), member of the Council in the Marches.²¹ Throckmorton was distantly related to the earls of Worcester, based at Raglan Castle, through a maternal connection to the Parr family, and, furthermore, Throckmorton's wife was known to frequent Mass held at the home of her relation, John Edwards, in Chirk, Flintshire in the late 1570s, home of a then-teenage Robert Jones.²² This suggests that the foundations of the Welsh Catholic network were actually laid several years before Jones began his own missionary work in 1595, and that Persons himself was able to advise on suitable candidates to minister to Catholics within Wales, as well as beginning the complex arrangements for appropriate patronage that would be best suited to fostering and protecting the Catholic faith within this difficult missionary environment.

As well as the Jesuits, a small number of secular priests and Benedictine missionaries also ministered to the spiritual needs of the Welsh Catholic population. Approximately 100 secular priests had been sent to England and Wales from the English colleges at Douai and Reims since 1574, and in the early years of the 17th century, the first Benedictine missionaries started arriving.²³ Although the Benedictines were smaller in number, and therefore impact, than the Jesuit missionaries, the three groups of clergy worked together to minister to a sizeable population of Catholics, situated throughout the principality. In the southeast, the secular priest Roger Cadwallador was perhaps the most successful, and certainly the best known. Arriving in Herefordshire in 1594 following his ordination at Valladolid, Cadwallador was successfully able to minister to the Welsh Catholic community for 15 years before his arrest and execution in August 1610. Although theologically opposed to the Jesuits, Cadwallador sided with the Jesuits and also refused to sign the Oath of Allegiance in 1606, having been among a group of men who had submitted their own declaration of

21 This research is the subject of a forthcoming article on Persons's progress around England and Wales in 1580 and 1581 by Michael Hodgetts, *BCH* (forthcoming). I am grateful to Mr Hodgetts for sharing his research with me.

22 Throckmorton was a member of the council until his death in May 1580; Jones did not leave North Wales for Rome until 1582, when he would have been approximately 18 years old. See McCoog, "Jones, Robert;" Irene Cassidy, "Throckmorton, John (c.1520–80), of Feckenham, Worcs.," in *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons, 1558–1603*, ed. P.W. Hasler (London: 1981), <https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1558-1603/member/throckmorton-john-i-1520-80>; and Scully, *Into the Lion's Den*, 173–74.

23 Bossy, *English Catholic Community*, 30; Williams, *Wales and the Reformation*, 260.

allegiance to the government in January 1603.²⁴ Despite their theological differences, he maintained a close working relationship with the Jesuit Robert Jones, who wrote an account of Cadwallador's life and death in 1612, having visited Cadwallador during his imprisonment in Leominster.²⁵

Much has been written about the disagreements between the Jesuits and the secular clergy, perhaps best encapsulated in the Archpriest or Appellant Controversy of the early 1600s, and the Benedictines offered something of a middle way between these two extremes for men with vocations who were looking for a way to use their faith and assist in the reconversion of England and Wales.²⁶ The relationship between English Benedictines and the Benedictine order itself underwent something of a transformation during this period, fueled by the eagerness of these pious young men. It was the Welshman David Baker (1575–1641), Fr Augustine Baker, O.S.B., who was largely responsible for formalizing this revival, as one of a small party of English-speaking men who were formally united into a single body, the English Benedictine Congregation, by a papal brief issued by Paul v in 1619.²⁷

3 How Many Catholics?

It is extremely difficult to ascertain exactly how many Catholics were being ministered to by these three groups of clergy, particularly as quantifiable records, where they survive, tend to only give an indication of those who were fined, or otherwise prosecuted under the recusancy laws; and many of the records relating to Wales were lost during the Gordon Riots in 1780. However, scant evidence does survive, providing at the very least a generalized sense of just how prevalent adherence to Catholicism was within Wales. Richard Lewkenor (1542–1616), justice of the peace for Chester, commented in 1601 that “there was a great backslyding in religion in these partes and especially in Monmouthsere

24 McCoog, *Society of Jesus, 1598–1606*, 126 and 325–27.

25 See Lynne Surtees, *Blessed Roger Cadwallador* (Leominster: 2015); D. Ben Rees, “Cadwallador, Roger (1566/7–1610),” in *ODNB*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/4318>; Challoner, 41–51. For more on the secular clergy, see Judith Champ, *The Secular Priesthood in England and Wales: History, Mission and Identity* (Sutton Coldfield: 2016).

26 Bossy, *English Catholic Community*, 35–48; Dominic Aidan Bellenger, *Monks with a Mission: Essays in English Benedictine History* (Stratton-on-the Fosse: 2014), 20–25.

27 See Bellenger, *Monks with a Mission*, 13–28; David Daniel Rees, “Baker, David [Name in Religion Augustine] (1575–1641),” in *ODNB*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/1110>; and “David (Augustine) Baker,” monk 1D 900, *Monks In Motion*, <https://community.dur.ac.uk/monksinmotion/nsearch.php?mid=900&surname=Baker&place=>.

Herefordshire & Shropshire [*sic*]," and similarly, Edward la Zouche, 11th Baron Zouche (1556–1625), described the region as being "stuffed with papists" shortly after his appointment as president of the Council of Wales and the Marches in 1602.²⁸ Robert Bennett (ca. 1530–1617), bishop of Hereford, complained in 1605 to Robert Cecil (1563–1612), Earl of Salisbury, that "in this contrie [*sic*] there is no man of any estate, good condition or livelihood but is allied to this evil affected [Catholic] sect."²⁹ A very conservative estimate notes that between 11 and 20 per cent of the population of Herefordshire and Monmouthshire alone were Catholic by 1641.³⁰ The surviving recusant rolls for Monmouthshire list a total of 1588 recusants for the period 1581–1625, with approximately one convicted recusant to every 50 Church of England communicants, and approximately 117 recusant households in every 1000 households in the county. Importantly, these figures are higher than those recorded for Lancashire, often held to be the maelstrom of Catholic activity in this period: equivalent records for the North show one recusant for every 73 communicants, and approximately 112 recusant households in every 1000. The surviving rolls for Glamorgan, which cover the period 1577–1611, show slightly lower numbers of approximately 500 indicted recusants in the county prosecuted within this period, although survival rates of the records themselves are poorer than in Monmouthshire, and records for Glamorgan are incomplete.

Many of the leading families in both counties were Catholic, or had Catholic relatives, which made it quite likely that figures of authority within each county were sympathetic to the Catholic cause, to say the least. The isolated and rural nature of Welsh villages and townships, as well as their distance from London, allowed a certain level of autonomy for authority figures, such as the justice of the peace, and meant a certain amount of protection could be extended to the local Catholic community, where possible. The case of Thomas Carne of Ewenny (1538–1603), who served as justice of the peace as well as sheriff of Glamorgan, and served equally frequently on the Glamorgan part of the Brecon circuit of the Assizes, gives some idea of the problem – he was also indicted for recusancy several times and was an outspoken opponent of the

28 Louis A. Knafla, "Zouche, Edward la, Eleventh Baron Zouche (1556–1625)," in *ODNB*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/30301>; Justice R. Lewkenor to Sir Robert Cecil, 31 October 1601, Cecil Papers 89/35.

29 See Phillip Weaver, *A Dictionary of Herefordshire Biography* (Hereford: 2015), 35–36; Gerard Aylmer and John Tiller (eds.), *Hereford Cathedral: A History* (London: 2000), 96–97.

30 See Bossy, *English Catholic Community*, 405.

Anglican regime.³¹ This suggests that the numbers for Glamorgan, and indeed the rest of Wales, should be taken as a very conservative estimate.³²

4 Patronage

Vital to the success of any 17th-century Catholic missionary endeavor was a firm foundation of patronage and protection from a hierarchy of minor gentry and influential families of the nobility. Although the letter of the law ostensibly applied to all those caught in the act of refusing allegiance to the newly established Church of England, in reality, the wealthier and more powerful families were often able to influence and affect the decisions and outcomes of the prosecuting authorities, particularly when those offering patronage often also fulfilled roles of responsibility within the structure of government. As well as offering shelter for priests, and both financial and moral support, networks of patronage acted as conduits for information and news from the heart of the English government through to the Catholic community and the priests who ministered to them. Similarly, these networks offered a means to transport illicit Catholic books, relics, and massing equipment that circumvented watchful customs officers and other officials, via the various roles and influences of the Catholic gentry.³³ This is particularly true in Wales, and the Welsh Catholic community was underpinned by a network of patronage and protection operated by several successive generations of the Somerset family, earls of Worcester and later dukes of Beaufort.³⁴ Through their connections with

31 A.H. Dodd, "Carne, Thomas (c.1538–1603), of Ewenny, Glam.," in Hasler, *History of Parliament: The House of Commons, 1558–1603*, <https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1558-1603/member/carne-thomas-1538-1603>.

32 Statistics for both counties as given in Frank H. Pugh, "Glamorgan Recusants, 1577–1611: A Selection from the Returns in the Public Record Office," *South Wales and Monmouth Record Society* 3 (1954), 69–107, and Pugh, "Monmouthshire Recusants in the Reigns of Elizabeth I and James I," *South Wales and Monmouth Record Society* 4 (1957), 49–67. See also J.R.S. Phillips, *The Justices of the Peace in Wales and Monmouthshire, 1541–1689* (Cardiff: 1975), 288–93 and 311.

33 See, for example, Michael C. Questier, *Catholicism and Community in Early Modern England: Politics, Patronage and Religion, c.1550–1640* (Cambridge, Eng.: 2008), 15–26; and Walsham, *Catholic Reformation*, 16–19.

34 The family remained staunchly Catholic for four generations until the 3rd marquis, Henry Somerset (1629–1700), signed a 38-page declaration of Protestantism in 1658, enabling the restoration of the family lands and fortunes, as well as ensuring his own steady rise in favor, culminating in his appointment as the 1st duke of Beaufort in 1682. See Molly McClain, *Beaufort: The Duke and his Duchess 1657–1715* (New Haven: 2001), 28–30. The

the Herberts of Pembroke and Powis, the Somerset family were at the head of an extensive web of Catholic alliances and family allegiances. Their combined family histories allowed a claim to kinship with some of the country's most important founding families: Charles Somerset (1460–1526), 1st Earl of Worcester, married Elizabeth Herbert (1476–1512) in 1492, a descendant of the illegitimate Beaufort line of John of Gaunt (1340–99) and Katherine Swynford (1350–1403). Charles's father, Henry Beaufort, 3rd Duke of Somerset (1436–64), was a first cousin of Margaret Beaufort (1443–1509), mother of Henry VII.³⁵

In terms of the Welsh recusant community, the activities of Edward Somerset (1550–1628), 4th Earl of Worcester, in particular laid the foundations for several successive generations of methods for ensuring the survival of post-Reformation Catholicism in Wales and the Marches. Somerset skillfully negotiated a double life throughout his professional career, managing to become one of the wealthiest and most powerful courtiers under the governments of Elizabeth I, James I, and the early years of Charles I. As well as being a particular favorite of these three monarchs, Somerset had an extensive and successful professional career as a member of the Privy Council and the Council of Wales and the Marches, fulfilling important and powerful roles such as master of the horse, earl marshal of England, lord lieutenant of Monmouthshire and Glamorgan, admiral of the Severn, lord privy seal, and lord chamberlain across three successive reigns.³⁶ Interestingly, Somerset was often sent to Wales on behalf of the ruling elite to advise on the best methods for controlling and reducing unruly recusant populations within his territories, particularly after periods of intense sectarian unrest, such as the Whitsun Riots of 1605, despite him privately and consistently remaining a Catholic.³⁷ He was

family still resides at Badminton House, near Gloucester, which became their main seat in 1655.

- 35 Jonathan Hughes, "Somerset [Formerly Beaufort], Charles, First Earl of Worcester (c.1460–1526)," in *ODNB*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/26004>; and Michael K. Jones and Malcolm G. Underwood, "Beaufort, Margaret [Known as Lady Margaret Beaufort], Countess of Richmond and Derby (1443–1509)," in *ODNB*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/1863>.
- 36 Maurice Whitehead, "The Jesuit *Collegium Sancti Francisci Xaverii* in South Wales and the South West of England and Its Links with the Low Countries, c.1600–79," in *The Jesuits of the Low Countries: Identities and Impact, 1540–1773*, ed. Rob Faesen and Leo Kenis (Leuven: 2012), 201–03. See also Pauline Croft, "Somerset, Edward, Fourth Earl of Worcester (1550–1628)," in *ODNB*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/26005>. Somerset was also one of a committee called to interrogate the Gunpowder Plotters in 1605 and 1606.
- 37 The Whitsun Riots took place in Monmouthshire and Herefordshire in the early summer of 1605. Much remains to be uncovered about this fascinating event, which has been somewhat historiographically overshadowed by the events of the following November. A full exploration is beyond the scope of the present study, but the riots were ostensibly a

also allegedly described by Elizabeth herself as having “reconciled what she thought inconsistent, a stiff Papist to a good subject”: a remarkable statement given his roles in her government and a revealing demonstration of Somerset’s shrewd understanding and manipulation of the status quo of his period.³⁸ The statement is even more remarkable given his precarious position at the launch of the Jesuit mission only a few years before his accession to the title in February 1589: in 1580, he, along with other Catholic noblemen such as Henry Wriothesley (1545–81), John Petre (1549–1613), Henry Compton (1544–89), and John Arundel (1530–90) had been arrested and questioned on suspicion of being Catholic and intending to assist the Jesuit mission.³⁹ Recovering from government suspicion, achieving great public success and honor under a determinedly Protestant regime, and maintaining this delicate balance of loyalties could only have been achieved by one with the necessary power and wealth to keep both sides happy. Privately, Somerset supported the flourishing Jesuit activity in Wales from its very earliest days and was, in many ways, responsible for its success.⁴⁰ This took the form of two key elements: firstly, his patronage of the Jesuit Robert Jones, and secondly, Somerset allowing the Jesuits use of his extensive estates as a secure base and headquarters for their Welsh mission, initially at Raglan Castle, and later on, when conditions allowed, through a grant of the land that made up the Cwm estate in the secluded Monnow Valley, some 12 miles northeast of Raglan.⁴¹

Somerset’s close working relationship with Robert Jones was at the heart of the Welsh Catholic network: in or about 1595, Jones’s patron William Morgan of Llantarnam (ca. 1575–ca. 1633) married Somerset’s daughter Frances (ca. 1575–ca. 1633), and these four together provided the land and financial security necessary for the eventual establishment of the Jesuit College of St Francis

row over Catholic burial rights that grew rapidly and lasted some seven weeks. Authorities were at a loss as to how to deal with them, and the Catholics involved appeared well organized and merely waiting for such an opportunity to present itself. For more, see Roland Mathias, *Whitsun Riot: An Account of a Commotion amongst Catholics in Herefordshire and Monmouthshire in 1605* (London: 1963); and Wendy Brogden, “The Whitsun Riots of 1605: A Catholic Commotion” (Master’s thesis, Birmingham University, 2013). I am grateful to Ms Brogden for sharing her research with me.

38 David Lloyd, *State-worthies, or, The States-men and Favourites of England Since the Reformation their Prudence and Policies, Successes and Miscarriages, Advancements and Falls* (London: 1670), 582.

39 NA/SP 12/157/90. See also James E. Kelly, “Counties without Borders? Religious Politics, Kinship Networks and the Formation of Catholic Communities,” *Historical Research* 91 (2018), 29.

40 Whitehead, “Jesuit Collegium,” 199–200.

41 See Thomas, “Missioners on the Margins.”

Xavier by 1623. Similarly in North Wales, the protection of the Herbert family at Powis Castle was vital to the continued success of Catholic missionary endeavor within Wales. Traces of missionary activity in North Wales, particularly Holywell, from the latter part of the 16th century onwards link the development of the whole region as a crucial element in the successes of the Jesuit mission from the time of the arrival of Robert Jones in 1595. As well as listing Holywell, Henry Foley mentions three other missionary bases within the northern half of the College of St Francis Xavier: at Welshpool; at nearby Powis Castle, residence of the Herbert family from 1587; and at Plowden Hall in Shropshire, on the English side of the border.⁴²

At least three clandestine Catholic schools existed in Wales and the borderlands. Two were established by the Jesuits by the 1620s, in the village of Raglan, a short distance from Raglan Castle and the protection of the Somerset family, and at Greenfield Abbey, near Holywell. A third school was established by the Carmelites in Hereford in 1655.⁴³ The Jesuit school at Holywell was the cause of some concern for the secular clergy in the area, who were afraid that it would draw attention to the Catholic community and result in the strict enforcement of the penal laws. Secular priest Edward Bennet (1569–1637), under the alias Richard Sarra, wrote to the Jesuit provincial Richard Blount (1565–1638) in 1626 about the school, about which he had received a complaint. Bennet asked that the Jesuits close it down as soon as possible, noting that “the neighbour Justices will knowe of it and they will be glad of any occasion to trouble the Catholicks whoe liveth neare them,” adding that this matter was of some urgency and “doth concerne the quiete of Catholicks in these parts.”⁴⁴ This is a particularly revealing episode, demonstrating that the strength of support for Catholicism in Wales in this period was such that the local authorities needed a specific reason to be able to use the recusant laws against the Welsh Catholic community – it appears that the authorities were very aware of the Catholic population in Wales, and the various clergy who ministered to them, but were powerless to move against them without concrete evidence, which the discovery of a Catholic school would have provided.

42 It probably also helped that the Herbert and Somerset families remained closely linked by marriage, as well as by their faith: Elizabeth Herbert (1476–1512), sole heir of William Herbert, 1st Earl of Pembroke, and Charles Somerset (1460–1526), 1st Earl of Worcester, had married in 1492, and Elizabeth Somerset (1633–91), daughter of Edward, 6th Earl of Worcester, married William Herbert (1626–96), 3rd Baron Powis, in 1654.

43 Phillip Jenkins, “Anti-Popery on the Welsh Marches in the Seventeenth Century,” *Historical Journal* 23 (1980), 280.

44 Letter from Fr Sarra to Fr Blount, 27 January 1626, London, Westminster Diocesan Archives, XXXII/99, f. 391.

5 Strengthening the Network, 1623–78

The foundations laid by Robert Jones, Edward Somerset, and the Morgans between 1595 and 1615 meant that a sizeable Jesuit presence was working in Wales from the early 1600s onwards, representing between five and seven per cent of the total number of Jesuits on the English mission at any one time:⁴⁵

Year	Number of Jesuits in English Province	Number of Jesuits in College of Saint Francis Xavier
1623	218	11 (5 per cent of total)
1633	364	16 (4 per cent)
1643	357	26 (7 per cent)
1653	280	20 (7 per cent)
1663	283	13 (5 per cent)

The earliest surviving administrative records of Jesuits at work in the area indicate a flourishing establishment by 1620: 11 Jesuits are listed as part of a fully functioning administrative structure firmly established by this date. Initially described as existing “cum missio Walliae” (*with the Welsh mission*), subsequent surviving lists record an average of 14 Jesuits attached to the College of St Francis Xavier between 1623 and 1638, numbers which continued until the early 1660s.⁴⁶

Territorially, the Welsh district, or the College of St Francis Xavier, was the most extensive district of the English province, covering, until approximately 1667, the whole of Wales, Herefordshire, Monmouthshire, Somerset, and Gloucestershire, an area of some 30,000 km.² Even after 1667 when, for practical reasons, the area had been divided in two and the residence of St Winefride was created in North Wales, the College of St Francis Xavier, now the South Wales and Herefordshire district, was still one of the most extensive

45 Whitehead, “Jesuit *Collegium*,” 207; statistics compiled from the collection of early *Catalogi Provinciae Angliae* in the ABSI, 114 Mount Street, London.

46 Statistics compiled from Thomas M. McCoog, *English and Welsh Jesuits, 1555–1650*, part 1, A–F, and part 2, G–Z (CRS) 74 and 75 (Southampton: 1994 and 1995).

districts of the entire province, covering some 20,000 km² even in its reduced size.⁴⁷ Furthermore, the status of the Welsh district as a well-established and well-developed Jesuit mission within the English province was utilized to the full: the district was one to which new and inexperienced recruits were sent to gain experience and to be nurtured in their vocation.⁴⁸ Crucially, of the 83 Jesuits who served in the Welsh mission and who professed their vows between 1580 and 1663, 20 took those vows in Wales. This figure is surpassed only by the College of St Ignatius, or the London district, where 22 of the 83 men took their vows. Nineteen of the men have no place or date of profession recorded, and only one or two men took their vows within other districts of the English province, such as Oxfordshire (Residence of St Mary), Derbyshire (College of the Immaculate Conception), Devonshire (Residence of St Stanislaus), or Worcestershire (Residence of St George).

Approximately one-third of the men listed as serving in Wales between 1621 and 1633 were Welsh by birth, with several more hailing from the border counties of Hereford, Monmouth, and Gloucester. The range of places from which the men were sent, before arriving in the Welsh district, and their vast range of experience, age, background, and cultural influence demonstrates an important point: far from being a small, local missionary outpost of the English Province of the Society of Jesus, the College of St Francis Xavier was in fact a diverse, vibrant, and crucially important lynchpin in the successes of the Jesuits in England and Wales.

Crucially, the creation of the College of St Francis Xavier, as part of the raising of the English vice-province into a full province in its own right by 1623, was the confirmation of an already flourishing and well-established mission that had been set up by 1595 and furthermore, proof of the importance of the Welsh district, and therefore Welsh Catholicism, in the successes of Jesuit missionary endeavor in the British Isles more widely. The choice to dedicate the college to St Francis Xavier (1506–52) was no accident either. It bespoke serious commitment, financial stability, and territorial status as the second most important subdivision of the English and Welsh Province of the Society

47 None of the original farmhouses have survived, although the existing Georgian houses of the Cwm and the Upper Cwm stand above their respective original 17th-century cellars, and various 17th-century barns and other buildings can be found in and around all three farms.

48 For a more detailed history of the development of the Cwm as a Jesuit missionary center, see Thomas, "Missioners on the Margins."

of Jesus.⁴⁹ Xavier represented the archetypal missionary, the ideal to which all other Jesuits should aspire, and only two other districts of the English province were dedicated to similarly important Jesuits – the London district to Ignatius Loyola (1491–1556) himself, and the Lancashire district to St Aloysius Gonzaga (1568–91).⁵⁰ These three areas were also the first missionary areas targeted by the Jesuits in the early years of the English mission, chosen for their strength of adherence to Catholicism and functioning as pilot tests for a wider national missionary focus.⁵¹

Although very little evidence survives of day-to-day life within the Catholic community in Wales during this period, what little evidence there is suggests that Welsh communities, particularly along the borderlands, remained largely tolerant of Catholicism at the very least, and in many places, populated by a large number of “recusants,” including among the gentry families, landowners and authority figures.⁵² One particular body of contemporary evidence that provides a rare glimpse into the day-to-day lives of Welsh Catholics is the large library assembled by the Jesuits at the Cwm estate, which was built up for much of the 17th century, before being seized and removed to Hereford Cathedral in February 1679. Consisting of approximately 340 books, analysis of these volumes reveals hitherto hidden aspects of Catholic life in post-Reformation England and Wales. Particularly noticeable is the truly international nature of Catholic life in 17th-century Wales. The surviving books, dating from between 1503 and 1676 (although primarily after 1595), were published all over Europe, in locations such as Rome, Paris, Antwerp, Liège, Munich, Ingolstadt, Toledo, and Douai. Caution is required, as date of printing does not necessarily equal date of acquisition, but broad patterns are discernible. The majority of the surviving books were printed throughout the period of the most intensive missionary work in Wales, from 1595 until 1676: it is reasonable to assume that relatively new books were being purchased on the Continent and smuggled into Wales continuously throughout this period. Far from being isolated in a secluded

49 See Hannah Thomas, “Historiography of the Jesuits in England in the Early Modern Period,” in *Jesuit Historiography Online* (2016), http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/2468-7723_jho_COM_193581; and Whitehead, “Jesuit *Collegium*,” 202.

50 See Foley, 11–614, 21–189, and 5 263–317 and 318–418 respectively.

51 See Thomas M. McCoog “The Establishment of the English Province of the Society of Jesus,” *RH* 17 (1984), 14–33.

52 Exactly how applicable the term “recusants” is in this context is debatable, particularly in communities with high percentages of open Catholicism, but that topic is far beyond the remit of the current chap. For a further discussion, see chap. 12 in this volume.

backwater of the British Isles, Catholics in Wales remained deeply connected with their European counterparts and a shared Continental Catholic culture.⁵³

As well as connecting Welsh Catholics with the theology, ideas, and spirituality of their Continental counterparts, the books also fulfilled a spiritual need for the Catholic community in Wales and allowed disparate lay Catholics to function as part of a wider religious community. Evidence from within the volumes, such as inscriptions, provenance, and ownership marks, demonstrate that the books were widely circulated and functioned as a mobile church of sorts. Although many Welsh Catholics resided in broadly tolerant communities, discretion was still required when it came to the sharper end of theological differences between Catholicism and the Protestantism of the governing authorities. Use and circulation of specifically Catholic texts, spirituality, and ideas were in direct contravention of the *Act to Prevent and Avoid Dangers which May Grow by Popish Recusants* (1606), which, among other things, also laid out specific restrictions on the buying or selling of Catholic books. Such literature was potentially so dangerous that the act even differentiated between books published in different languages: those caught importing, printing, buying, or selling popish books written in English, or any works thought “unmeet for such recusant,” were to be seized and the perpetrator fined 40s. per book.⁵⁴

The circulation of books also permitted missionary priests to extend far beyond their physical reach, allowing the discreet spiritual development of Welsh Catholics through appropriate reading and exercises, such as the use of the *Spiritual Exercises* or devotional exercises such as the copying out of

53 The surviving Cwm library volumes confirm Southern's statement that all but a handful of works intended for the English and Welsh recusant community were printed in Continental printing centers such as Cologne, Antwerp, and Mainz, suggesting that this remained the case long into the 17th century, nearly 100 years past Southern's *terminus* of 1582. As well as allowing the standard daily practices of Catholic devotion and piety to continue, books imported from the Continent by various illicit means were a key part in the successes of the Counter-Reformation, particularly in establishing authority and absolute commitment over the much-debated idea of “church papistry.” See A.C. Southern, *Elizabethan Recusant Prose, 1559–1582* (London: 1950), 32 and 338–63; Anthony Milton, “Licensing, Censorship, and Religious Orthodoxy in Early Stuart England,” *Historical Journal* 41 (1998), 625–51; and Alexandra Walsham, *Church Papists: Catholicism, Conformity and Confessional Polemic in Early Modern England* (Woodbridge: 1999), 22–49. The present author's forthcoming monograph will examine the role of Jesuit libraries in post-Reformation British Catholicism: Hannah Thomas, *Jesuit Libraries in Early Modern England and Wales* (Leiden: expected 2022).

54 An Act to Prevent and Avoid Dangers which May Grow by Popish Recusants, 1606, 3 Jac. 1, c. 5, as cited in *The Laws Against Papists and Popish Recusants, Nonconformists and Nonjurors* (London: 1744), 40–51.

a particular passage.⁵⁵ This was a successful method used by Jesuit missionaries elsewhere within the English province to encourage appropriate spiritual development: John Gerard, S.J. (1564–1637), noted how he started the household practice of reading ascetical books during his time at Braddocks, Essex, as well as several works read and “usefully translated” by John Walpole as part of his spiritual development.⁵⁶ The names, marks, and inscriptions of a number of Jesuits at work in Wales within the surviving volumes of the Cwm library, such as Robert Jones, Sabine Chambers (ca. 1559–1633), William Wigmore (ca. 1599–1665), Thomas Owen (1616–49), and William Morgan (1623–89), as well as those of prominent recusants such as William Morgan of Llantarnam (1577–1633), Thomas Gunter, Christopher Turberville, Edward Poyntz (1570–1615), and the Ravenhill, Stradling, and Vaughan families, demonstrate just how vital was the circulation of appropriate reading material within the wider Welsh Catholic community and how fully utilized as a tool in maintaining a successful missionary environment.⁵⁷

The Cwm books also demonstrate that the various individuals within the Welsh Catholic community consciously identified themselves as part of a community, albeit one scattered throughout the principality. A number of the Cwm books bear the Welsh devotional mottos “Duw a Digon” (God is plenty) and “Heb Dhuw, Heb Dhim” (Without God, without anything) in different hands and expressed in different locations within each volume. Other examples of these phrases, such as the carving of “Duw a Digon” into the base of an ancient baptismal font in the parish of Tregaer, and the variations of these phrases which form the mottoes of Welsh Catholic families such as the Stradlings of St Donats and the Vaughans of Courtfield, suggest widespread

55 Loyola's *Spiritual Exercises*, first printed 1548, were a vital tool for the missionary Jesuits in particular, and their innovative and flexible structure meant that one participant could then go on to guide several others, extending the reach of a priest far beyond the number of people he was able to physically visit on his circuit. For more on this, see Hannah Thomas, “*Spiritual Exercises* and *Spiritual Exercises*: Ascetic Intellectual Exchange in the English Catholic Diaspora, c.1642–1794,” in *Jesuit Intellectual and Physical Exchange between England and Mainland Europe, c. 1580–1789: “The World is Our House?”*, ed. James E. Kelly and Thomas (Leiden: 2018).

56 See John Gerard, *The Autobiography of a Hunted Priest* (San Francisco: 2012), 35 and 39.

57 See Hannah Thomas, “Books Which Are Necessary for Them: Reconstructing a Jesuit Missionary Library in Wales and the English Borderlands, c.1600–79,” in *Publishing Subversive Texts in Elizabethan England and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth*, ed. Teresa Bela, Jolanta Rzegocka, and Clarinda Calma (Leiden: 2016), 110–28. For a deeper analysis of the international importance of libraries within the context of global Jesuit missions, see *JJS* 2 (2015), a special issue focusing exclusively on Jesuit libraries.

use.⁵⁸ Interestingly, a French version of the latter phrase, “Sans Dieu Rien” (Without God, nothing), is the motto of the Petre family of Ingatestone, Essex, a prominent Catholic family that offered extensive patronage and protection to the Catholic community in the southeast of England.⁵⁹ This suggests that the Welsh versions of these phrases may also have functioned as an expression of identity to the wider English/British Catholic community, a badge of honor recognized by those in the know but otherwise invisible to those outside of it.

Furthermore, analysis of the Cwm library also provides hard evidence of just how vital was the role of patronage in sustaining the Catholic community in this period, particularly in Wales. The wealth and influence of several generations of the Somerset family is the most likely source for transporting the books into Wales in the first place, using their various roles such as admirals of the Severn, lords lieutenant of Glamorgan and Monmouthshire, and admirals of the Narrow Seas, to facilitate the safe transportation of the volumes from various printing centers around Europe, and the successful smuggling of these volumes to the Welsh Catholic community. The family’s ability to influence and assist the Welsh Catholic community was drastically reduced after the Civil War: Raglan Castle was seized and destroyed by parliamentary soldiers on 19 August 1646 and would never be lived in again, and their second seat at Chepstow Castle was garrisoned in 1648 and was no longer under the control of the family. Both seats were crucial in their successful patronage of the Catholic community, and this is borne out in qualitative analysis of the Cwm library: some 92 per cent of the surviving volumes were printed before 1646, and approximately 66 per cent were printed between 1595 and 1646, from the time of Robert Jones’s arrival into Wales until the destruction of the family seat at Raglan.⁶⁰

58 Joseph Alfred Bradney, *A History of Monmouthshire From the Coming of the Normans Into Wales Down to the Present Time*, Volume 2, Part 1: *The Hundred of Raglan* (London: 1911), 82.

59 For more on the Catholic activities of the Petre family, see James E. Kelly, “Learning to Survive: The Petre Family and the Formation of Catholic Communities from Elizabeth I to the Eve of the English Civil War” (PhD dissertation, Kings College London, 2008). See also Foley, 2:394–613 and 5:513–96. George Petre, son of the 2nd Lord Petre, was a patron and benefactor of the Welsh Catholic community in North Wales, particularly around Holywell and Greenfield.

60 See Hannah Thomas, “‘A Great Number of Popish Books’: A Study of the Welsh Jesuit Missionary Library of the College of St Francis Xavier, c. 1600–1679” (PhD thesis, Swansea University, 2014), 110–14 and 193–96; and Jeremy Knight, *Civil War and Restoration in Monmouthshire* (King’s Lynn: 2005). These figures also provide quantifiable evidence of the impact and importance of patronage for the English Catholic community more widely.

Catholicism in North Wales was similarly affected by the Civil War – not only was Powis Castle captured and damaged by parliamentary forces in 1644, but the well itself at Holywell suffered serious damage and was the focal point of attempts by Cromwellian Puritans to suppress Catholic allegiances during the Commonwealth.⁶¹ The loss of both bases also appears to have signaled the end of the provision of Jesuit education in Wales, which had been managed under the watchful guidance of the Somerset and Herbert families at each end of the principality. Of the seven Jesuits recorded as educators of one sort or another within Wales, none are listed as having performed those roles after 1646.⁶² Both schools were destroyed by parliamentary soldiers by 1646, and it seems likely that the renewed focus on the capture and persecution of Catholic clergy in the wake of the Civil War meant it was too dangerous to allow such establishments to be re-created during the Commonwealth. However, some provision was made in Wales to fill this gap: Fr Charles Browne, S.J. (1583–1647), rector of the College of St Francis Xavier from 1629 until his death in 1647, had secured a sum of money which enabled two Welsh tablers (scholars) to be “maintained beyond the seas” and educated in the English Jesuit College in St-Omer. The scholars had to be chosen from both halves of the principality, one from the north, and one from the south. Furthermore, in 1666, Humphrey Evans (ca. 1598–1679), rector of the College of St Francis Xavier, noted that the Welsh mission was in receipt of a scholarship to allow a perpetual stream of Welsh scholars to be educated at the Venerable English College in Rome.⁶³

The Residence of St Winefride, or the North Wales district, was also created by 1667 in order to make the vast territory of the College of St Francis Xavier a more manageable size. Since 1643 the Jesuits had been using the Olde Star Inn as a secure base of operations, given to them in perpetuity by George Petre (1612–47), son of William Petre (1575–1637) and Katherine Somerset (fl. 1596–1624).⁶⁴ Petre and his wife Ann (née Fox, previously Mostyn) had their

61 Sue Harris, *Powis Castle (National Trust Guide)* (London: 2012), 25–27; and Pritchard, *St Winefride*, 162–77.

62 The men are Richard Bartlett (1580–1645), Sabine Chambers (1559–1633), John Floyd (1600–79), Thomas Jeffery (1591–1654), Ignatius Watson (1586–1626), Richard Whitley (1583–1651), and Lawrence Worthington (1575–1635) as listed in McCoog, *English and Welsh Jesuits*, 112, 173, 217, 327, 331, and 339 respectively. A number of these men were also published authors – see *ARCR* Vol 2, entries 131 (Chambers), 292 (Floyd), and 839 (Worthington).

63 McCoog, *English and Welsh Jesuits*, 128–29. See also Foley, 4:333–36 and 5:936–40. Evans (alias Brown) was rector of the College of St Francis Xavier from 1647 until at least 1655.

64 Katherine Petre, née Somerset, was one of the daughters of Edward Somerset, 4th Earl of Worcester, all of whom were married into strategically chosen Catholic families around England and Wales.

seat at the former Greenfield Abbey, location of the Jesuit school founded in the 1620s, and had given money for building works to convert the Olde Star Inn in Holywell into a safe place of accommodation for the many Catholic pilgrims coming to visit St Winefride's Well, on condition that "the Fathers ... should at all times have admission to this establishment." Despite local opposition and accusations of popery when the work started, the influence of the Petre family and links to local authorities through Ann's first husband Sir John Mostyn (d. 1634) meant that building work was allowed to continue undisturbed, and the Olde Star Inn remained a focal point of the Welsh Catholic community until at least the late 18th century.⁶⁵

6 The Popish Plot

On 7 December 1678, an order was sent from the House of Lords that

the Lord Bishop of Hereford, calling to his Assistance such Justices of the Peace of the said County as his Lordship shall think fit ... find out the Truth of the Matter of Fact, concerning the said place called Combe; and ... give this House a full account thereof.⁶⁶

Despite the government having been aware of Wales as a center of recusancy since the 1570s, nothing had previously been done about closing down the flourishing missionary setup in the Welsh borderlands. Momentum had been rapidly building against the well-developed "secret" network of missionaries and recusants since the advent of the so-called Popish Plot in October of the same year: after the discovery of Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey's body on 17 October 1678, the security and seclusion that had protected the Welsh Catholic community for the best part of 100 years began to unravel.⁶⁷ By the time the order came through on 7 December, the rector of the College of St Francis Xavier, David Lewis (1617–79), had been arrested and imprisoned in Monmouth Gaol, awaiting trial at the spring assizes.⁶⁸ A further member of the much-reduced

65 See Foley, 4:536; and Pritchard, *St Winefride*, 165–69.

66 *JHL* 13:407.

67 See John Kenyon, *The Popish Plot*, new ed. (London: 2000), 88–149.

68 Richard C. Allen, "Lewis, David [St David Lewis; *alias* Charles Baker] (1617–1679)," in *ODNB*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/1108>. Lewis had served the college since 1647 and had twice been appointed rector: from 1667 until 1672 and again from 1674 until his death in 1679.

body of Jesuits serving the vast Welsh territory was also in prison – Philip Evans (ca. 1645–79), who had been arrested a few days before on 4 December 1678, at the home of his patron and friend, Christopher Turberville.⁶⁹ These two men were among the small group of five listed as serving the College of St Francis Xavier between 1678 and 1680 and, along with several of their secular brethren, came to embody the “rooting up” of Catholic missionary endeavor in the Welsh Marches.⁷⁰ On 19 December 1678, an unknown number of men, led by Captain John Scudamore, arrived at the Cwm estate to “find out the Truth,” as requested by the House of Lords some 12 days earlier. The estate was raided, and the large theological library was seized and brought to Hereford Cathedral library by February 1679.⁷¹

Perhaps surprisingly, the Residence of St Winefride survived the turbulence of the Popish Plot relatively unscathed. This is particularly notable given the notoriety of the shrine of St Winefride: a group pilgrimage to the well in the summer of 1605 had been a key feature in the successful prosecution and conviction of the Gunpowder Plotters, and the well was one of the few surviving pre-Reformation shrines with an unbroken chain of pilgrimages.⁷² The continued veneration of St Winefride’s Well embodies what Walsham describes as a spirited revitalization of the sacred landscape that was a key element in the process of Catholic renewal across Europe as a whole: a reclaiming of pre-Reformation “hallowed places” for the Catholic cause.⁷³

By 1679 there were at least five fathers working in the Residence of St Winefride, including Fr Humphrey Evans, alias Brown (ca. 1598–1679).⁷⁴ It seems that William Morgan (1623–89), a native of nearby Cilcain in Flintshire, briefly assumed some of the responsibilities as superior after this date: his own recent appointment as *socius* to the provincial included the responsibility of

69 Richard C. Allen, “Evans, Philip [St Philip Evans] (1645–1679),” in *ODNB*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/8974>.

70 The phrase is used in a letter, believed to have been written by Fr William Morgan, S.J. (1623–89) to the superior general in Rome. Cited in Foley, 5:939–40.

71 Many of the items are now listed in the cathedral’s online library catalogue, keyword search “Cwm.”

72 Jessie Childs, *God’s Traitors: Terror and Faith in Elizabethan England* (London: 2014), 185–90. See also Philip Caraman, *Henry Garnet (1555–1606) and the Gunpowder Plot* (London: 1964), 318–29.

73 Alexandra Walsham, *The Reformation of the Landscape: Religion, Identity, and Memory in Early Modern Britain and Ireland* (Oxford: 2011), 155–56. Recusants also created architectural features in existing buildings to celebrate their religious convictions. See Peter Davidson, “Recusant Catholic Spaces in Early Modern England,” in *Catholic Culture in Early Modern England*, ed. Ronald Corthell et al. (Notre Dame, Ind.: 2007), 19–51.

74 See n. 62 above.

keeping his superiors informed of how events unfolded, and a surviving letter of his to Rome provides some insight into the impact that the fictitious Popish Plot had on Jesuit missionary endeavor in Wales.⁷⁵ As well as the description of the South Wales college as “totally rooted up” as a result of Oates’s endeavors, Morgan notes that, in North Wales, “there are only three of us remaining, viz, Fathers Hugh Owen, William Bianchi [White] and Thomas [Roderick] Roberts.”⁷⁶ Morgan himself had served the Residence of St Winefride since 1672, having been sent to the residence from Liège, including a brief stint as superior in 1675, alongside serving the Herbert family as chaplain at Powis Castle, but he fled the country some time in 1680, presumably in fear of capture and execution.⁷⁷

A total of six Catholic priests serving in Wales were captured, tried, and executed as a result of the Popish Plot between December 1678 and August 1679, two Jesuits and four secular clergymen: David Lewis, S.J. (1617–79), Philip Evans, S.J. (ca. 1645–79), John Kemble (1599–1679), John Lloyd (ca. 1630–79), William Lloyd (ca. 1610–79), and John Plessington (1637–79).⁷⁸ Five of these men were among the 40 martyrs beatified and canonized by Paul VI on 25 October 1970. The priests were all arrested at different bases used throughout the principality and the borderlands, revealing just how well established and well organized the Welsh Catholic network was by this point. That the Welsh Catholic community suffered such heavy losses at all is further indication of just how important the principality was within the British Catholic community more widely, and perhaps an indication of notoriety: Wales suffered the heaviest losses outside of London during the Popish Plot and saw the greatest number of priests tried and executed.⁷⁹

75 Foley, 5:936–39. The letter is anonymous but most likely to have been written by Morgan, given his position of authority and location in the residence. Morgan is also the only Jesuit serving the area that is not listed in the document, suggesting that, as the author, he had forgotten to include himself.

76 Cited in Foley, 5:940.

77 Holt, *Jesuits*, 170 (Morgan).

78 See Allen, “Evans, Philip.” See also W.A.J. Archbold, rev. G. Bradley, “Kemble, John [St John Kemble] (1599–1679);” Richard C. Allen, “Lloyd, John [St John Lloyd] (c.1630–1679);” and John P. Marmion, “Plessington, John [St John Plessington; *alias* William Scarisbrick] (1636–1679),” in *ODNB*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/15320> (Kemble), <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/68229> (Lloyd), and <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/68233> (Plessington). See also Madge Cusack O’Keeffe, *Four Martyrs of South Wales and the Marches* (Cardiff: 1970), 32–52 and 54–72; and Challoner, 396–400 and 420–24.

79 Kenyon, *Popish Plot*, 238–47.

7 Recovery and Survival, Post-1679

The successful raid and closure of the Cwm on 19 December 1678, the capture and execution of several members of the clergy serving the Welsh Catholic community in the following months, and the removal of the Cwm's extensive theological library to Hereford Cathedral by February 1679 were collectively described by contemporaries as the "rooting up" of Catholic missionary endeavor in the Welsh Marches, but how accurate was this description? Was Welsh Catholicism able to survive the trials of the Popish Plot years and regroup successfully? Or were any attempts at regrouping futile in the face of such widespread devastation? Thomas McCoog notes that the destruction of the Cwm accelerated a long period of decline, echoing the earlier suggestion by Bossy that the raid on the Cwm in December 1678 was "the destruction of their mission."⁸⁰

Although things seemed pretty bleak by the end of 1679, the main consequence of the devastation caused by the Popish Plot in Wales was to force an end to the old way of doing things, namely moving away from the old system of a gentry-led, inherently clandestine Catholicism and towards the mission-led proto-parish Catholicism which was firmly established in Wales in the 18th century.⁸¹ This pattern of recovery and revival is particularly visible for the Jesuits. Although there are no records of exactly where the College of St Francis Xavier was based after 1679, it is clear that the missionary work continued virtually uninterrupted, despite the loss of the headquarters at the Cwm. Lists of Jesuits serving the English mission published in *Monumenta Angliae* show a number of new recruits still being sent to the district continuously from 1679, through to 1680, and throughout the rest of the decade. Accounts of the early establishment of the college in 1623 had noted that, as well as the Cwm being the ideal choice of location for religious life, the Welsh Jesuits also had "two or three residences in the vicinity to which the fathers could escape" in cases of serious emergency.⁸² It seems that the emergency residences were called into action very rapidly, and certainly by the time the lists for who was serving the college had been compiled in early 1680. No rector is listed until 1683, when William Vaughan (1644–87) was appointed to the post, a position he would fulfil until his death in 1687: the appointment in itself surely indicates recovery

80 McCoog, "Society of Jesus in Wales," 19. See also Bossy, *English Catholic Community*, 254.

81 See Daniel Mullins, "The Catholic Church in Wales," in *From Without the Flaminian Gate: 150 Years of Roman Catholicism in Wales 1850–2000* (London: 1999), 272–94.

82 Rome, ARSI, Anglia 32/1, fol.115. Also cited in McCoog, "The Establishment of the English Province," 137 and 139, n. 41.

and regrowth of numbers sufficient to require someone at the helm.⁸³ A well-established series of complex financial and legal arrangements also existed, allowing Catholic missionary activity to recover and continue, whilst remaining undetected by the authorities. In August 1692, Thomas Gunter (1600–92) noted in his will that

whereas there is due unto me as executor of the last will and testament of my Uncle Thomas Lewis of the town of Monmouth doctor in Phisic the sum of two hundred pounds lying in the hands of James Richardson of Courtfield in the county of Monmouth Gent and Ignatius Thorpe of White Cleaves in the County of Gloucester Gent ... I give and bequeath the said severall summe of two hundred pounds ... together with all the rest of my personall estate whatsoever towards the paymente of my debts and discharging my funerall expenses.⁸⁴

The two gentlemen who had briefly been in possession of this princely sum were in fact Jesuits working within the College of St Francis Xavier, and Gunter's decision to claim his money back from them illuminates an otherwise lost system of cleverly concealed financial transactions that provided the necessary support to facilitate Welsh Catholic life. Gunter's uncle, Thomas Lewis (d. 1691) was a medical doctor and noted recusant in his home town of Monmouth. In his own will of November 1688 (proved July 1691) Lewis makes no reference to this transaction, instead noting that "all the rest of my goods chattels ... I give, devise and bequeath to my said nephew Thomas Gunter."⁸⁵ These vague details point to a verbal agreement between the two men that Gunter should arrange for discreet transfer of funds to the Jesuit mission, which had made their way relatively quickly into the hands of James Richardson, S.J. (1650–1726), at Courtfield, and Ignatius Stafford alias Thorpe, S.J. (1652–1720), at the small missionary base of White Cleaves in Gloucester.⁸⁶

The wills also draw attention towards the importance of the emergency residences called into action by the Jesuits, which became themselves the focal point for the proto-parish, mission-focused structure of the later 18th century. Courtfield, missionary base of Richardson and seat of the Vaughan family in Monmouthshire since 1563, had been used by the Jesuits since the early days of

83 Geoffrey Holt, *The English Jesuits, 1650–1829: A Biographical Dictionary* (CRS) 70 (Southampton: 1984), 253–54.

84 NA/PROB 11/410/486, Will of Thomas Gunter 22 Aug 1692, proved 17 Nov 1692.

85 NA/PROB 11/405/326, Will of Thomas Lewis 9 Nov 1688, proved 27 July 1691.

86 Holt, *Jesuits*, 209 and 235.

the Welsh mission. Along with Rotherwas, seat of the Bodenham family since 1483, and similarly listed as a missionary base from the earliest days of missionary activity, Courtfield is listed specifically as a base from 1692 onwards, and is given as the location of several of the men, including those serving as rector after 1683, suggesting it was also operating as de facto headquarters following the loss of the Cwm estate.⁸⁷ Rotherwas is similarly listed as a specific missionary base from the 1720s onwards, and also included a chapel and burial facilities.⁸⁸ The specific locations of each property add weight to their usefulness as emergency bases: Rotherwas is in Herefordshire, whilst Courtfield was technically in Monmouthshire until jurisdictional changes in 1898.⁸⁹

Both Courtfield and Rotherwas were also host to Benedictine missions later in the 18th century and into the 19th – Courtfield is listed as a functioning missionary base from at least 1773 until 1813, and Rotherwas from 1776 onwards.⁹⁰ Courtfield in particular was the heart of thriving missionary activity, listing some 40 communicants by 1802, compared with only 12 communicants in the urban center of nearby Gloucester at the same time.⁹¹ Other Benedictine missions were established at Holme Lacy (Herefordshire) in 1771 and Clytha Hall (Monmouthshire) in 1769. The post-1679 period also saw a small number of Franciscan missions established at Abergavenny (Monmouthshire) in 1687, at nearby Garway in 1747, and at Hereford in 1684 – the houses at Abergavenny and Hereford in particular were functioning until 1812 and 1811 respectively, underpinned by a Franciscan novitiate at Perthyr (Monmouthshire).⁹²

Although scant evidence of the wider Welsh Catholic community survives for this period, partly due to the loss of the records of the vicars apostolic of the Western district during the Gordon Riots in 1780, some glimpses survive of a Catholic community that had recovered from the “rooting up” caused by the Popish Plot and continued to be a vital aspect of Welsh culture until at least the 1780s, and even into the early 19th century. In 1773, all four vicars apostolic were asked to account for their congregations in a report to Congregation de

87 See for example John Bodenham alias Stanley (ca. 1689–1750), listed as Rector of the College of St Francis Xavier, 1724–34, 1739–40, and 1746–50, and based at Courtfield, 1724–40 and 1746–50; Holt, *Jesuits*, 36.

88 For example Thomas Hilliard/Hildyard (1690–1746), who was based at Rotherwas from 1726 until his death, was also buried there; Holt, *Jesuits*, 117.

89 Bradney, *History of Monmouthshire*, Volume 1, Part 1: *Hundred of Skenfrith*, 138.

90 Geoffrey Scott, *Gothic Rage Undone: English Monks in the Age of Enlightenment* (Bath: 1992), 279.

91 Bellenger, *Monks With A Mission*, 175–78. See also Mary Vaughan, *Courtfield and the Vaughans: An English Catholic Inheritance* (London: 1989).

92 Bellenger, *Monks With A Mission*, 179, n. 14.

Propaganda Fide in Rome. Charles Walmesley (1722–97), vicar apostolic of the Western district including Wales, noted that there were 750 Catholics in Wales itself, along with nine priests and four “noble families.” In Herefordshire, there were an additional 190 Catholics, ministered to by nine priests.⁹³

Additionally, the Returns of Papists, a census of known Catholics gathered in 1767 and 1780, provide valuable and detailed evidence of the national Catholic community a century after the events of the 1670s. In Wales and the Marches, returns from the five dioceses of St David’s, Llandaff, St Asaph, Bangor, and Hereford show a sizable number of known Catholics in each jurisdictional area. As had been the case over the previous centuries, the areas around the Wales-England border remained something of a stronghold: Hereford for example listed 565 “papists” in both 1767 and 1780, and Llandaff similarly listed 434 and 382 respectively, with the largest number (98 per cent) found in Monmouthshire parishes rather than those parishes further west in the county of Glamorgan. The diocese of St Asaph shows a similarly thriving community of 362 papists in 1767, of which nearly 50 per cent were recorded within Holywell alone. By 1780, the numbers had dropped by a third to 272 known Catholics within the boundaries of St Asaph. Contrastingly, the evidence from the two dioceses along the western edge of the principality, Bangor and St David’s, suggests that a decline was in progress in these more rural parts of the principality. The returns from Bangor show just 16 “papists” in 1767, reduced to a mere nine by 1780; and St David’s lists drop from 114 in 1767 to just 28 by 1780.⁹⁴

It is certainly true that numbers of Welsh Catholics were affected by geography and increasing industrial trends from the late 17th century until the mid-18th century, but it is also true that in many parts of Wales the patronage and wealth of local Catholic families continued to support priests, locations, and even the building of churches, even into the 19th century, gradually evolving into a mission-led, proto-parish structure. Taken together, the evidence suggests that Welsh Catholicism remained sufficiently robust, and even experienced some kind of recovery. Between 1773 and 1803, the numbers of known Catholics within the Western district overall, encompassing South Wales and

93 J.H. Whyte, “The Vicars Apostolic Returns of 1773,” *RH* 9 (1967), 212. Bellenger misquotes the number of Catholics in Wales as being 1750 in his *Monks with a Mission*, 172. See also Geoffrey Scott, “Walmesley, Charles (1722–1797),” in *ODNB*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/28585>.

94 E.S. Worrall (ed.), *Returns of Papists, 1767*, vol. 2: *Dioceses of England and Wales, except Chester* (CRS Occasional Publication) 2 (Southampton: 1989), viii–ix and 180–82 (St Asaph), 183 (Bangor), 184 (St David’s), and 185–87 (Llandaff). See also Daniel J. Mullins, “Catholicism in Wales in the Eighteenth Century,” *Journal of Welsh Ecclesiastical History* 2 (1985), 1–6; and Pritchard, *St Winefride*, 212–16.

Herefordshire, as well as southwest England, had risen from approximately 3195 to 5500 – an increase of over 70 per cent, and far from suggestive that the events of the previous century had sounded the death knell for Welsh Catholicism.⁹⁵

95 Jenkins, "A Welsh Lancashire," 186.

PART 2

Opposition: Within and Without



Domestic Disorder

Debating Recusancy within the Catholic Community

Robert E. Scully, S.J.

1 England and Wales

Upon her accession to the English throne in 1558, Elizabeth I desired to put an end to the religious and interrelated political uncertainty of the previous several decades when the official state church had shifted from Catholic to Protestant and back again. Whether or not the Elizabethan religious settlement was a genuine *via media*, as the regime tried to represent it, early in 1559 the government pushed through “An Act Restoring to the Crown the Ancient Jurisdiction over the State Ecclesiastical and Spiritual, and Abolishing All Foreign Power Repugnant to the Same.”¹ The state reinforced this Act of Supremacy with “An Act for the Uniformity of Common Prayer and Divine Service in the Church, and the Administration of the Sacraments.”² The Act of Uniformity was designed to establish an essentially Protestant Church of England, but with enough flexibility or ambiguity to draw in most of the religiously uncertain or diffident, including those who may have had Catholic or Puritan leanings. It required that all of the queen’s subjects

shall diligently and faithfully, having no lawful or reasonable excuse to be absent, endeavor themselves to resort to their parish church or chapel accustomed, or upon reasonable let thereof to some usual place where Common Prayer and such service of God shall be used in such time of let, upon every Sunday, and other days ordained and used to be kept as Holy Days, and then and there to abide orderly and soberly, during the

1 1 Eliz. I, c. 1, in G.W. Prothero (ed.), *Select Statutes and Other Constitutional Documents Illustrative of the Reigns of Elizabeth and James I*, 4th ed. (Oxford: 1913; repr.: 1964), 1–13. The author would like to thank Tom McCoog, S.J., for making some very helpful suggestions on an earlier version of this chapter.

2 1 Eliz. I, c. 2, in Prothero, *Select Statutes*, 13–20. For the politics involved in passing these two acts, see Norman L. Jones, *Faith by Statute: Parliament and the Settlement of Religion, 1559* (London: 1982).

time of the Common Prayer, Preachings or other Service of God there to be used and ministered; upon pain of punishment by the censures of the Church, and also upon pain that every person so offending shall forfeit for every such offense twelve pence, to be levied by the Church-wardens of the parish where such offence shall be done, to the use of the poor of the same parish, of the goods, lands and tenements of such offender, by way of distress.³

Due in no small part to such strictures, and as religious disputes and the religious divide became more entrenched in the later 16th century in England and Wales, as across much of Europe, many English and Welsh Catholics were torn in their loyalties to church and state. In other words, how could one balance or reconcile duties to both the spiritual and secular realms: devotion to God, the papacy, and the Catholic Church on the one hand, and loyalty to queen and country on the other? In particular, what about the particularly troublesome obligation to attend the services of the established church – the Church of England? This seemed to especially muddy the waters that flowed between the never completely separate banks of the political and religious landscapes.⁴

The official stance of the Catholic Church was, or was purported to be, that the faithful should not attend “heretical” Protestant services. Yet as one of a number of examples of nuanced thinking on this difficult topic, Bishop Álvaro de la Quadra, the Spanish ambassador to England from 1559 to 1563, seems to have well understood the quandary in which English and Welsh Catholics found themselves. The bishop’s letter on this issue is located in an invaluable collection of primary sources on recusancy and conformity in late-Tudor and early Stuart England, Wales, and Scotland (1559–1608). This wide-ranging resource reveals the nature of the internal Catholic debate on recusancy and

3 Prothero, *Select Statutes*, 17.

4 For a general discussion of the quandaries that Catholics (and Puritans) faced with regard to conformity and nonconformity, see Elliot Rose, *Cases of Conscience: Alternatives Open to Recusants and Puritans under Elizabeth I and James I* (London: 1975). For the internal Catholic debate, see Rose, *Cases of Conscience*, 71–102. See also Stefania Tutino, *Law and Conscience: Catholicism in Early Modern England, 1570–1625* (Aldershot: 2007); Peter Lake and Michael Questier (eds), *Conformity and Orthodoxy in the English Church, c.1560–1660* (Woodbridge: 2000); Peter Holmes, *Resistance and Compromise: The Political Thought of the Elizabethan Catholics* (Cambridge, Eng.: 1982), esp. 81–125. For a broader study of several “minority” cultures in that society, see Arthur F. Marotti and Chanita Goodblatt (eds), *Religious Diversity and Early Modern English Texts: Catholic, Judaic, Feminist, and Secular Dimensions* (Detroit: 2013).

shows how attitudes evolved and sometimes clashed on a range of possible responses, from strict recusancy to occasional conformity.⁵

With regard to Catholics attending Protestant services, Bishop Quadra reasoned that, while it was “difficult to give a general rule,” he believed that “the prayers in the churches here, which they call ‘Common Prayers,’ contain no false doctrine whatever nor anything impious. ... The result is that, apart from the sin of dissimulation, and possible harm caused by bad example, the thing is not by its nature evil.”⁶ The predominant historiographical view has been that, in the opening years of Elizabeth’s reign, many of the queen’s Catholic subjects believed that (mere) church attendance was permissible so long as they did not receive Protestant Communion.⁷ More recent research, however, strongly suggests that recusancy, including opposition to Protestant church attendance, originated with some of the Marian clergy, especially the cathedral clergy, as early as 1560.⁸

In any event, in the same year as Bishop Quadra’s letter (1562), Catholic prelates and theologians gathered for the third and final session of the Council of Trent (1545–63). Some English Catholics sent a petition to the Council fathers concerning attendance at “common prayers and sermons” in England. As they stated,

5 Ginevra Crosignani, Thomas M. McCoog, and Michael Questier (eds) with the assistance of Peter Holmes, *Recusancy and Conformity in Early Modern England: Manuscript and Printed Sources in Translation* (Toronto: 2010), hereafter *Recusancy and Conformity*. While there will be an ongoing discussion of terms throughout this essay, it would be helpful at this point to highlight an insightful article by Michael Questier: “Conformity, Catholicism and the Law,” in Lake and Questier, *Conformity and Orthodoxy*, 237–61. Questier argues that the boundaries between recusancy and conformity were often negotiable and permeable, despite the contentions of polemicists on both sides of the debate. He also cautions against seeing recusancy as the “gold standard” and logically points out that “‘occasional conformity’ may also be ‘occasional recusancy’” (“Conformity, Catholicism and the Law,” 238 and 240).

6 Quadra to Francisco de Vargas y Mexia, Spanish ambassador to Rome, London, 7 August 1562, in *Recusancy and Conformity*, 4–8, at 7.

7 Holmes, *Resistance and Compromise*, 83–84.

8 See Frederick E. Smith, “The Origins of Recusancy in Elizabethan England Reconsidered,” *Historical Journal* 59 (2016), 1–32. Regarding the government’s early stance, see John J. LaRocca, S.J., “Time, Death, and the Next Generation: The Early Elizabethan Recusancy Policy, 1558–1574,” *Albion* 14 (1982), 103–17. For an example, however, of the regime’s hardening religious stance, at least by the later 1560s, see “Letters Written to All Souls College, Oxford, Relating to Religious Conformity, 1566–1573,” in *John Nichols’s The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth I: A New Edition of the Early Modern Sources*, 5 vols, ed. Elizabeth Goldring et al. (Oxford: 2014), 5:221–26.

if it is allowed, without danger to the soul or offence to God, to obey the public law of the kingdom, they would happily do so. On the other hand, if there is in this point any danger to salvation, or high treason to God, they have decided that they are prepared to suffer everything rather than do or omit anything by which they understand God would be offended or angered.⁹

The response from Trent was unambiguous. Based on their reading of scripture and church history, the Tridentine authorities concluded that such attendance weakened the faith of those conforming and gave scandal to others; it was schismatical and (at least implicitly) heretical. Therefore, without serious offence to God, “you may not be present at such praiers of hereticks, or at their sermons: and that farre better it were to suffer any whatsoever most bitter cruelties, than in most wicked and abominable rites & services by the least signe to consent unto them.”¹⁰

The Roman Inquisition also addressed this contentious issue and framed the question as follows: “Whether faithful Catholic subjects can, without danger of eternal damnation to their souls, be present at the aforesaid [Protestant services]?” Their unequivocal answer was that

it is not allowable to cease living as a Catholic, nor to lead the life of a heretic, nor to be present at their Psalms, lessons and sermons. Whereas in the case proposed, it would not be so much to communicate with heretics, and to participate with them, as to profess their life and errors, seeing that the Catholics would not be present for another cause, except that, by being reputed heretics, they may evade the punishments imposed on Catholics.¹¹

Evidently, in light of these decisions, Pius IV granted Bishop Quadra in England the “Faculty of absolving heretics and reconciling them to the Catholic

9 Petition of English Catholics to the Council of Trent, ca. June 1562, in *Recusancy and Conformity*, 1–4, at 3–4.

10 The Declaration of the Fathers of the Council of Trent, August 1562, in *Recusancy and Conformity*, 9–25, at 19. For a discussion of Trent’s contentious parallel agendas of church reform and doctrinal clarity, see John W. O’Malley, *Trent: What Happened at the Council* (Cambridge, Mass.: 2013).

11 Opinion of the Roman Inquisition, September 1562, in *Recusancy and Conformity*, 25–27, at 26–27.

Church." The pope further authorized Bishop Quadra to delegate those faculties to priests whom the bishop deemed suitable.¹²

In England, theory and practice often clashed in the face of such resolute calls for strict recusancy, on the one hand, and the reality of increasing governmental scrutiny and persecution of recusants, on the other.¹³ On his part, John Feckenham, the deprived abbot of the ancient Benedictine Westminster Abbey, knew what it meant – and cost – to stand up for the old-time religion. Even so, he strongly supported recusancy in his "Certaine considerations and causes, moving me not to bee presente at, nor to receive, neither use the service of the newe booke, otherwise called the Common boke of praieris." Feckenham bolstered his position using extensive arguments from scripture, the church fathers, and traditional church practices.¹⁴

Still, due to the rigors and costs of recusancy (financial and otherwise), rumors – probably enhanced by the hope that Catholic authorities would look the other way during those trying times – spread among parts of the population. To resolve confusion or reluctance among the faithful, Pius V (newly elected in January 1566) appointed two apostolic delegates, the theologians Thomas Harding and Dr Nicholas Sander, to promulgate the Catholic Church's official stance against attendance at Protestant worship. In turn, they brought Laurence Vaux into the process. Vaux had been a religious exile in Louvain, but he returned to England in 1566 to set the record straight. As he wrote in a letter to some of his coreligionists:

[A]ll suche as offer chyldren to the baptisme nowe used, or be present at the communion of servise nowe used in churches in Englande, aswell the laytie as the clergie, Dow not walke in the state of Salvacion; Neyther we may not communicate or sociate our selves in company with scismatyke or heretyke in devine thynges; theare is noe exception or dispensacion can be had for anye of the laitie, if they wyl stande in the stayte of salvacion.¹⁵

12 Pius IV to Álvaro de la Quadra, Rome, 2 October 1562, in *Recusancy and Conformity*, 27–29.

13 See Sarah Covington, *The Trail of Martyrdom: Persecution and Resistance in Sixteenth-Century England* (Notre Dame, Ind.: 2003). See also Ethan H. Shagan, *The Rule of Moderation: Violence, Religion and the Politics of Restraint in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, Eng.: 2011), which employs the concept of "coercive moderation" on the part of church and state.

14 John Feckenham, 8 February 1563, in *Recusancy and Conformity*, 30–57, at 30.

15 Laurence Vaux to his friends in Lancashire, 2 November 1566, in *Recusancy and Conformity*, 60–63, at 60.

As alluded to above, among the significant debates regarding recusancy is the question of its origins. Despite the contention, now largely debunked, that it only really began in earnest around 1580 with the arrival of the Jesuits (initially Edmund Campion and Robert Persons) on the English mission, there is convincing scholarship that recusancy was well underway in the 1560s. In addition to the previously understudied role of the Marian clergy,¹⁶ evidence points to the impact of the noncompromising declaration of the Council of Trent in 1562 (where Bishop Thomas Goldwell and Sander had urged a more rigorist position), as well as the more activist propaganda of Vaux in 1566. The latter argued that true Catholics could not participate in the religious services of the Church of England.¹⁷ These unambiguous stances, however, by no means brought an end to the ongoing series of controversies and debates on this difficult and controverted topic.

Even so, the adherents of recusancy moved forward on several fronts. In 1567, Harding and Sander wrote to Cardinal Giovanni Morone, the cardinal protector of England, requesting that Rome issue, in written form, the faculties granted to them to absolve conforming English Catholics, in order to remove any doubt as to their authority. In addition, and quite significantly, this document indicates that a stricter standard was the new norm. As they described it, early in Elizabeth's reign,

due to many differing opinions, absolution was given to laity who had abstained from receiving sacraments of heretics, even if they had gone to church prayers performed in a schismatic way. Lately however, on the common agreement of most learned men, and according to the precept of His Holiness, we ordained that no one be absolved unless they kept away from schismatic prayers, and professed their faith in word and deed.¹⁸

¹⁶ See Smith, "Origins of Recusancy Reconsidered."

¹⁷ See Holmes, *Resistance and Compromise*, 84; Gerard Kilroy, *Edmund Campion: A Scholarly Life* (Farnham: 2015), 84 and 170. Cf. Jessie Childs, *God's Traitors: Terror and Faith in Elizabethan England* (Oxford: 2014), 56–57.

¹⁸ Harding and Sander to Morone, Louvain, 11 June 1567, in *Recusancy and Conformity*, 64–69, at 67. For the papal bull granting these faculties, as well as a counter "Declaration and Warnyng," see "Faculties granted to Thomas Harding, Nicholas Sander, and Thomas Peacock," Rome, 14 August 1567, in *Recusancy and Conformity*, 71–78.

In other words, it was no longer sufficient (if it ever had been, officially) to refrain from receiving sacraments in a Protestant church service; attendance at the service itself was “schismatic” and therefore forbidden.

In that same year, Sander wrote a treatise addressing several theological issues, including “which is the true Church,” and the closely related issue of church attendance: “And whereas there is a rumour spread by certain men, that this going to schismatical Service is, or may be winked at, or dispensed in the Catholikes, of certaintie it is not so.” He added, even more forcefully, “we ought to have no fellowship in marriage, in prayer, and in all the service of God with those men, whose religion we mislike.”¹⁹

However widely or willingly these directives on recusancy may (or may not) have been received among the laity, a series of major political and religious events in the years 1568 to 1572, which can be quickly summarized here, dramatically shifted the landscape upon which English and Welsh Catholics trod. Mary, Queen of Scots fled imprisonment in her country in 1568 and sought refuge in England, where, despite her virtual house arrest, she became a major source of concern to Elizabeth and her regime, since Mary was both a Catholic and the leading claimant for the succession to her cousin’s throne.²⁰ The following year witnessed the Northern Rebellion, led by several Catholic earls, with its combination of political and religious demands, including the restoration of Catholic rights, if not official Catholicism itself. In a classic case of bad timing, Pius v, hoping to aid the rising but not knowing that it had already collapsed, took the drastic step in February 1570 of excommunicating Elizabeth and releasing Catholics from their loyalty to her. Among other charges, the papal bull accused the queen of forcing her subjects “to swear obedience to her detestable ordinances, to renounce the authority due to the Roman dignity, and acknowledge her the only sovereign over temporal and spiritual things.”²¹ This papal intervention exacerbated the already turbulent means by which English and Welsh Catholics tried to navigate the shoals of political and religious loyalties, making it ever harder to argue that these seemingly divergent loyalties could be reconciled. In effect, it transformed a largely theological problem into more of a political one. Despite its subsequent

19 Sander, “A Treatise of the Images of Christ, and of his Saints: and that it is unlawful to breake them, and lawful to honour them” (extract), Louvain, 1567, in *Recusancy and Conformity*, 69–71.

20 For a groundbreaking study of Mary, see John Guy, *Queen of Scots: The True Life of Mary Stuart* (New York: 2004).

21 *Regnans in excelsis*, Rome, 25 February 1570, in Robert S. Miola (ed.), *Early Modern Catholicism: An Anthology of Primary Sources* (Oxford: 2007), 486–88.

abeyance, the regime kept this papal pronouncement as a millstone around the necks of its Catholic subjects, since it viewed the Ridolfi Plot of 1571 and most subsequent actual or alleged plots against the queen through this lens of purported Catholic and papal intrigue.²²

In that vein, in 1571 Parliament passed two acts related to the queen's proper religious and political authority, and the consequences of disparaging the same. The first was "An Act Whereby Certain Offences Be Made Treason," according to which any person who claimed "that the Queen ... is an heretic, schismatic, tyrant, infidel or an usurper of the crown ... that then all such offences shall be deemed ... to be high treason."²³ The regime reinforced this initial legislation with "An Act against the Bringing in and Putting in Execution of Bulls and Other Instruments from the See of Rome." This made reconciliation with the Catholic Church a case of high treason because it deemed rejection of the queen's religious authority tantamount to rejection, at least implicitly, of her political authority.²⁴

Parallel to the regime's harsher stand *against* Catholic nonconformity, various Catholic authorities continued to push *for* nonconformity, that is, nonattendance at Protestant services. William Allen, for example, believed that the official stance of recusancy was bearing fruit. As he argued, in 1578,

no one is any longer regarded as a genuine catholic, capable of absolution, who does not altogether refrain from every appearance of evil in regard to communication with heretics. And whereas in the judgment of many worldly-wise men this strict enforcement of ecclesiastical discipline seemed likely to lessen greatly the number of catholics, the Lord God has shown by the experience of a few years the contrary to be true.²⁵

Accurate statistics are, of course, difficult to ascertain, but Allen and others believed that, despite some short-term suffering, God would continue to reward the faithful for their constancy – especially made manifest in their recusancy.

In that same year (1578), another leading Catholic voice, Gregory Martin, produced a more comprehensive theological case for strict recusancy, entitled

22 For an in-depth discussion of these and related issues, see Wallace MacCaffrey, *The Shaping of the Elizabethan Regime: Elizabethan Politics, 1558–1572* (Princeton: 1968), 330–453. See also Francis Edwards, *Plots and Plotters in the Reign of Elizabeth I* (Dublin: 2002).

23 13 Eliz. I, c. 1, in Prothero, *Select Statutes*, 57–60, at 58.

24 13 Eliz. I, c. 2, in Prothero, *Select Statutes*, 60–63.

25 Allen to Jean Vendeville, Reims, 16 September 1578, in *Recusancy and Conformity*, 83–85, at 85.

A Treatise of Schisme, in which he argued that the “two most grievous sinnes” (heresy and schism), though distinct wrongs, were in some ways linked through attendance at Protestant services. He warned,

if we cutt off our selves by heresie, by schisme, by going unto the Church, where it is, or where any part of the schismaticall service thereof is said or preached, we have no more life, graces, and giftes of the holy Spirit, to merite life everlasting, then hath the leg or arme, cut off from the body, the life of the soul.

This Pauline-inspired passage was the conclusion to his various arguments from scripture, patristics, and ecclesiastical history requiring, he believed, the avoidance of all forms of Protestant worship.²⁶

It will be helpful to highlight one example that Martin referenced because, in the intra-Catholic debate that developed concerning the legitimacy of Protestant church attendance, both sides tried to show how the biblical example of Naaman the Syrian justified their position. Naaman, military commander of the king of Aram, suffered from leprosy; the king, therefore, decided to send him to Israel, where the prophet Elisha brought about his miraculous healing. As a result, Naaman declared his sole devotion henceforth to the God of Israel. Naaman, however, had a dilemma since he was still the servant of the pagan king of Aram. Therefore, Naaman inquired of Elisha, “may the LORD pardon your servant on one count: when my master goes into the house of Rimmon [the chief god of Aram] to worship there, leaning on my arm, and I bow down in the house of Rimmon, when I do bow down in the house of Rimmon, may the LORD pardon your servant on this one count.” Elisha apparently approved of this by saying, “Go in peace.”²⁷

As Martin interpreted this passage, even if Elisha gave Naaman leave to offer his master temporal service, not in respect of religion, but according to his office, it was

... but by leave of the prophete, whom God did wil then to be obeyed: but he that is [Elisha] nowe [i.e. the pope], both geve you no such leave, but

²⁶ *Treatise of Schisme* (extract), in *Recusancy and Conformity*, 111–16, at 113 and 116; A.F. Allison and D.M. Rogers, *The Contemporary Printed Literature of the English Counter-Reformation between 1558 and 1640*, 2 vols (Aldershot: 1994), 2 103, no. 524. For more on tracts that equated true Catholicism with recusancy, see Peter Milward, *Religious Controversies of the Elizabethan Age: A Survey of Printed Sources* (London: 1978), 50–52.

²⁷ 2 Kings 5:1–19, esp. 18–19.

doth commaund the contrarye, whose voyce you are bound to obeye, els this example of Naaman wil condemne you.²⁸

As we will see, others begged to differ regarding the proper interpretation of this important but disputed passage.²⁹

Yet, despite this chorus of condemnation concerning conformity, many English Catholics listened to, and some apparently rested their conscience upon, arguments that supported attending services of the Church of England, at least under certain circumstances. This came to be known as occasional conformity: in other words, making at least an occasional appearance at the established church as required by law. However, a number of these individuals also surreptitiously attended a Catholic Mass when one was available. Thus was born the phenomenon of the “church papists,” who tried to express political loyalty to queen and country by occasionally attending the state church, while also maintaining religious loyalty to the ancient Catholic Church and papacy through participation in the Mass and other expressions of their genuinely held beliefs. As Alexandra Walsham has pointed out in her germinal study, *Church Papists*, this was a complex reality and one that authorities on both sides of the political/religious divide viewed with suspicion, if not outright condemnation. Church papistry was related to the issue or charge of Nicodemism, that is, not being forthright about one’s faith, in this case by being or acting outwardly a Protestant but being inwardly a Catholic in one’s true convictions.³⁰

In any event, there seemed to be little doubt that if the English and Welsh Catholic communities were to survive long term, they would need the ministrations of priests to celebrate the Mass and sacraments, preach, and offer other means of spiritual sustenance. The mission of the secular clergy (the seminary priests) began in 1574, and the advent of the Jesuit mission in 1580 reinforced

28 Martin, *Treatise of Schisme*, in *Recusancy and Conformity*, 112–13, at 112.

29 For a discussion of how various interlocutors used (or arguably misused) the example of Naaman in the debate over recusancy, see Rose, *Cases of Conscience*, 74–77 and 242–50; Holmes, *Resistance and Compromise*, 91–94 and 96–97.

30 Alexandra Walsham, *Church Papists: Catholicism, Conformity and Confessional Polemic in Early Modern England* (Woodbridge: 1993). Among her many important insights, Walsham says that those categorized as church papists “defy statistical analysis” and were to some extent a “clerical construction” (Walsham, 118). For a discussion of attacks by Calvin and other Protestants on Nicodemism, see Walsham, 37–38. For a study whose focus is on English Protestants who equivocated, see M. Anne Overell, *Nicodemites: Faith and Concealment between Italy and Tudor England* (Leiden: 2018). Regarding “Nicodemitism” in what was in various ways a culture of dissimulation, see Jon R. Snyder, *Dissimulation and the Culture of Secrecy in Early Modern Europe* (Berkeley: 2009), esp. 81–85.

and expanded upon this spiritual enterprise.³¹ In order to address various pressing issues and to coordinate a strategic vision for the Catholic mission, the Jesuits Robert Persons and Edmund Campion called for a meeting of leading clergy and laymen. This so-called Synod of Southwark, near London, met in July 1580. On the controverted issue of fasting, the participants agreed that local customs should prevail over (often more lenient) Roman ones. Regarding the more crucial and controversial issue of state-mandated church attendance, the majority consensus was that it was not morally permissible and should not be condoned. This was the view not only of the Jesuits but also of the bulk of the secular priests, including George Blackwell, the future archpriest of the English secular clergy.

However, since some Catholics were continuing to make the argument that occasional conformity was justifiable, especially in the persecuting environment of the later Elizabethan era, among the means and individuals chosen to counteract this minority view (at least among the clergy), Persons agreed to produce a tract to clarify the reasons for the official position. The result was *A Brief Discours Contayning Certaine Reasons Why Catholiques Refuse to Go to Church* (commonly called “Reasons of Refusal”).³² Persons cited supporting admonitions from the Council of Trent and Pius v. In all, he marshaled nine reasons why this was impermissible, as follows:

the danger of infection from contact with heresy; danger of giving scandal; attendance is a *signum distinctivum*, a distinctive sign; dangers of schism; dangers involved in participation; dissimulation; unfaithful service; risk of losing the benefits of Catholicism; and examples from different infidels and heretics.³³

This tract evidently reached a wide audience because three Protestant writers sharply critiqued it in 1581, as did a Catholic author around 1580.³⁴

31 In addition to the several volumes on the Jesuit mission by Tom McCoog, S.J., cited in this chapter, see Robert E. Scully, S.J., *Into the Lion's Den: The Jesuit Mission in Elizabethan England and Wales, 1580–1603* (Saint Louis: 2011).

32 Douai (printed secretly in East Ham), 1580, ARCR, 2:121, no. 613. For Persons's account of the Southwark meeting and his Reasons of Refusal, see his “Memoirs,” in *Miscellanea II* (CRS) 2 (London: 1906), 176–81. See also Rose, who calls Persons's tract the “most famous contribution to the debate” on church attendance, in *Cases of Conscience*, 74–78, at 74; Walsham, *Church Papists*, esp. 24–27.

33 As summarized in *Recusancy and Conformity*, xxiii.

34 Persons, “Memoirs,” in *Miscellanea II*, 28 and 180–81; A.C. Southern, *Elizabethan Recusant Prose, 1559–1582* (London: 1950), 136–44, 437, and 460–63.

On the other hand, in terms of approbation, a Welsh Catholic layman and poet, Richard Gwyn (White), transcribed "Reasons of Refusal," or at least parts of it, into Welsh verse sometime prior to his death in 1584.³⁵ Yet, whereas Richard Gwyn clearly approved of Persons's stance regarding church papistry, another Welshman, Robert Gwyn, while agreeing with much of Persons's reasoning, took an even harsher stand against Protestant church attendance. This was evidently due to "the differing natures of Welsh and English Catholic experiences [and] the respective needs of the two missions."³⁶ The relative geographical distance of Wales from the metropole, as well as its cultural and linguistic differences, made it easier to present the "Church of England" as a foreign religion. In his book, *Gwssanaeth y Gwŷr Newydd* (*The New Men's Service*), Robert Gwyn argued that Welsh Catholics had even fewer justifications than did their English coreligionists to attend Protestant services. Therefore, their sin, if they occasionally conformed, was even less excusable as a matter of individual conscience.³⁷

Back on the English scene, the above-mentioned Catholic critique of Persons's tract was written by either Alban Langdale, a Marian priest (who may have been present at the Southwark gathering), or William Clitherow, who was ordained a secular priest in 1582 and later became a Carthusian at Louvain.³⁸ This counter-tract justified the practice of occasional conformity within the context of the times.³⁹ In this response, *A Discourse Delivered to Mr Sheldon*, the author stressed that "circumstanc[e]s do alter cases" and cited a number of examples from both the Jewish and Christian traditions in which faithful individuals attended what they may have believed to be heretical services, but only to fulfill certain secular obligations or to advance the true faith. Thus, the author argued, Naaman the Syrian, even after his healing and dedication to the God of Israel, continued to serve his king in the context of a pagan temple, but only to the extent that "he swarve not from the trew worshipinge of God." Therefore, "the bare locall abidinge in the prophane temple att there tyme of service was not of ytselve a mortall synn."⁴⁰

35 See John Hungerford Pollen, S.J. (ed.), *Unpublished Documents Relating to the English Martyrs* (CRS) 5 (London: 1908), 90–99, esp. 93–95.

36 James January-McCann, "Robert Gwyn and Robert Persons: Welsh and English Perspectives on Attendance at Anglican Service," *RH* 32 (2014), 159–71, at 159.

37 January-McCann, "Robert Gwyn and Robert Persons."

38 On Langdale, see Holmes, *Resistance and Compromise*, 90–94; Walsham, *Church Papists*, 51–55. On Clitherow, see Anstruther, 1:81.

39 *Recusancy and Conformity*, xxiii–xxiv.

40 Langdale or Clitherow to Ralph Sheldon, in *Recusancy and Conformity*, 116–29, at 119 and 120.

This tract also cited the example of Nicodemus and the apostles continuing to go for a time to the Jewish Temple, as well as other citings. These instances from the Bible and history were purportedly further proof “that the bare goinge and naked corporall presence with P[rotestants] or I[dolators] in theire churche att tymes of prayer withowt farther circumstanc[e]s is nether Protestancie nor mortall synn.” To be clearly wrong, such attendance would have to involve obstinacy, contempt, or both. So long as someone did not give scandal, then, based on one’s conscience, the practice was permissible in that context; at worst it was a violation of positive (human) as opposed to divine law and was not a mortal sin. Moreover, attendance was not of itself *signum distinctivum* (a distinctive sign) between Catholics and Protestants but rather between “a trew subject and a rebbell.” The author concluded, “the whole considerat[i]on of the matter is to be referred not to the worke so muche as the manner of doinge and to the perill of thy owen infection and of thy brothers fall.” True, the faithful needed to “beare with the weake,” but not to the extent of allowing others to dictate their own personal and conscientious discernment concerning the difficult intersection and performance of secular and sacred duties.⁴¹

Persons, with the assistance of George Blackwell, wrote a rejoinder to the *Discourse*, which it attempted to refute at every turn. As to particular points, this latest tract, *Against Going to Churche*, took up the case of Naaman and, among other issues, argued that Naaman “went with the king to Churche for a meere knowen temporall service, which we graunt maye be lawfull in our case.” However, as to the law demanding that all subjects attend the Protestant church, the authors maintained that going to “hereticall conventicles” was prohibited not only by ecclesiastical law, but also by divine and natural law. In such circumstances, church officials had no authority to grant dispensations to occasional conformists. Regarding the denial that attendance was a distinctive sign of Protestantism, Persons/Blackwell wrote, “[Y]ou say that the Protestantes make it no signe distinctive, because they knowe that many Catholikes goe to churche, but this is flatt false, for they knowe the difference betwixt precise Catholikes and dissemblers, as well as we doo.”⁴² In other words, the argument seemed to be that, as a norm, church attendance *was* a distinctive sign between Catholics and Protestants, though (ironically) not necessarily between Catholics and Puritans – many of whom also refused to conform to the established church.⁴³

41 *Recusancy and Conformity*, 120 and 127–29.

42 *Against Going to Churche*, in *Recusancy and Conformity*, 142–56, at 145, 151, and 154.

43 For Persons’s comments on this tract and its purportedly positive impact, see his “Memoirs,” in *Miscellanea II*, 179–81, and *Miscellanea IV* (CRS) 4 (London: 1907), 3–7.

Due to the purported threats from Catholics, both domestic and international, in 1581 Parliament passed "An Act to Retain the Queen's Majesty's Subjects in Their Due Obedience." This statute required that all recusants attend the state church at least once a month, failing which the recalcitrant could face ruinous recusancy fines of £20 per month.⁴⁴ This act led to the establishment of the Recusant Rolls and ushered in a much harsher political and spiritual climate, which put particular pressure, financial and otherwise, on many gentry and aristocratic families.⁴⁵ Even so, an anonymous tract from this period still argued that "no Catholique Christian can goe to church without the daunger of most dampnable scisme."⁴⁶

The act of 1581 was evidently the spark for another anonymous tract around the same time, namely, *A Briefe Advertisement*.⁴⁷ On the one hand, the author was resolute in condemning Protestant church attendance, saying that a Catholic "cannot without utter damnation resort unto it, for thereby he should doe that Acte which in Conscience he taketh to be the dishonor of God, and so for Conscience sake damnable."⁴⁸ On the other hand, the author argued that a recusant was not obliged to place himself in danger concerning an unjust law, and, therefore, one was justified in using evasive answers (or equivocation) when questioned by the authorities. He therefore provided *An Advertisement*

44 23 Eliz. 1, c. 1, in Prothero, *Select Statutes*, 74–76. See also "Ordering Return of Seminarians, Arrest of Jesuits," 10 January 1581, in *TRP* 2:481–84. On the background to this much harsher statute, see John J. LaRocca, S.J., "Popery and Pounds: The Effect of the Jesuit Mission on Penal Legislation," in *The Reckoned Expense: Edmund Campion and the Early English Jesuits*, 2nd ed., ed. Thomas M. McCoog, S.J. (Rome: 2007), 327–45.

45 See, for example, M.M.C. Calthrop (ed.), *Recusant Roll No. 1 (1592–1593)* (CRS) 18 (London: 1916); H. Bowler (ed.), *Recusant Roll No. 2 (1594)* (CRS) 57 (London: 1965); Bowler (ed.), *Recusant Roll No. 3 (1594–1595) and Recusant Roll No. 4 (1595–1596)* (CRS) 61 (London: 1970). For a case study of recusancy in Yorkshire, both before and after the implementation of the formal Recusant Rolls, see A.G. Dickens, *Reformation Studies* (London: 1982), 159–215. With regard to studies of particular Catholic families, see Peter Marshall and Geoffrey Scott (eds), *Catholic Gentry in English Society: The Throckmortons of Coughton from Reformation to Emancipation* (Farnham: 2009); Michael C. Questier, *Catholicism and Community in Early Modern England: Politics, Aristocratic Patronage and Religion, c.1550–1640* (Cambridge, Eng.: 2006), which studies the Brownes of Cowdray and Battle in Sussex; Godfrey Anstruther, O.P., *Vaux of Harrowden: A Recusant Family* (Newport: 1953).

46 *Against Going to Church* (1581/1582), in *Recusancy and Conformity*, 130–31, at 130.

47 *A Briefe Advertisement Howe to Answere unto the Statute for Not Coming to Church Both in Law, and Conscience, Containing Three Principall Points* (1581–1582), in *Recusancy and Conformity*, 132–42. For a discussion of this tract, see Rose, *Cases of Conscience*, 60–64 and 78–82.

48 *A Briefe Advertisement*, in *Recusancy and Conformity*, 139.

to the *Recusants Howe to Answer the Statute for Not Coming to Church*.⁴⁹ In doing so, the author drew upon the nascent field of casuistry: that is, moral theology as applied to difficult cases of conscience. Elliot Rose posits that casuistry was “virtually a creation of the late sixteenth century,” when, as we have seen, conflicting duties to church and state put terrible strains on many individuals’ consciences.⁵⁰ In addition to Rose, Peter Holmes has produced several studies on the significance of casuistry in English Catholic culture.⁵¹ A wide range of other insightful works examine the use of language, rhetoric, casuistry, and mental reservation in broader early modern Catholic and European culture.⁵² One significant example of a contemporary case of conscience was Fr Francisco Toledo’s “reply to the case about going to churches in England,” in which he determined that this was “forbidden by divine law and it can not be made licit by any dispensation nor can it be justified by any loss of temporal possessions.”⁵³

Still, on the central point of contention, that of church attendance, some Catholic writers continued to support it, at least under certain circumstances. Thomas Bell had been a Calvinist minister before he converted to Catholicism, following which he was ordained a secular priest around 1580 (though, after

49 *A Briefe Advertisement*, in *Recusancy and Conformity*, 142.

50 Rose, *Cases of Conscience*, 71–102, at 101. See also Carlo Ginzburg and Lucio Biasiori (eds), *A Historical Approach to Casuistry: Norms and Exceptions in a Comparative Perspective* (London: 2019).

51 Peter Holmes (ed.), *Elizabethan Casuistry* (CRS) 67 (London: 1981); *Resistance and Compromise*, esp. 99–125; Holmes (ed.), *Caroline Casuistry: The Cases of Conscience of Fr Thomas Southwell, SJ* (CRS) 84 (Woodbridge: 2012).

52 See Stefania Tutino, *Shadows of Doubt: Language and Truth in Post-Reformation Catholic Culture* (New York: 2014), esp. chap. 1. For collections of essays that discuss dissimulation and casuistry in a broader European context, see Miriam Eliav-Feldon and Tamar Herzog (eds), *Dissimulation and Deceit in Early Modern Europe* (New York: 2015); Edmund Leites (ed.), *Conscience and Casuistry in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, Eng.: 1988), esp. the article of Johann P. Sommerville, “The ‘New Art of Lying’: Equivocation, Mental Reservation, and Casuistry,” 159–84. See also Snyder, *Dissimulation and the Culture of Secrecy*, esp. 16–18; Perez Zagorin, *Ways of Lying: Dissimulation, Persecution and Conformity in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, Mass.: 1990), esp. “England and the Controversy over Mental Reservation,” 186–220; Andrew Hadfield, *Lying in Early Modern English Culture: From the Oath of Supremacy to the Oath of Allegiance* (Oxford: 2017).

53 “Responsum P. Francisci [Toledo] ad casum de aduendis Ecclesiis in Anglia,” 14 June 1581, in *Recusancy and Conformity*, 156–57, at 157. For more on Toledo and casuistry, see James F. Keenan, S.J., “The Birth of Jesuit Casuistry: *Summa casuum conscientiae, sive de instructione sacerdotum, libri septem*, by Francisco de Toledo (1532–1596),” in *The Mercurian Project: Forming Jesuit Culture, 1573–1580* (Rome: 2004), ed. Thomas M. McCoog, S.J., 461–82.

being arrested in 1592, he conformed to the established church).⁵⁴ Like Alban Langdale, Bell was a major proponent of the permissibility of Catholic attendance at Protestant services. He summed up his major arguments in *A Comfortable Advertisement*, which unfortunately appears to be no longer extant. As in many such cases, we mainly know about its contents through various refutations in works by Bell's adversaries, which may in part be parodies or simplifications of the author's perhaps more theologically nuanced positions. For example, Bell seemed to argue, in what was essentially a treatise on Christian ethics, that recusancy could be an act of supererogation (meaning, above and beyond the call of duty), and that it placed an almost impossible burden on the average layperson. Still, he did not cavalierly favor Catholic attendance at no cost. Rather, he maintained that Catholics "could attend Protestant services out of obedience to the law and loyalty to the queen [but] only with some type of overt protest that they found the religious service distasteful." Moreover, although physically present, they should neither pray nor receive Communion.⁵⁵

Bell's tract provoked a very lengthy response, entitled a *Refutation of "A Comfortable Advertisement."*⁵⁶ Though traditionally attributed to the Jesuit missionary John Gerard, it is more likely that the principal author was the secular priest John Mush, who may well have had some assistance from the longtime superior of the English Jesuit mission, Henry Garnet.⁵⁷ At the outset, Mush and Garnet (assuming their authorship) made clear their intention to refute Bell: "An answer to a comfortable advertisement with it[s] addition written of late to afflicted catholykes concerninge goinge to church with protestantes

54 For a sketch of Bell, see Anstruther, 1:29–30; for a more detailed study, see Alexandra Walsham, "‘Yielding to the Extremity of the Time’: Conformity, Orthodoxy and the Post-Reformation Catholic Community," in *Conformity and Orthodoxy*, 211–36, esp. 218–36. An interesting comparison to Bell is John Boste, who had also been a minister before his conversion and ordination. Boste, however, was a strong supporter of recusancy. See *An Exhortation by Boste against Going to Protestant Churches* (1584?), in Pollen, *Unpublished Documents*, 68–69. For background on Boste, including his capture and martyrdom, see Anstruther, 1:43–44; Pollen, *Unpublished Documents*, 215–23; *Miscellanea I* (CRS) 1 (London: 1905), 85–92.

55 This is from a summary of Bell in *Recusancy and Conformity*, xxv. See also Walsham, *Church Papists*, 56–60; Holmes, *Resistance and Compromise*, 95–98.

56 *Refutation* (May 1588), in *Recusancy and Conformity*, 157–243.

57 *Recusancy and Conformity*, xxv and 157–58. On Mush, see Anstruther, 1:240–41. On Garnet, see Philip Caraman, S.J., *Henry Garnet (1555–1606) and the Gunpowder Plot* (New York: 1964); Caraman, *A Study in Friendship: Saint Robert Southwell and Henry Garnet* (Saint Louis: 1995).

wher in all the advertisers reasons are confuted and it declared to be unlawfull to goe to church with them as the advertiser did allowe.”⁵⁸

Whether fairly or not (which is difficult to say without the original), the authors of the *Refutation* argued that Bell had claimed – incorrectly – that numerous church authorities, past and contemporaneous, were on his side, at least as to certain aspects of the argument(s). Clearly, most of the chapter titles were rhetorical, as in chapter 2: “[W]hether Mr Gregorie Martin be of the advertisers opinion and whether ther protestations be lyke and whether Cardinall Allen and the colledge of Rhemes be of his syde or noe.” Likewise in chapter 4: “[W]hether the 12 doctours of Trente be of his opinion, and whether any sincere catholyke preeste in the realme hath ether practised the advertisers protestation or doth hold his opinion.”⁵⁹

Bell’s central contention seemed to be that Catholics could attend Protestant services so long as they publicly protested as to why they were there. Mush and Garnet reiterated Persons’s argument in his “Reasons of Refusal,” which they evidently thought summed up the orthodox stance precisely and definitively:

[A Catholic] may not goe to church under any vayne pretence as pretending that he goethe onlye for obedience and not for any lykinge that he hath to ther service, yea although he should protest the same openlye, for that protestation should rather aggravate the synne [than] diminish it.⁶⁰

As to several other points of contention, the *Refutation* held that going to the state church was sinful in and of itself and therefore not dispensable; it was also a distinctive sign between Catholics and Protestants; moreover, it was heretical and schismatical because it was a voluntary separation from the unity of Christ’s Church.⁶¹ The authors also defended Persons from the accusation that he had contradicted himself in his “Reasons of Refusal,” and concluded with “a charitable advertisemente to the comfortable advertiser,” which urged the faithful to avoid all Protestant spiritual gatherings, despite the dangers of persecution, and ultimately to trust in God and the Catholic Church.⁶²

58 *Recusancy and Conformity*, 158.

59 *Recusancy and Conformity*, 167–72 and 174–82, at 167 and 174.

60 *Recusancy and Conformity*, 170.

61 *Recusancy and Conformity*, esp. 190, 203, and 216.

62 *Recusancy and Conformity*, esp. 231, 235, and 241, quoted at 235. For more on the debate over occasional conformity, see the oppositional writings between Thomas Wright and Robert Persons, in *Recusancy and Conformity*, 352–400.

In light of actual or perceived threats, the government was in the process of tightening the screws.⁶³ In 1585, Parliament passed “An Act against Jesuits, Seminary Priests and Such Other Like Disobedient Persons,” which was designed to shut off the flow of priests from the Continent into England.⁶⁴ The Parliament of 1586–87 reinforced the original recusancy statute of 1581 with an additional enactment.⁶⁵ Several years later, in the tense atmosphere of the 1590s, the regime passed even harsher statutes to further undermine the embattled Catholic community by means of “An Act to Retain the Queen’s Subjects in Obedience,” and “An Act against Popish Recusants” (1593).⁶⁶

In the context of this harsh political and spiritual climate, a particularly significant writing made its way from Rome.⁶⁷ In 1592 William Allen, who had become a cardinal in 1587, wrote an open letter to the Catholics in England. On the one hand, he instructed the faithful, especially priests, that they should not teach “nor defende that it is lawfull to communycate with the protestantes in their praiers or service or conventicles where they meete to mynister their untrue sacramentes; for this is contrarie to the practyse of the church and the holie Doctors in all ages.” On the other hand, Allen urged priests, as confessors and spiritual advisors, to show pastoral sensitivity in dealing with cases of occasional conformity:

I would have you use greate compassion and mercifulnes towards suche of the laytie especially as for meere feare or savinge their family, wyfe and children from ruine are so far only fallen as to come sometymes to their churches or be present at the tyme of their service. For though

63 For the argument that the government amped up its anti-Catholic activity at least partly in response to the increasing condemnation of occasional conformity, as in the Mush/Garnet refutation of Bell, see Peter D. Clarke and Michael Questier (eds), *Papal Authority and the Limits of the Law in Tudor England* (London: 2015), 111–12. See also *A Plea for a Priest*, or more specifically *A Plee to Prove, that to Absolve Only from Heresy, Schisme, and Sinne to Reconcile Merely to the Unitie of the Holy Catholike Church ... Is Not Treason According to the Lawes, Promulgate by Hyr Majestie*, in *Recusancy and Conformity*, 101–49 (author unknown, dated between 1598 and 1603).

64 27 Eliz. 1, c. 2, in Prothero, *Select Statutes*, 83–86.

65 28 and 29 Eliz. 1, c. 6, in Prothero, *Select Statutes*, 88.

66 35 Eliz. 1, c. 1 and c. 2, in Prothero, *Select Statutes*, 89–92 and 92–93. See also “Establishing Commissions against Seminary Priests and Jesuits,” and “Specifying Questions to be Asked of Seminary Priests,” with special concern for “willful recusants” (18 October 1591), in *TRP* 3:86–93 and 93–95.

67 As an indication of Rome’s awareness of the perilous plight of English Catholics, see the “Report on the Present State of Affairs in England” (Rome: 1590), in *Recusancy and Conformity*, 243–59.

it be not lawfull to do so muche, nor in yt selfe any waies excusable, yet suche necessity in that kynde of men maketh the offense lesse and more compassionable, yea and more easily by you to be absolved.⁶⁸

Allen's blending of "bad cop, good cop" also reflected the views of Clement VIII. According to the cardinal, the pope stated that

to participate with the protestants either by prayinge with them or cominge to their churches or service or such like was by no meanes lawfull or dispensable, but added withall, that such as [through] feare and weakenes or other temporall force or necessitye should do yt ought to be gentlie dealt withall and easily absolved, as before saide.⁶⁹

Although the authorities never, of course, stated it quite so explicitly, the reality seemed to be, to quote the old adage, "It is easier to ask for forgiveness than for permission."

Even so, the majority of priests connected to the English mission felt the obligation to continue to spread the official word against conformity, and this was certainly true of most Jesuits. We have seen the prominent role that Robert Persons played in these efforts. John Gerard and Robert Southwell also taught and wrote in strong support of recusancy.⁷⁰ Henry Garnet, who was the superior of the Jesuit mission for 20 years (1586–1606), undoubtedly had to deal with many ongoing questions concerning recusancy and occasional conformity, and he considered it part of his responsibility to propagate the church's official teaching. Therefore, in 1593 he published the decrees of the Council of Trent on this subject, along with his own *Preface to the Publication of the Tridentine Resolutions*. He summarized the major points, noting that "going to the Church is schisme[,] exterior heresy and deniall of faith," and stressed moreover that "presence alone is unlawfull."⁷¹

In that same year, Garnet published *A Treatise of Christian Renunciation*, to which he appended a chapter that addressed the question of occasional conformity under protest. Although it is not certain, the priest (and later

68 *Recusancy and Conformity*, 260–62, at 261.

69 *Recusancy and Conformity*, 261–62.

70 See John Gerard, *The Autobiography of a Hunted Priest*, trans. Philip Caraman (New York: 1952); Robert Southwell, *An Epistle of Comfort*, ed. Margaret Waugh (Chicago: 1966), esp. chap. 12. The English Jesuits vetted candidates for the mission to make sure that they were not soft on recusancy.

71 *Recusancy and Conformity*, 262–65, at 264.

appellant) John Mush may have been the author of the appended chapter.⁷² In any event, the writer framed the issue as follows: "Whether it be lawfull for Catholikes to go to hereticall Churches with a Protestation that they come not for liking which they have of the Religion there professed." This was, of course, a rhetorical question. The author insisted that

to be present at the Conciliables of heretickes, and to frequent their Church indistinctly as one of them, is not onely to hide the trew faith and religion, but to professe a false secte by a new kind of facte ordeined therunto. Which being forbidden by the law of God, can neither be lawfull by any dispensation, nor iustified by any losse of temporall goodes.

Therefore, "no Protestation can make it lawfull."⁷³ In other words, the only true and proper protest was clearly not to attend a Protestant church. Recusancy, not occasional conformity, was the moral and courageous Christian/Catholic response, regardless of the cost. At the same time, although the act was seriously wrong ("a mortall sinne"), the author also stressed that it "is a generall rule in all sinnes, that certainty or security of amendment can never be required by the ghostly Father of the Penitent."⁷⁴ In other words, the dictates of moral and pastoral theology forbade a confessor from demanding that a penitent make a commitment never again to attend Protestant services. To attend was seriously sinful, but a truly repentant sinner, including a recidivist, could appropriately seek and obtain forgiveness.⁷⁵

If a Catholic subject was committed to being a recusant, but also desirous of not falling afoul of the recusancy laws and other penal legislation, how could such an individual respond to the regime's queries about church attendance and related matters without either self-incrimination or mendacity? This gave rise to the controversial field of casuistry and equivocation, as referred to previously. In *Directions [for Catholics] as to the Lawfull Manner of Answering Questions of Going to Church*, the (unknown) author suggested ways in which one could employ mental reservation and equivocation so as neither to sin nor place oneself in civil peril.⁷⁶ This document was a concise attempt to deal with

72 Garnet, *A Treatise of Christian Renunciation* (extract), in *Recusancy and Conformity*, xxvi-xxvii and 265-78.

73 *Recusancy and Conformity*, 266 and 272.

74 *Recusancy and Conformity*, 275.

75 For an internal Jesuit discussion (disagreement?) on the degree of the offense of occasional conformity, especially whether it was "external heresy," see the correspondence among Garnet, Acquaviva, and Persons in 1601, in *Recusancy and Conformity*, 279-84.

76 23 May 1601 (?), in *Recusancy and Conformity*, 296-98.

the troublesome issue of mandatory church attendance. In the same period, Henry Garnet produced a *Treatise of Equivocation*, which was an expansive tract on this rather complex and controverted topic, and to which he gave the formal and instructive subtitle: *A Treatise Against Lying and Fraudulent Dissimulation: Newly Overseen by the Author, and Published for the Defence of Innocency and the Instruction of Ignorants*.⁷⁷ The gist of the argument was that civil authorities had no legitimate moral authority to force individuals to disclose information or activities, based on conscience, which might endanger themselves or others. Therefore, those undergoing interrogation had a right to equivocate and use partial truths. Garnet went so far as to say,

if all these manners of ambiguous or imperfect speeches have been used eyther by Chryst hym selfe, who is the patterne of all perfection, or by such holy persons as have bene in holy Scripture propounded as samplers of our lyffe and actions, who doubteth but there may be tyme and place [when] unto vs also it may be lawfull to do the like? and so much the more, for that we live for the most parte amongst more violent and continuall adversaries.⁷⁸

Garnet wrote his treatise in part to defend his friend and fellow Jesuit Robert Southwell, who had spoken and written in favor of equivocation under various pressing circumstances, including at his trial in 1595.⁷⁹ The archpriest, George Blackwell, also approved of this practice and its thorough exposition in Garnet's treatise. In a paragraph appended to the treatise, which well captures the attempt to balance moral theology and its pastoral application, Blackwell, in a message that many of his fellow Catholics would undoubtedly have happily received, concluded as follows:

The validly of equivocation is fully upheld by the Scriptures, fathers of the church, doctors of the [c]hurch, scholastics, canonists and supported by very good arguments. Therefore this treatise deserves to be printed

77 *Treatise of Equivocation*, ca. early 1598, in *Recusancy and Conformity*, 298–343.

78 *Recusancy and Conformity*, 323.

79 *Recusancy and Conformity*, 301, 320, 330, 338–39, and 343. See also Caraman, *Henry Garnet*, 447–48; Caraman, *Study in Friendship*, 93–94 and 102–05; “Father Southwell’s Defence of Equivocation,” in Gerard, *Autobiography of a Hunted Priest*, 269–70; Devlin, *Robert Southwell*, esp. 300–02; Paul D. Stegner, *Confession and Memory in Early Modern English Literature: Penitential Remains* (New York: 2016), esp. chap. 6: “Treasonous Reconciliations: Robert Southwell, Religious Polemic, and the Criminalization of Confession.”

and propagated for the comfort of afflicted Catholics, and for the instruction of all devout souls.⁸⁰

2 Scotland

In some significant ways, the plight of Catholics in early modern Scotland paralleled that of their coreligionists in England and Wales, especially because they too were a persecuted minority. At the same time, it is important to recall the important qualifier that harassment and persecution of Catholics (as well as other religious minorities throughout Europe) could and did vary considerably, depending on factors of time, place, and political and social standing. There were also some important differences between England and Scotland due to a range of disparate political and religious developments in the northern kingdom.⁸¹ The Reformation in Scotland took a decidedly Calvinist and more specifically Presbyterian turn from about 1560 onward. The deposition and subsequent flight of the Catholic monarch – Mary, Queen of Scots – into England, where she faced virtual house arrest and eventual execution in 1587, left her young son as the cradle king, James VI, who was raised as a Calvinist. At the death of Elizabeth in 1603, James ascended the English throne as James I and, despite promises to the contrary, only returned to his homeland once (in 1617) during his twenty-two-year reign over his disparate kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland.⁸²

The religious situation in Scotland encompassed a range of complications and differences from England, including the factors of having an absentee monarch, a distinct civil law code, and an often-dominant Kirk (Church of Scotland). Moreover, the central levers of power of state and Kirk in Edinburgh

80 *Treatise of Equivocation, in Recusancy and Conformity*, 343.

81 The author would like to thank Peter Davidson for his very helpful insights on early modern Scotland, especially Scottish Catholic culture. See chap. 10 on Scottish Catholics by Peter Davidson and David Walker in this volume, as well as chap. 9 by Jane Stevenson. For a range of views on the Reformation in Scotland, see John McCallum (ed.), *Scotland's Long Reformation: New Perspectives on Scottish Religion, c.1500–c.1660* (Leiden: 2016).

82 For context and comparisons, see Felicity Heal, *Reformation in Britain and Ireland* (Oxford: 2003). With regard to the Protestant picture, see Margo Todd, *The Culture of Protestantism in Early Modern Scotland* (New Haven: 2002). On the Catholic side, for a somewhat older but still valuable study, see Peter F. Anson, *Underground Catholicism in Scotland, 1622–1878* (Montrose: 1970), which examines Scottish Catholic life from the reorganization of the Catholic mission in 1622 to the restoration of the Catholic hierarchy in 1878.

only sporadically attempted to enforce penal legislation in the more remote parts of the country, especially in the conservative and surprisingly tolerant Catholic heartland of North East Scotland (Aberdeenshire, Banffshire, and parts of Moray), as well as in parts of the South West and in the Gaelic-speaking Western Isles. Through the efforts of a combination of burgh councils, Kirk sessions, and local landowners, there was a sporadic and piecemeal enforcement of the law in the provinces. Thus, in the absence of a regular system of enforcement, in practice there was a good deal of regional variation, and it seems likely that anti-Catholic legislation was not enforced consistently, if at all at times, especially in the so-called darker corners of the kingdom.⁸³ When the penal laws were enforced, however, such enforcement could be severe, even, in very rare cases, to the point of death, as in the execution of the Jesuit John Ogilvie in Glasgow in 1615.⁸⁴

Still, even barring such extreme penalties, some if not many Scottish Catholics, like their English and Welsh counterparts, faced a dilemma concerning participation in Protestant services; namely, could they participate at some level in order to fulfill a political and legal obligation, without at the same time violating their religion and conscience?⁸⁵ An instructive case of conscience in

83 Concerning penal laws and their sporadic enforcement from the Union of the Crowns to the Union of the Kingdoms, see Allan I. Macinnes, "Catholic Recusancy and the Penal Laws, 1603–1707," *Records of the Scottish Church History Society* 23 (1987), 27–63. The author concludes: "As manifest by their reissue and amplification on 21 occasions, the penal laws against recusancy were more honoured by their breach than in their observance between 1603 and 1707. Politics, not persecution, was the primary motive for their promulgation" (Macinnes, 63).

84 The standard work is William E. Brown, *John Ogilvie: An Account of His Life and Death with a Translation of the Documents Relating Thereto* (London: 1925). For two recent assessments of Ogilvie's death, the first from a more international perspective, the second focusing on the local context, see Allan I. Macinnes, "John Ogilvie: The Smoke and Mirrors of Confessional Politics," *JJS* 7 (2020), 34–46; and Paul Goatman, "Exemplary Deterrent or Theatre of Martyrdom?: John Ogilvie's Execution and the Community of Glasgow," *JJS* 7 (2020), 47–66.

85 Regarding the situation of Scottish Catholics and the Catholic mission, especially that of the Jesuits, in the late 16th to the 18th centuries, see William Forbes-Leith, S.J. (ed.), *Narratives of Scottish Catholics under Mary Stuart and James VI* (London: 1889); Forbes-Leith (ed.), *Memoirs of Scottish Catholics during the XVII and XVIIIth Centuries*, 2 vols (London: 1909–10). See also Michael J. Yellowlees, "So Strange a Monster as a Jesuiste": *The Society of Jesus in Sixteenth-Century Scotland* (Argyll: 2003); Thomas M. McCoog, S.J., "Pray to the Lord of the Harvest: Jesuit Missions to Scotland in the Sixteenth Century," *Innes Review* 53 (2002), 127–88. And see the trilogy by McCoog, *The Society of Jesus in Ireland, Scotland, and England*, covering, in turn, the years 1541–88, 1589–97, and 1598–1606 (1996, 2012, and 2017). For an instructive case study, see Alasdair Roberts, "Jesuits in the Highlands: Three Phases," *JJS* 7 (2020), 103–15, which shows some shift of ministry

1587 suggests some of the nuances that could come into play in those trying times and circumstances. The query here involved not church attendance as such, but rather sermons and royal service. Thus,

If Catholics are invited by the king himself and taken to the sermons of heretics, sermons not accompanied by heretical prayers and not dangerous to listen to, can they with safe conscience be present at such when without serious loss they cannot avoid these sermons, and their presence would cause no scandal?

According to the nuanced reply,

Such sermons are to be avoided since it is almost incredible that men, uncultured and little versed in matters of religion, can be present at them without danger to their souls. But if it be certain, or extremely probable, that there is no scandal nor any danger to their souls then for the common good, but not for any personal advantage, they can be present provided no prayers are added.⁸⁶

Several important distinctions came into play here, first between those who were but semi-literate in religion (and therefore more vulnerable) versus those who were reasonably well-versed in the faith. Second was the distinction between merely listening to a sermon versus actively engaging in prayer/worship. There was also the stipulation that such a stance should be “for the common good,” presumably the preservation of the Catholic faith in Scotland, as opposed, primarily, to concern for one’s own political or economic standing.

A similar case of conscience surfaced in the early Jacobean years in England, concerning “Whether a Catholic could licitly accompany his heretical prince to a place of worship of heretics, and remain there with him while the heretical rite of worship is being performed.” The response was detailed and at times somewhat convoluted, but the author concluded,

Once the dangers of contempt of religion, scandal, and subversion, are excluded and if there is no other obstacle from elsewhere, a Catholic may enter heretical temples with his prince without blame, ... not however

from the Lowlands to the Highlands, and from gentry families to some of Scotland’s poorest people, from the late 16th to the 18th centuries.

86 *De casibus in Scotia accidentibus* (possibly by William Crichton, S.J.), in *Recusancy and Conformity*, 285.

with the intention of misleading the heretics or seeming to agree with them in the profession of religion.⁸⁷

Thus, Jesuit casuists deemed such action licit under these circumscribed conditions.

In Scotland, although the number of Catholic clergy was never very large through most of the penal period, the Franciscans and Jesuits appear to have constituted a significant percentage of the priests who ministered there, along with secular clergy and Dominicans, and their respective missions had a significant impact.⁸⁸ In the case of the Jesuits, through their actions and writings they exerted a disproportionate influence, both in the Catholic and anti-Catholic camps. We can see an example of the latter in a letter of Fr John Hay, S.J., to the Jesuit superior general regarding the concern of many Calvinist ministers as to the supposedly pervasive and pernicious influence of the order among much of the population. As Hay wrote, "The Jesuits (they said) were a new race of persons, far worse than the Papists (as they call the Catholics), and so skillful in the use of controversial weapons, that wherever they go they easily lead the minds of men astray."⁸⁹

Unlike in England, however, the hopes of many Scottish Catholics rested with the Crown, initially under Mary and then, at least for some time, under her son James. This was also connected to the question of the succession to the English throne after the death of Elizabeth, the last of the Tudors. Thus, as the Jesuit Robert Persons wrote in 1581, "Our chief hope is in Scotland, on which depends the conversion not of England only, but of all the north of Europe; for the right of succession to the English crown, on the death of the present occupant, passes to the Queen of Scotland and her son."⁹⁰ William

87 *Utrum vir Catholicus licite possit principem suum haereticum ad haereticorum templa comitari, et in ibi cum eo esse dum Sacra haeretico ritu peraguntur* (1604–12), in *Recusancy and Conformity*, 343–52, at 347 and 350. See also Stefania Tutino, "‘Makyng Recusancy Deathe Outrighte’? Thomas Pounce, Andrew Willet and the Catholic Question in Early Jacobean England," *RH* 27 (2004), 31–50.

88 See Macinnes, "Catholic Recusancy," 44–45, esp. with regard to the Franciscan mission to Gaelic Scotland. For the Jesuits, see Michael J. Yellowlees, "Father William Crichton's Estimate of the Scottish Nobility, 1595," in *Sixteenth-Century Scotland: Essays in Honour of Michael Lynch*, ed. Julian Goodare and Alasdair A. MacDonald (Leiden: 2008), 295–310, esp. 298; McCoog, "Pray to the Lord of the Harvest." With regard to the important overseas seminaries, see Thomas McNally, *The Sixth Scottish University: The Scots Colleges Abroad, 1575 to 1799* (Leiden: 2012).

89 Hay to Everard Mercurian, Paris, 9 November 1579, in Forbes-Leith, *Narratives of Scottish Catholics*, 141–65, at 145–46.

90 Persons to Acquaviva, 26 September 1581, in *Narratives of Scottish Catholics*, 166–72, at 166–67.

Allen echoed a similar sentiment the following year when he wrote, "It is of much importance to all the Christian world, that the Prince who is one day, by God's grace, to rule over the whole of our island of Britain, should become a son of the Church."⁹¹ The course of events, however, was quite different. Mary was executed in England in 1587. James VI/I, although he did in fact unite the crowns of Scotland and England in 1603, was reared and remained a committed Protestant (Calvinist) until his death in 1625 – though, compared to his son and successor, Charles I, James had a broader ecumenical and international mindset. Still, his stance toward Catholics was somewhat ambivalent.⁹²

James's ambivalence was quite personal, in part because it involved the religious beliefs and conversion of his own wife, Anne of Denmark. The Jesuit superior, Robert Abercromby – who played a significant role in the queen's conversion – succinctly summarized it as follows: "About the year 1600 [Anne] began to think about changing her religion from Lutheranism to Catholicism." Eventually, "she heard Mass and received from me the most Holy Sacrament." When James learned of his wife's Catholicism, his somewhat surprising answer was, "Well, wife, if you cannot live without this sort of thing, do your best to keep things as quiet as possible; for, if you don't, our crown is in danger."⁹³

Aside from the unique status of the queen (who lived in England from 1603 until her death in 1619), Abercromby and others were worried about the sustainability of Catholicism in Scotland if ecclesiastical authorities did not allow some concessions for at least the more spiritually mature faithful. Therefore, as he requested from Rome, "we do beg that permission may be granted so that

91 Allen to the cardinal of Como, Reims, 18 February 1582, in *Narratives of Scottish Catholics*, 174–75, at 175.

92 See, in particular, the insightful article by Jenny Wormald in which she problematizes the historiographical trend of "British history," especially regarding English and Scottish religious history, and explores similarities as well as important differences in the religious policies of James and Charles: "The Headaches of Monarchy: Kingship and the Kirk in the Early Seventeenth Century," in Goodare and MacDonald, *Sixteenth-Century Scotland*, 365–93, esp. 365–67, 370–71, and 391–93. See also Kenneth Fincham and Peter Lake, "The Ecclesiastical Policies of James I and Charles I," in *The Early Stuart Church, 1603–1642*, ed. Kenneth Fincham (Stanford: 1993), 23–49.

93 Abercromby to John Stuart, prior of the monastery at Ratisbon, in Forbes-Leith, *Narratives of Scottish Catholics*, 263–65. See also Forbes-Leith, *Narratives of Scottish Catholics*, 218–19, 262, 266–67, and 272–74; Albert Loomie, "King James's Catholic Consort," *Huntington Library Quarterly* 34 (1970–71), 303–16; and Yellowlees, "So Strange a Monster," 149–52. At the same time, just as James could be duplicitous in dealing with his sister monarch Elizabeth, he apparently used Anne's conversion (and his possible – but very unlikely – conversion?) as a diplomatic tool to gain support from the Catholic powers for his claim to the English throne; see John Guy, *Elizabeth: The Forgotten Years* (New York: 2016), 305–07.

some may occasionally attend the sermons of the heretics as long as there was no danger of perversion or scandal." As he noted, "theologians allowed their students to attend heretical sermons" in some other countries, such as Prussia and Poland. He continued:

Why then should it not be permissible for some of our more spiritual sons, whom we know would not be harmed from attendance, to do so? They would then be able to expose the false doctrines of the ministers and their blasphemous errors to many thoughtful and enquiring minds.⁹⁴

While some opposed any contact with "heresy," the stipulations (and limitations) here are instructive: only occasional attendance at sermons (versus worship), by the more spiritually solid, in order to rebut Protestant beliefs, and thereby both shore up the Catholic faithful and win over others.

A similar request came from the pen of another Jesuit, William Murdoch. He believed that the mission needed more Jesuits who were

properly trained and have full power to admit to heretical sermons those under their care who, according to their judgement, will not lapse into heresy on condition that they attend only occasionally, and provide a monthly account to their Jesuit director. Usually we win.

He added, as a safeguard, "They do not attend the prayers and services that characterise that church."⁹⁵ The specific caveats here – a monthly meeting with a Jesuit spiritual director and the avoidance of Protestant worship – were precautions designed to ensure that neither heretical beliefs nor practices would take root in (otherwise) faithful Catholics.

Thus, Scottish Jesuits generally drew an important distinction between attending sermons as opposed to participating in religious services or worship. There were also related issues and debates concerning the appropriate degree of severity in addressing various transgressions, as well as the proper means of

94 Abercromby to Claudio Acquaviva and George Duras (ca. 1601/02), in *Recusancy and Conformity*, 286–87. See also Forbes-Leith, *Narratives of Scottish Catholics*, 226–29 and 269–74. For a discussion of the relationship between James and Abercromby, as well as developments in Catholicism in Scotland and Poland during Abercromby's ministry in both countries, see Martin Murphy, "James VI and I, the Scottish Jesuit, and the Polish Pasquils," in *Publishing Subversive Texts in Elizabethan England and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth*, ed. Teresa Bela, Clarinda Calma, and Jolanta Rzegocka (Leiden: 2016), 28–40.

95 Murdoch to George Duras, 1 July 1602, in *Recusancy and Conformity*, 287–88, at 288.

reconciliation. These concerns revealed fissures within the Catholic community, especially between some of the clergy in England and Scotland. This in turn reflected divisions on the English mission surrounding the appointment of an archpriest (as opposed to a bishop) in 1598, and the resultant resentment of the “appellants.” This term referred to those secular clergy who appealed to Rome for a change in the hierarchical structure of the mission, as well as a diminution of the influence of the Jesuits on the mission, if not within the wider church. Among their complaints, the appellants charged that the Jesuits were too politically inclined and too lax, especially in Scotland, where they purportedly approved of occasional conformity, contrary to the church’s official stance requiring nonattendance.⁹⁶

William Crichton, an influential and somewhat controversial Jesuit who worked in his native Scotland and elsewhere, was evidently concerned about actual or perceived fundamental differences in the theological stance of English and Scottish Jesuits, with the implicit additional concern that the former were supposedly reacting to undue pressure from the appellants. Crichton clearly desired to clarify the situation in Scotland, as he did in the following letter to Rome:

All English Jesuits (as I judged) think that Scottish Jesuits give Catholics leave to attend heretical meetings. But they are mistaken. Scottish Jesuits do not do this although they do differ from their English colleagues in not considering those who sometimes go to heretical meetings as schismatic, nor as needing any other reconciliation with the Church than is made in a sacramental confession as in the case of other sins. ... The Scottish priests absolve from sin no one who goes to meetings of heretics who does not repent of the act and promise not to return; but should he return, he is treated like any other recidivist into mortal or venial sins.⁹⁷

96 See Holmes, *Resistance and Compromise*, 198–99. On the Archpriest (Appellant) Controversy (1598–1603) and its wider political implications, see Peter Lake and Michael Questier, *All Hail to the Archpriest: Confessional Conflict, Toleration, and the Politics of Publicity in Post-Reformation England* (Oxford: 2019); Arnold Pritchard, *Catholic Loyalty in Elizabethan England* (Chapel Hill: 1979), esp. 120–74; Scully, *Into the Lion’s Den*, 405–19. For an appellant perspective, see John Mush, *A Dialogue Betwixt a Secular Priest, and a Lay Gentleman*, ed. William Watson (Reims: 1601); ARCR, 2:109, no. 555.

97 Crichton to Claudio Acquaviva, Paris, 4 June 1603, in *Recusancy and Conformity*, 290–91. See also Forbes-Leith, *Narratives of Scottish Catholics*, 181–83 and 281–86; Yellowlees, “So Strange a Monster,” 97–105. For a discussion of the significance of “Fr. Crichton’s Map of Scotland, 1595,” which was his analysis of the religious stance of the nobles, whom he categorized as Catholics, heretics (Protestants), or *politiques* (ambivalent), see Yellowlees, “Crichton’s Estimate of the Scottish Nobility,” in Goodare and MacDonald,

In this view, occasional conformity in Scotland was certainly not encouraged, but neither was it considered schismatic. Moreover, the Scottish clergy deemed sacramental confession the appropriate and sufficient means of being reconciled with God and the Catholic Church.⁹⁸

There are also a series of letters from another Jesuit, Alexander MacQuhirrie, to Fr General Claudio Acquaviva, largely focused on the issue of attendance at sermons. MacQuhirrie had traveled to London in 1602, quite possibly to address the appellants' complaints about occasional conformity, and perhaps in the hope of establishing a common policy, especially as the two kingdoms seemed poised for some type of union under James.⁹⁹ As MacQuhirrie framed the issue: "[W]hat is to be done with those who go to hear the sermons of heretics either against their will (and this is certainly a large number) or for no reason: are they to be admitted to reception of the sacraments [if?] they plainly promise to keep away." MacQuhirrie stated that this was the hoped-for position, adding, rather ominously, "if this is in no case allowed, I would almost say that our work here [in Scotland] will be wholly useless," because in light of the very harsh penalties associated with excommunication by the Kirk, the fear was that many Catholics would fall away.¹⁰⁰

Ironically, although some of their English Catholic clerical opponents were accusing the Jesuits (and the Scottish Jesuits especially) of being too lax on certain issues, a number of Scottish Catholics were evidently accusing the Jesuits of being too harsh. Therefore, MacQuhirrie wrote again to Fr Acquaviva concerning

Sixteenth-Century Scotland, 295–310. As an example of his activities elsewhere, see Francisco de Borja Medina, S.J., "Intrigues of a Scottish Jesuit at the Spanish Court: William Crichton's Mission to Madrid (1590–1592)," in McCoog, *Reckoned Expense*, 277–325.

98 It is clear that even among Jesuits in Scotland there was a range of opinions. According to one account (debatable in part), Frs Crichton, Hay, and Gordon were permissive regarding Protestant church attendance, whereas Frs Holt and Ogilvie strongly opposed it. See "The Note-Book of John Southcote, D.D.: From 1623 to 1637," in *Miscellanea I*, 97–116, at 111–12.

99 *Recusancy and Conformity*, xxxi.

100 MacQuhirrie to Acquaviva, England, 1 December 1602, in *Recusancy and Conformity*, 288–89, at 289. See also Forbes-Leith, *Narratives of Scottish Catholics*, 268–74. For the unique status of one Catholic noblewoman, Eleanor Hay, whom the king protected in the midst of fierce persecution, see MacQuhirrie to Acquaviva, London, 18 July 1604, in *Recusancy and Conformity*, 295. Compare this with the case of another Catholic noblewoman who, married to a Protestant baron, "was much afflicted by her husband" and his relatives to abandon the Catholic faith, which she refused to do despite her hardships, in Forbes-Leith, *Narratives of Scottish Catholics*, 292.

those who attend sermons of the heretics. This was long ago clarified for the English and is better known than acceptable to our country men. But the good of Scotland, in my opinion requires that it be written out in full expressly and openly, for our fathers who work in that country, in order that Catholics who complain that they are being treated more repressively and harshly than usual, may know that this is not an opinion of ours but the decision of the heads of the Church.¹⁰¹

In other words, it would seem that the Catholic laity in Scotland were harder to wean from occasional conformity, at least regarding sermons, than were their English Catholic counterparts. The Jesuits also wanted to make it clear that this was not their mandate, but rather that of the Church universal.

Perhaps there was also confusion – and resentment – regarding alleged dispensations. According to an anonymous report,

his Holiness has given the queen a dispensation so that, although she is a Catholic, she is allowed to be present at and listen to sermons of heretics. Everyone thinks that the pontiff did not do it – indeed, he could not do it unless one were prepared to argue that the pope could allow what is intrinsically evil. ... Moreover to hear the sermons of heretics is a sign that distinguishes them from others who do not listen.¹⁰²

This attitude seems to have reflected a hardening (or stark clarification) of positions, in that attendance at sermons was seen as “intrinsically evil,” as well as a distinctive sign separating Protestants from Catholics, arguments that we have seen above.

The accession of James to the English throne in 1603 raised the hopes of many Catholics on both sides of the border. Fr MacQuhirrie, for example, believed that if there were a fuller union of the two kingdoms, as the king proposed, this would aid Scottish Catholics because, on the face of it, as he believed, “the English penalties for non-attendance on public worship” were somewhat less severe than under Scottish law.¹⁰³ On his part, Fr Crichton made a range of assessments, both as to the king’s religious convictions, and with

101 MacQuhirrie to Acquaviva, London, 20 July 1603, in *Recusancy and Conformity*, 292–94, at 293. See also *Recusancy and Conformity*, 294; Yellowlees, “*So Strange a Monster*,” 153–54.

102 *Avvisi* (possibly by Robert Taylor, an English priest), London, 12 July 1603, in *Recusancy and Conformity*, 291–92, at 292.

103 MacQuhirrie to Acquaviva, Scotland, 7 September 1604, in Forbes-Leith, *Narratives of Scottish Catholics*, 277–78.

regard to the relative status of Catholicism in James's three kingdoms. While there are divergent views about Crichton's expectations concerning the possibility of the king becoming Catholic, the Jesuit missionary described how the "three kingdoms of England, Ireland and Scotland, are all agreed in the substance of their erroneous belief, but differ in their mode of action." In Ireland, "the number of Catholics in that country being too great," their ability to worship was, relatively speaking, the least affected, whereas in Scotland, "on the other hand, the utmost severity is used" to enforce conformity to Calvinist worship (though this latter claim is certainly debatable).¹⁰⁴ In England, hopes for the easing of the Elizabethan penal laws quickly faded as the Puritan faction pressured James into enforcing them to the full. This "increasing persecution" led to the debacle of the Gunpowder Plot of 1605, and "although the Catholics of England and the Continent raised a sincere cry of horror at the news, it has been termed ... the Popish Plot."¹⁰⁵

Whatever the true nature of the plot, it enabled the government to move against Catholics, and especially Jesuits, with even greater force. In particular, in 1606 Parliament passed "An Act for the Better Discovering and Repressing of Popish Recusants," which contained the Oath of Allegiance to James, in which Catholics had to disavow any authority on the part of the pope to excommunicate or deprive the king or his successors of "their crown and dignity." A subject had to swear to this oath, which condemned the long-claimed papal deposing power, "without any equivocation or mental evasion or secret reservation whatsoever."¹⁰⁶ The regime reinforced this

¹⁰⁴ Crichton to Acquaviva, Billom, 30 September 1605, in Forbes-Leith, *Narratives of Scottish Catholics*, 283–86, at 284. Cf. Thomas M. McCoog, S.J., "Converting a King: The Jesuit William Crichton and King James VI and I," *JJS* 7 (2020), 11–33, who contends, based on two memorials (ca. 1580 and ca. 1606), that Crichton believed there remained a possibility of James's conversion.

¹⁰⁵ Forbes-Leith, *Narratives of Scottish Catholics*, 287. See also John Watkins, "'Out of Her Ashes May a Second Phoenix Rise': James I and the Legacy of Elizabethan Anti-Catholicism," in *Catholicism and Anti-Catholicism in Early Modern English Texts*, ed. Arthur Marotti (New York: 1999), 116–36; John Morris, S.J. (ed.), *The Conditions of Catholics under James I: Father Gerard's Narrative of the Gunpowder Plot* (London: 1872); Mark Nicholls, *Investigating Gunpowder Plot* (Manchester: 1991).

¹⁰⁶ 3 and 4 Jac. 1, c. 4, in Prothero, *Select Statutes*, 256–62, at 259–60. According to Michael Questier, "The Jacobean oath of allegiance ... came to be viewed as a quasi-conformity test." See "Conformity, Catholicism and the Law," in Lake and Questier, *Conformity and Orthodoxy*, 259. Cf. Anthony Milton, "A Qualified Intolerance: The Limits and Ambiguities of Early Stuart Anti-Catholicism," in Marotti, *Catholicism and Anti-Catholicism*, 85–115, esp. 105–06. For "Catholic Reactions to the Oath of Allegiance" (1606–08), see EL 2179, 2189, and 2190, in Anthony G. Petti (ed.), *Recusant Documents from the Ellesmere Manuscripts*

statute with “An Act to Prevent and Avoid Dangers which May Grow by Popish Recusants.”¹⁰⁷

The Oath of Allegiance in many ways changed the nature of the debate – among English Catholics and more widely.¹⁰⁸ As a result, what was in essence the final flourish of the debate over occasional conformity took place between Robert Persons and Thomas Wright (a former Jesuit and friend of Persons).¹⁰⁹ Along the lines of supposedly widespread Scottish practice, Wright claimed that attendance at Protestant sermons, as opposed to services, was permissible and was not a distinctive sign if Catholics protested that they attended “only to conform to a royal ordination,” as opposed to conformity in religion.¹¹⁰ Persons replied with both a tract, *Quaestiones duae*,¹¹¹ and a letter. In the latter, Persons reasoned that it was impermissible to attempt to dichotomize outward from inward disposition, body from soul. Attendance was a distinctive sign separating schismatics from Catholics. Notably, he held up the English and Irish churches as “exemplars” due to their “constancy” (that is, recusancy); this appears to have been a not-too-subtle swipe at the perceived permissiveness of Scottish Catholics regarding occasional conformity.¹¹² Wright’s response (to the more formal *Quaestiones duae*) was to reiterate his central points: attendance need not be and was *not* a distinctive sign if recusants “comming to Church

(CRS) 60 (London: 1968), 157–63. Closely related, see *The Case of Concealment or Mental Reservation* (April 1613), EL 2191, in Petti, *Recusant Documents*, 245–56.

107 3 and 4 Jac. 1, c. 5, in Prothero, *Select Statutes*, 262–68. For a discussion of the Catholic loyalist tradition (to the Crown), using the case of the English Benedictine Thomas Preston and emphasizing the international nature of the debate over the Oath of Allegiance, see Stefania Tutino, “Thomas Preston and English Catholic Loyalty: Elements of an International Affair,” *SCJ* 41 (2010), 91–109.

108 See Tutino, *Law and Conscience*, esp. 117–224. According to Tutino, “The oath opened up a debate of great importance in English history, within which religion and politics were reshuffled to extremely interesting effect. Forced to confront this scenario, Catholics and Protestants faced a new chapter in the clash between church and state for the control of the jurisdiction of conscience” (Tutino, 137). See also Tutino, *Shadows of Doubt*, esp. 151 and 178–79. And see Johann P. Sommerville, who discusses the debate over the political versus spiritual nature of the oath, in “Papalist Political Thought and the Controversy over the Jacobean Oath of Allegiance,” in *Catholics and the “Protestant Nation”: Religious Politics and Identity in Early Modern England*, ed. Ethan Shagan (Manchester: 2005), 162–84.

109 See *Recusancy and Conformity*, xxxii–xxxiii and 352. Another Jesuit, Thomas Langdale, had supported occasional conformity in the early 1580s. See Persons, “Memoirs,” in *Miscellanea II*, 182.

110 Wright, *De adeundis Ecclesiis Protestantium* (1606?), in *Recusancy and Conformity*, 353–71, at 366.

111 See *Recusancy and Conformity*, xxxiii; ARCR, 1 122, no. 893.

112 Persons to Wright (post August 1607), in *Recusancy and Conformity*, 371–86, at 383.

seeme to remonstrate their Obedience by Protestation of civill allegiance excluding all spirituall Iurisdiction which reallye is a profession of religion."¹¹³

Wright's attempt to, in effect, redefine recusancy was not widely accepted. In any event, as stated above, the debate shifted in the Jacobean era to the quandary concerning the Oath of Allegiance. The battle lines centered less on occasional conformity and more on the issue of legitimate church/state jurisdiction and whether, and if so how far, each entity could intrude into the claimed prerogative of the other. In Stuart Britain and thereafter, the state and the official state church, whether the Church of England or the Church of Scotland (Kirk), clearly seem to have had the long-term advantage.¹¹⁴

3 Ireland

Ireland had a unique status among the four nations of the Atlantic/British Isles, being as it was a separate island and having a long but tenuous and often contentious connection to England and the English monarchy.¹¹⁵ From the 12th century, the kings of England held the title of "lord of Ireland" (through a papal license), but the degree of Anglicization was always limited, both geographically and culturally. The Anglo-Irish (or Old English) only predominated in the "English Pale" around Dublin and in some of the towns. The language, culture, and identity of the minority English settlers (or colony as they referred to it) intersected in limited though significant ways with the Gaelic language, culture, and identity of the majority Irish population, factors that had huge implications for the political and, from the 16th century onward, religious history of the island.¹¹⁶ As proof, Ireland, along with the Spanish Netherlands, became an exception to the otherwise normative pattern of the Reformation;

113 "Thomas Wright Replies to the 'Latin Questions'" (1607/early 1608), in *Recusancy and Conformity*, 387–400, at 396. See also Ginevra Crosignani, "Thomas Wright and Occasional Conformity," *AHSI* 71 (2002), 149–56.

114 With regard to the long-term difficulties of Catholic evangelization in as "naturally hostile [an] environment as militantly Protestant Scotland," from the Protectorate to mid-Georgian Britain, see Daniel Szechi, "Defending the True Faith: Kirk, State, and Catholic Missioners in Scotland, 1653–1755," *CHR* 82 (1996), 397–411, at 411.

115 The author would like to thank John McCafferty for his many helpful insights and clarifications regarding early modern Irish Catholicism. See his expansive discussion on Catholics in Ireland in chap. 8 of this volume.

116 For some background on the "English of Ireland" and the indigenous Irish, focusing on the Pale, see Sparky Booker, *Cultural Exchange and Identity in Late Medieval Ireland: The English and Irish of the Four Obedient Shires* (Cambridge, Eng.: 2018).

namely, in most of the countries of Europe, the religion of the prince became the religion of the people, at least of the majority. In the Netherlands, the seven northern provinces eventually separated from the Catholic Spanish monarchy and became the predominantly Protestant Dutch Republic. Although Ireland remained a politically united nation until the 20th century, from the late 16th century the (long-lasting) religious landscape witnessed a Protestant English monarchy and New English minority ruling over a sizable Catholic majority constituting most of the Gaelic Irish and Old English populations.¹¹⁷

It is important to point out, however, that just as a predominantly Protestant England (as well as Scotland and Wales) was not inevitable, neither was a predominantly Catholic Ireland. Just as the English Reformation was a long and protracted process, so too was the complex interaction of political, religious, and cultural factors and differences that produced the Irish Reformation, with its intermix of traditional Catholic, nascent Protestant, and Catholic Reform/Counter-Reformation realities.¹¹⁸ In 1536–37, the Irish “Reformation Parliament” enacted the royal supremacy and, in 1541, another parliamentary session declared Henry VIII the “king of Ireland,” though these enactments apparently affected the religious and political life of most Irish subjects but little, at least in the short run.¹¹⁹

117 For a solid summary of political and religious developments from the late 15th to the early 17th centuries in Ireland, see S.J. Connolly, *Contested Island: Ireland, 1460–1630* (Oxford: 2007). For a range of updated and focused essays on early modern Ireland, see Jane Ohlmeyer (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Ireland, Volume 2: 1550–1730* (Cambridge, Eng.: 2018). With regard to Irish ecclesiastical administration, see R.W. Dudley Edwards and Mary O'Dowd, *Sources for Early Modern Irish History, 1534–1641* (Cambridge, Eng.: 1985), 60–82, esp. 76–82. For a comparison of Catholic challenges and achievements in Ireland and the Netherlands as well as Britain, see Tadhg Ó hAnnracháin, *Catholic Europe, 1592–1648: Centre and Peripheries* (Oxford: 2015), chap. 2.

118 See Henry A. Jefferies, *The Irish Church and the Tudor Reformations* (Dublin: 2010). Regarding important political and religious distinctions as well as interactions among the British and Irish realms, see Heal, *Reformation in Britain and Ireland*. On a related track, see Alexandra Walsham, *The Reformation of the Landscape: Religion, Identity, and Memory in Early Modern Britain and Ireland* (Oxford: 2011).

119 For a pioneering, if dated, study of the early Irish Reformation, see R. Dudley Edwards, *Church and State in Tudor Ireland: A History of Penal Laws against Irish Catholics, 1534–1603* (Dublin: 1935). James Murray provides a critique in his “Historical Revisit: R. Dudley Edwards, *Church and State in Tudor Ireland* (1935),” *Irish Historical Studies* 30 (1996), 233–41. See also Connolly, *Contested Island*, 90–99. As examples of the delayed impact of reform initiatives, whether from London or Rome, see Thomas G. Connors, “Surviving the Reformation in Ireland (1534–80): Christopher Bodkin, Archbishop of Tuam, and Roland Burke, Bishop of Clonfert,” *SCJ* 32 (2001), 335–55.

In sharp contrast, the Act of Uniformity of 1560 was designed to produce far greater and more permanent religious changes. Specifically, this “Act for the Uniformitie of Common Prayer and Service in the Church, and the Administration of the Sacraments,” in essence established the Church of England as the official Church of Ireland.¹²⁰ Thus, the act mandated the Book of Common Prayer for the liturgies of the Irish church, normatively in English, but with a Latin version that was theologically more ambiguous and which thereby allowed for more traditional Catholic liturgies to continue, especially in Irish-speaking areas.¹²¹

In fact, the Irish Parliament, dominated by the Old English, did not adopt the English Elizabethan recusancy laws, and there was generally lax and sporadic enforcement of religious uniformity. The government looked somewhat benignly on church papistry (which was often reluctant conformity) and did not really attempt to systematically repress even resolute recusancy, perhaps not wanting to risk stirring up that hornet’s nest. In part, this policy may have reflected the apparent reality that religious attitudes in Tudor Ireland were less polarized than in England, though that began to change by the late 16th century. From the 1580s onward, with increasing sectarianization, religious and political dissidents more frequently drew together in a common cause. Sizable majorities of the Gaelic Irish and Old English evidently viewed their common Catholicism as a more vital and stronger bond than their political differences, including the traditional loyalty of the Old English to their ethnic heritage and the English monarchy. Moreover, there were increasing numbers of recusant priests, many arriving from the Continental seminaries, who were imbued with the zealous (some would say militant) stance of the Tridentine church, especially by the early 17th century.¹²²

Yet zeal – and concomitant persecution – had been realities on the Irish mission for some time. A dramatic case in point is Edmund Daniel, a Jesuit who taught for some years in a school that Catholics had established in Limerick.

120 2 Eliz. 1, c. 2, in Josef L. Altholz, *Selected Documents in Irish History* (Armonk: 2000), 24–25. See also Henry A. Jefferies, “The Irish Parliament of 1560: The Anglican Reforms Authorized,” *Irish Historical Studies* 26 (1988), 128–41.

121 For a comparative study of Gaelic areas in Ireland and Scotland, see Fiona Macdonald, *Missions to the Gaels: Reformation and Counter-Reformation in Ulster and the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, 1560–1760* (Edinburgh: 2006).

122 See Connolly, *Contested Island*, 184–200. With regard to evidence of an emerging Catholic identity, see Colm Lennon, *The Lords of Dublin in the Age of the Reformation* (Dublin: 1989), esp. 146–50 and 157–63. It is instructive, with regard to “recusancy,” that the only penalty in Ireland was the 12d. fine for absence on Sundays. Those who were executed suffered for exercising foreign jurisdiction or under martial law commissions.

Eventually, however, the mayor of the town betrayed Daniel, who was captured in 1572, and, “when he refused to take the Oath of Royal Supremacy, was hanged, drawn, and quartered at Cork, the first Jesuit to shed his blood for the faith on European soil.”¹²³ It is both poignant and ironic that this first such martyrdom of a Jesuit occurred in the only country in northern Europe that remained predominantly Catholic post-Reformation.

Writing some 35 years after Daniel's martyrdom, in the early Stuart era, Robert Persons lauded and continued to encourage the recusancy of his coreligionists in Ireland and England:

I dout not but all christiandome wold be scandalized, that after so many yeres of constant suffering for this poynt [of refusing to attend the Protestant church], the Catholykes shuld yeeld at last, to bow their kneese to Baal, and therby, obscure, loose the glory of such a notable confession as hath hetherto made our [E]nglish, and Irish church ... exemplars and glorious spectacle to the whole world.¹²⁴

Persons went on to argue that the perdurance of the church in England and especially in Ireland, as opposed to its virtual disappearance by the early 17th century in most of northern Europe, was due to the dogged and heroic recusancy of English and Irish Catholics. As he contended,

[T]he consideration of [God's] particular blessing to our country in respect of other our neighbours in the lyke case, may serve for a notable argument to prove the greate fruit, and merit of our practice therein ... if we well consider why England, and Ireland have now at this day a visible Catholyke Church (visible I say, yea, and glorious in persecuted Catholykes, called recusants).¹²⁵

Irish “recusancy” depended in no small measure on the encouragement and spiritual ministrations of the Catholic clergy, both seculars and regulars. The majority, after their training at the Continental seminaries (located primarily in the Spanish Netherlands and the Iberian Peninsula), were “seminary priests,” who returned to their homeland and, depending on time and

¹²³ William V. Bangert, S.J., *A History of the Society of Jesus*, 2nd ed. (Saint Louis: 1986), 82–83.

¹²⁴ Though not certain, the evidence suggests that Persons was the author and that he wrote this letter to Thomas Wright (post August 1607); in *Recusancy and Conformity*, 371–86, at 383.

¹²⁵ *Recusancy and Conformity*, 384.

place, operated either more overtly or covertly among the Catholic populace. Intraconfessional cooperation as well as various frictions were realities on the Irish scene (as elsewhere), sometimes between the secular and regular clergy, and at times among the religious orders. The latter included the traditional orders, especially the friars, as well as the emergent orders of the 16th century, most notably the Jesuits and the Capuchins. Overall, among the regulars, the Franciscans had the greatest impact, but the work of the Jesuits and others, especially the secular clergy, contributed to the growing recusancy and committed Catholicism of the majority of Irish men and women.¹²⁶

The Stuart kings of Scotland had ascended to the throne and title of kings of England and Ireland in 1603 in the person of James VI/I.¹²⁷ In Ireland, the hope that James (son of Catholic Mary, Queen of Scots) would grant religious toleration, especially to the Catholic majority of his Irish subjects, led to the so-called “recusancy revolt” in April and May 1603.¹²⁸ Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy, however, quickly dashed this hoped-for toleration with the suppression of this flash-in-the-pan assertion of Catholic public worship. James’s relative lack of religious toleration (part of his triangulation among his Catholic subjects, certain Protestant subjects, and his own ecclesiological stance), resulted in increasing recusant resistance, as Persons noted and lauded above. While the government imposed recusant fines from time to time, frequently these penalties were either not enforced or were suspended, often in reaction to developments on the international stage, such as the drama surrounding the ultimately unsuccessful Spanish Match (1623).¹²⁹

Over the course of the late-Tudor and Stuart eras, shifting alliances and allegiances proved determinative in how the people of Ireland would worship – in public and, of equal if not greater long-term importance, in private. Among the resident “English” population, fault lines developed between the Old English Catholics and the New English Protestants. For the former, older ethnic loyalties generally gave way to a more fundamental Catholic confessional identity (containing both traditional and Tridentine beliefs and practices). For them and for the predominantly Catholic Gaelic Irish, the Church of Ireland and

126 See Edel Bhreathnach, Joseph MacMahon, and John McCafferty (eds), *The Irish Franciscans, 1534–1990* (Dublin: 2009); Louis McRedmond, *To the Greater Glory: A History of the Irish Jesuits* (Dublin: 1991).

127 For an insightful range of comparative essays, see Elizabethanne Boran and Crawford Gribben (eds), *Enforcing Reformation in Ireland and Scotland, 1550–1700* (Aldershot: 2006).

128 A.J. Sheehan, “The Recusancy Revolt of 1603: A Reinterpretation,” *Archivum Hibernicum* 38 (1983), 3–13.

129 See Connolly, *Contested Island*, 333–75.

its New English adherents seemed increasingly to be heretical and foreign interlopers – in both their Protestantism and Englishness – on Irish soil. The rhetoric and reality of “faith and fatherland” called for an ever-greater commitment, even in the face of persecution, to the seemingly indissoluble bond that united Catholicism and Ireland in the minds and hearts of the majority of its people.¹³⁰

4 Conclusion

In summing up the debate over recusancy, especially in England, but also in Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, various voices and broadsides clashed over a range of fundamental issues. Chief among these were the following: whether occasional conformity was sinful in and of itself, regardless of rationales or mitigating circumstances; whether it fell into the category of mortal sin and required special means of reconciliation; and whether one was justified in using equivocation to circumvent purportedly unjust laws. During this period, among individual Catholics (and others), whether for reasons of conscience, material wellbeing, or a combination of these or different motives, some continued to engage in occasional conformity, others became committed recusants, and yet others fell elsewhere along a wide spectrum of religious beliefs and practices, including those who converted to Catholicism or Protestantism.¹³¹ On the Catholic side, the official position – and that of the majority of the clergy, including the Jesuits –condemned the proposed *via media* of church papistry, despite the arguments and leanings of various Catholic clergy and laity to the contrary. As we have seen, however, the seemingly unbending papal and majority clerical stance, while castigating the sin, allowed, and in some

130 On these and related long-term developments, see S.J. Connelly, *Divided Kingdom: Ireland, 1630–1800* (Oxford: 2008); Alan Ford and John McCafferty (eds), *The Origins of Sectarianism in Early Modern Ireland* (Cambridge, Eng.: 2005); Vincent P. Carey and Ute Lotz-Heumann (eds), *Taking Sides? Colonial and Confessional Mentalities in Early Modern Ireland* (Dublin: 2003); Thomas O'Connor (ed.), *The Irish in Europe, 1580–1815* (Dublin: 2001); Patrick J. Corish, *The Catholic Community in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Dublin: 1981).

131 Michael Questier's conclusions regarding the fluidity of religious categories are insightful, even if somewhat debatable as to the supposed norm: “During this time, within the apparently rigid constraints of doctrinal formulation and political loyalism, flux in religion was the norm rather than the exception in religious experience, actually expected rather than regarded with astonishment. Confessional [and intra-confessional?] polemical conflict itself undermined certainty and questioned uniformity.” (*Conversion, Politics and Religion in England, 1580–1625* [Cambridge, Eng.: 1996], 206).

sense encouraged, a pastoral response in reconciling the sinner. The ultimate conundrum and controversy, however, remained: Was occasional conformity a practical, if not necessary, compromise with the state and a means of ensuring the long-term survival of the Catholic community, or was it *de facto* a halfway house on the road to Protestantism?¹³²

¹³² As Elliot Rose succinctly summarized the fear of some Catholic authorities: "The logical consequence of a long continued course of church-popery was to turn [someone] from a bad [C]atholic to a bad [P]rotestant" (*Cases of Conscience*, 113).

Anti-Catholicism

Catholics, Protestants, and the “Popery” Problem

Adam Morton

Anti-Catholicism's presence in British history since the Reformation is ubiquitous and imprecise. A hazy blend of theology, nationalism, eschatology, xenophobia, rationalism, and cultural memory, with each taking a greater or lesser prominence depending upon social and political context, anti-Catholicism cannot be adequately accounted for by one paradigm. Adaptability was central to its presence from the 16th to the 19th centuries, allowing it to accommodate the intentions of groups who used it in changing circumstances. That adaptability is captured in the catch-all label “popery.” That term had the immediacy of a clarion call and the imprecision of a mirage. “Popery” could mean papal power, or, slightly wider, all Catholic practice, or, stretching beyond Catholicism, episcopacy or any aspect of doctrine and liturgy in any denomination, and, stretching farther still, any belief (religious or otherwise) deemed unreasonable or “superstitious.” “Popery” was also used in contradictory ways. Hotter Protestants damned Arminian Protestantism as excessively concerned with “popish” clerical power and ceremony rather than the pure word of God, and, in the wake of the civil wars, Arminian Protestants damned the hotter sort as “popish,” Jesuitical, antimonarchist murderers of Charles I, and subverters of church and state. “Popery” was used by Whigs in the later 17th century to damn Stuart “absolutism” as a “popish” emulation of Louis XIV and an affront to the “Protestantism” of parliamentary liberty, and by Tories who labeled those Whigs “popish” because their drives for parliamentary reform fundamentally undermined the monarchy, as popes had throughout history. In the 18th century, it damned Jacobitism as “popishly” seditious and, conversely, those who supported the Hanoverian monarchy too excessively as “popish” advocates of tyranny. Examples could be stacked up: the point is that “popery” was consistent only in its ubiquity and in the fact that all religious groups and political parties desired to control it to validate their visions of church, politics, and culture. Contemporaries were aware of its absurdities: a key component of anti-Puritan stereotypes, captured most fittingly in Ben Jonson's *Zeal-of-the-land-Busy*, is to see “popery” everywhere, and in persons and practices that

were increasingly unconnected to anything Catholic. Seeing the absurdity of popery, however, did not dampen its power.

That power has been accorded considerable historical agency as a catalyst or a cause of defining processes of British history, including justifying the Reformation as a liberation from “popery,” motivating Puritan calls for further reforms, defining rival Protestant identities, stimulating a nascent national identity, contributing to the collapse of authority in the run-up to the civil wars, motivating the 1688/89 revolution, forging a common “British” identity in the wake of that revolution and the 1707 union, stimulating opposition to Jacobitism, and shaping reactions to Irish immigration and Catholic reform in Europe during the 19th century. Given this range of processes which anti-Catholicism is supposed to have played a role in, analyzing it crisply is a difficult task. Overdefining the parameters of “anti-Catholic” risks distorting contemporary views in a given period, and of missing the nuances of the ways in which ideology seeps into the pores of a culture as a language through which identities and positive attributes are defined and contested. Only by listening to how that language was used in a given context do we understand how anti-Catholicism remained a part of British culture for centuries.

It is argued here that “popery” reveals much about what it meant to be “Protestant,” “English,” “Irish,” or “British” in a given period – how it was defined changed as those identities did. Understanding what was virtuous, acceptable, or reasonable at a particular moment can in many ways be understood by outlining what was deemed “popish.” As the great “other,” popery was a central ideology of British culture that remained so important and so ubiquitous for so long because of its innate malleability.

1 Theology and Ideology

The origins of what became ideological “Anti-Catholicism” lie in the polemical case made against the Catholic Church during Europe’s Reformations. That case was multifaceted but held together by the conviction that Roman Catholicism was a mendacious corruption of the gospel. Papal power was unscriptural and it usurped the power of Christ (in claiming to possess the keys to heaven and hell) and of princes (in claiming jurisdiction in spiritual and temporal matters). Because its doctrine and practice contained so much that was unscriptural invention, Catholicism was idolatrous. In the worship of saints its veneration of humans as semi-divine teetered on pantheism. And its miracles and relics were either satanic delusions or priestly frauds designed to

loosen purse strings.¹ Belief in these aspects of Catholicism was superstition, a corruption of sense and reason that led Catholics to slavishly obey a human institution rather than the Word. Over the course of the Reformation's first generation - roughly 1520 to 1550 - the mass of writing against papal power, doctrinal error, and claims to the miraculous culminated in the creation of a case against Rome as not merely an erring church, but a false one.²

The point at which this became an "Anti-Catholic" ideology - a set of values and beliefs that conditioned how the past and present were understood - is hard to pinpoint. Not all criticism of the Catholic Church falls under the label "anti-Catholic": much of this started as part of wider debates about the authority of the church, the nature and scope of clerical power, and the respective roles of God and humanity in the process of salvation. During the mid-16th century, however, Protestant criticisms of the papal church developed into the charge that that church was a conspiracy against souls and a perennial attack on sovereign power: Antichrist as prophesied in the books of Daniel, 2 Thessalonians, and Revelation. According to this polemic, the papal church existed to persecute the Elect and corrupt truth with error until the last days.³ This was a conspiracy theory whose defining feature was the assured victory of Christ and his church (Protestants) at the end of time, an assurance that necessitated rewriting history to position the Reformation as an end to anti-Christian "popery."⁴

Doing so defended Protestants from charges of heresy and schism by answering a central question of Catholic polemic: "where was your church before Luther?" If the Protestant faith was the true faith, why had it not emerged until 1500 years after Christ? Surely it was more likely that the Catholic Church was the true church and that Martin Luther, Huldrych Zwingli, and their ilk were merely heretics and schismatics whose like had attacked the church throughout the Middle Ages. Protestants answered this charge by reading history through the visions that the Holy Spirit presented to John in Revelation. These depicted darkness and light locked in battle and were understood to articulate

1 For an overview, see Peter Lake, "Anti-Popery: The Structure of a Prejudice," in *Conflict in Early Stuart England: Studies in Religion and Politics, 1603-1642*, ed. Richard Cust and Ann Hughes (London: 1989), 72-106; Anthony Milton, *Catholic and Reformed: The Roman and Protestant Churches in English Protestant Thought, 1600-1640* (Cambridge, Eng.: 1995), 31-46.

2 See Catharine Davies, *A Religion of the Word: The Defence of the Reformation in the Reign of Edward VI* (Manchester: 2002), chaps. 1 and 3 in particular.

3 See Adam Morton, *Glaring at Antichrist: Images of Catholicism in Early Modern England* (in preparation: forthcoming), chap. 1.

4 See Peter Lake, "The Significance of the Elizabethan Identification of the Church as Antichrist," *JEH* 31 (1980), 161-78; Milton, *Catholic and Reformed*, 93-104.

the struggle between the true and false churches throughout time. Protestant histories charted the growing corruption of the false (Catholic) church against images of the beasts of the Apocalypse (Rev. 13) and the Whore of Babylon (Rev. 17), which John saw reigning on earth, corrupting the gospel, and persecuting the Elect until the Second Coming, when Christ would return and smite Antichrist. The Holy Spirit had outlined how history would evolve. Centuries of persecution and corruption were to be followed by a flowering of the spirit that preceded Christ's return. Rome's triumph in history was therefore not, as Catholic polemicists argued, a marker of its purity, but precisely its opposite: Rome was Antichrist, which had peddled error and persecuted the Elect under a mask of holiness. Luther and others exposed its error, and the Reformation therefore marked the Last Days in which Christ's return was expected.⁵

From this point, anti-Catholicism provided Protestants with a sense of historical purpose, justified their special place in God's providential plan, and provided a way of interpreting the world. Carol Wiener has shown that this ideological depiction of Catholicism in Elizabethan polemic helped to construct a nascent national identity. "English Protestantism" was solidified as Catholicism was presented as foreign, and acts of aggression against the Elizabethan regime were read in apocalyptic terms.⁶ Positive attributes of church and state were defined through a heavy emphasis on their negative. Every Catholic vice was the antithesis of a Protestant virtue, and consequently anti-Catholicism shaped what it meant to be "Protestant" or "English" in powerful ways, a rhetorical "other" central to how many virtues – religious as well as nonreligious – were defined, debated, and contested.⁷

Despite the vehemence with which this pattern of thought was expressed, we must be wary of presenting it as irrational. It is true that between the 17th and 19th centuries popular memory contained certain events – the Marian martyrdoms, Saint Bartholomew's Day Massacre, Gunpowder Plot, or Irish massacres of 1641 – which existed as reflexes that spasmed at every lessening

5 On this see, Richard Bauckham, *Tudor Apocalypse: Sixteenth Century Apocalypticism, Millenarianism and the English Reformation* (Oxford: 1978); Katharine Firth, *The Apocalyptic Tradition in Reformation Britain, 1530–1645* (Oxford: 1979), chaps. 1–3; Paul Christianson, *Reformers and Babylon: English Apocalyptic Visions from the Reformation to the Eve of the Civil War* (Toronto: 1978), chaps. 1–2; Irena Backus, *Reformation Readings of the Apocalypse: Geneva, Zurich, and Wittenberg* (Oxford: 2000).

6 Carol Z. Wiener, "The Beleaguered Isle: A Study of Elizabethan and Early Jacobean Anti-Catholicism," *P&P* 51 (1971), 27–62.

7 Lake, "Anti-Popery: The Structure of a Prejudice," 72–106. On contrariness, see Stuart Clark, "Inversion, Misrule, and the Meaning of Witchcraft," *P&P* 87 (1980), 98–127; Clark, *Thinking with Demons: The Idea of Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe* (Oxford: 1997), 43–80.

of restrictions on Catholics in Britain, presenting them as the thin end of a wedge which would inevitably conclude with tyranny and persecution in a manner echoing these exceptional moments of Catholic violence.⁸ Yet such views were rarely dominant, and early modern people were acutely aware that anti-Catholicism of this sort was destabilizing. Indeed, by the late 17th century, as Scott Sowerby has shown, an *anti-anti-Catholic* rhetoric emerged to counter overzealous deployments of “no popery” in British politics.⁹

That anti-Catholicism was generally more nuanced is crucial in explaining its hold on British culture for centuries. English people at no point feared – or even suspected – all things Catholic. Anti-Catholicism was rather, as Anthony Milton has shown, a “qualified intolerance.”¹⁰ English Protestants of all stripes may have seen Rome as the false church and routinely decried the continued presence of “popery” in the English church, but they were also indebted to Catholic culture in important ways. The fields of logic, natural theology, biblical commentary, and philosophy were heavily indebted to Catholic scholarship and involved a sustained engagement with the work of Jesuits; Catholic devotional literature influenced that of the Reformed in many ways; and in the arts, cross-confessionalism was routine.¹¹ On the Grand Tour of the late 17th and 18th centuries elite British Protestants had their sensibilities shaped through a sustained contact with Catholic culture. Indeed, what it meant to be “English,” “cultivated,” or “genteel” owed much to an education that taught the better sort how to see and appreciate Catholic culture. Religious paintings and statues could be enjoyed safely when presented as “art,” a term which focused on their aesthetic value and appreciation, and downplayed the religious context in which such objects were originally displayed and encountered.¹² There was

8 For a process at work in other countries, see Alec Ryrie, *Protestants: The Radicals Who Made the Modern World* (London: 2017), 93–94; James Sharpe, *Remember, Remember the Fifth of November* (London: 2005).

9 Scott Sowerby, “Opposition to Anti-Popery in Restoration England,” *JBS* 51 (2012), 26–49.

10 Anthony Milton, “A Qualified Intolerance: The Limits and Ambiguity of Early Stuart Anti-Catholicism,” in *Catholicism and Anti-Catholicism in Early Modern England Texts*, ed. Arthur F. Marotti (Basingstoke: 1999), 85–115.

11 For example, *Disputationes metaphysicae* (1597) by the Jesuit Francisco Suárez was an important work of philosophy used by many Protestant universities, and other works of philosophy written by Catholics like Franciscus Toletus and Jacobus Zabarella were routinely used by Protestants. Catholic works of ethics by Gabriel Vásquez, Gregorius de Valencia, and Johannes Malderus were also frequently cited by Reformed authors; Milton, “Qualified Intolerance,” 91–92.

12 Clare Haynes, *Pictures and Popery: Art and Religion in England, 1660–1760* (Aldershot: 2006); Haynes, “The Culture of Judgement: Art and Anti-Catholicism in England, c.1660–c.1760,” *Historical Research* 78 (2005), 483–505; Haynes, “A Trial for the Patience of Reason? Grand

a tension here: what it meant to be “British” rested on being anti-Catholic, and on demonstrating cultivation through an appreciation of Catholic culture.

Anti-Catholic intolerance was qualified socially, too. Protestants of all stripes lived side by side with Catholics in parishes across England.¹³ The result was far from unequivocally harmonious. Suspicion was dormant and, as Robin Clifton has demonstrated, during times of crisis like the civil wars, routine and innocuous occurrences such as the gathering of Catholics for social events were readily interpreted as “popish” conspiracies against the community and could trigger violence.¹⁴ These were the exceptions, not the rule, however. It was perfectly possible to be anti-Catholic, to exist in a culture that was anti-Catholic, and to live alongside Catholics in ways that allowed communities to function. Detailed studies of the experience of Catholics in Egton, North Yorkshire, and Madeley, Shropshire have demonstrated that kinship ties and dictates to good fellowship overcame injunctions to shun those of different Christian persuasion.¹⁵ English Protestants routinely distinguished between “popery” – a malign and foreign ideology – and their Catholic neighbors, with whom they disagreed in faith but did not fear as a continual or active threat to the community.¹⁶ For all its power, anti-Catholicism was mitigated at a parish level by the dictates of neighborliness, in which people were kin and villagers as much as they were “Protestant” and “Catholic.” For William Sheils, the imperative to “getting on and getting along” – to put the functioning of the community above confessional differences in the service of the communal good – was a powerful break on denominational intolerances, an everyday ecumenism that allowed

Tourists and Anti-Catholicism after 1745,” *Journal of Eighteenth-Century Studies* 33 (2010), 195–208.

- 13 William J. Sheils, “Catholics and Their Neighbours in a Rural Community: Egton Chapelry, 1590–1780,” *Northern History* 34 (1998), 109–33; Alexandra Walsham, *Charitable Hatred: Tolerance and Intolerance in England, 1500–1700* (Manchester: 2006), chaps. 5 and 6.
- 14 Robin Clifton, “Popular Fear of Catholics during the English Revolution,” *P&P* 52 (1971), 23–55, see 39–47 in particular. For a repetition of this a century later, see Haydon, *Anti-Catholicism in Eighteenth-Century England*, 158–59.
- 15 Sheils, “Catholics and Their Neighbours”; Malcolm Wanklyn, “Catholics in the Village Community: Madeley, Shropshire, 1630–1770,” in *English Catholics of Parish and Town, 1558–1778: A Joint Research Project of the Catholic Record Society and Wolverhampton University*, ed. Marie B. Rowlands (London: 1999), 210–36.
- 16 On this, see Nadine Lewycky and Adam Morton (eds), *Getting Along? Religious Identities and Confessional Relations in Early Modern England: Essays in Honour of Prof W.J. Sheils* (Farnham: 2012); Carys Brown, “Militant Catholicism, Interconfessional Relations, and the Rookwood Family of Stanningfield, Suffolk, c.1689–1737,” *Historical Journal* 60 (2017), 21–45.

different denominations to coexist in an often-begrudging, but nonetheless functioning, manner.¹⁷ Such de facto toleration did not cause denominational tensions to dissipate, however. As Peter Marshall has shown, rituals could be open markers of differences and flashpoints of latent tensions between neighbors of differing creeds. Catholics going to hear Mass, or interring their dead at night, could spark conflict that revealed everyday ecumenicism to house a range of attitudes in an often-uncomfortable truce.¹⁸ Sharing space with the other could heighten differences as well as soften them.

The Irish experience was more markedly sectarian, with religious and ethnic intolerances merging to create socioeconomic division and disadvantage.¹⁹ From the 16th to the 19th centuries, the New English Protestant minority controlled the land, the law, and (for much of the period) political franchise because of support from the English (and then British) state. Sectarianism began with the plantations of the 16th and 17th centuries.²⁰ This colonial experiment was justified partly on the basis of stereotypes of the native Irish and Old English as inferior: savage (and therefore in need of civilizing), unruly (and therefore requiring strong governance), unintelligent, and (as the Reformation progressed) superstitious (and consequently in need of Protestantism).²¹ The plantations were a civilizing process intended to make Ireland more governable, prosperous, and manageable for the English state.

In practice they amounted to the forced removal of native Irish from much of the land, which was then sold to English and Scottish settlers who were to cultivate it and govern the population. The policy was much more severe than earlier Tudor colonial practices in Ireland, such as surrender and regrant, and were designed to better integrate the Gaelic elites into Tudor governance. The plantations began with the settlement of Laois-Offaly in 1550, the Arden

17 William J. Sheils, "‘Getting On’ and ‘Getting Along’ in Parish and Town: English Catholics and Their Neighbours," in *Catholic Communities in Protestant States: Britain and the Netherlands, c.1570–1720*, ed. Benjamin J. Kaplan et al. (Manchester: 2009), 67–83.

18 Peter Marshall, "Confessionalisation and Community in the Burial of English Catholics, c.1570–1700," in Lewycky and Morton, *Getting Along*, 57–76.

19 Though it must be acknowledged that the requirement for communities to function was a necessary part of the Irish experience too. See Alan Ford "Living Together, Living Apart," in *Origins of Sectarianism in Early Modern Ireland*, ed. Ford and John McCafferty (Cambridge: 2005), 1–23.

20 I am indebted to Tadhg Ó hAnnracháin, "Plantation, 1580–1641," in *The Oxford Handbook of Modern Irish History*, ed. Alvin Jackson (Oxford: 2014), 291–314 in the next three paragraphs.

21 Nicholas Canny, *Making Ireland British, 1580–1650* (Oxford: 2001), 121–33.

Peninsula in 1570, Antrim in 1572–73, and Roscommon in the 1570s and 1580s, and grew in scale considerably with the Munster and Ulster plantations of the late 16th and early 17th centuries.²² Those plantations placed a greater emphasis on religion and governance and reflected the English state's growing concerns about the lack of progress made by Protestantism in Ireland. In Munster, a £2577 investment bought planters 12,000 acres of land on which they were to settle 91 English families. The influx of people was substantial by contemporary standards. By 1600, the settlement had grown to 4000 strong, increasing to 14,000 by 1622.²³ Nicholas Canny has shown that Ulster – which was larger still – was settled on the principles of hierarchy, military surveillance, the development of towns to inspire the Irish to socioeconomic “improvement,” and religious conversion (through the provision of a godly ministry and episcopal government).²⁴ The idea of a compact settlement distinct from the native population was never realized – agricultural and economic reality necessitated negotiation and interaction. But the cultural and socioeconomic division of Protestant settlers and their Catholic neighbors was stark and fomented mutual suspicion and hostility along religious-ethnic lines which shaped the political, cultural, and economic life of Ireland for centuries.²⁵

There was a pattern to the development of hostility. The settlement and overlordship of English and Scottish Protestants fostered resentment, that resentment contributed to a series of rebellions – the Shane O'Neill Rebellion (1558–65), Desmond Rebellions (1569–73 and 1579–83), and Tyrone Rebellion (1594–1603) – in which the plantations were targeted, and rebellion heightened the resolve of the settlers and the English state to increase the number, size, and dominance of the plantations to avoid a repeat of costly military interventions, thus reigniting the cycle of hostility.²⁶ The Munster plantation was designed

22 Ó hAnnracháin, “Plantation, 1580–1641,” 293–95. For an excellent overview see Canny, *Making Ireland British*, 165–401. Ciaran Brady, *The Chief Governors: The Rise and Fall of Reform Government in Tudor Ireland, 1536–1588* (Cambridge, Eng.: 1994), part 1, and see 245–65 for a growing trend for colonization. For Munster and Ulster, see Michael MacCarthy-Morrogh, *The Munster Plantation: English Migration to Southern Ireland, 1583–1641* (Oxford: 1986); Raymond Gillespie, *Colonial Ulster: The Settlement of East Ulster, 1600–41* (Cork: 1985); Philip Robinson, *The Plantation of Ulster: British Settlement in an Irish Landscape, 1600–1679*, 2nd ed. (Belfast: 1994); M. Perceval-Maxwell, *The Scottish Migration to Ulster in the Reign of James I* (Belfast: 1990).

23 Ó hAnnracháin, “Plantation, 1580–1640,” 297–98; Canny, *Making Ireland British*, chaps. 3–5; MacCarthy-Morrogh, *Munster Plantation*, 144–77 and 295–96.

24 Canny, *Making Ireland British*, 165–205.

25 Canny, *Making Ireland British*, 205–42.

26 Ó hAnnracháin, “Plantation,” 296–97.

by the Elizabethan Privy Council and Thomas Butler, Earl of Ormonde (1532–1614), in response to the Desmond Revolt of 1579–83; those in Ulster following the Flight of the Earls (1607) and rebellion of Sir Cahir O'Doherty (1608), after which the entire region was forfeited to the Crown because of the “treason” of the local lords. And the land settlements implemented by Oliver Cromwell in the 1650s, unprecedented in their size and severity, were a product of fears about the risk of a repetition of the rebellion of 1641.²⁷ Cromwell's policies effectively branded the entire Catholic population seditious and reflected a growing sense that Irish “popery” and Irish “treason” were two sides of the same coin, and the extension of English Protestant control of Ireland in this period was unprecedented.²⁸ Anti-Catholicism and nascent colonialism were intertwined.

The label “anti-Catholic” thus encompasses a wide range of attitudes and behaviors, from begrudging neighborliness to outright sectarianism. Anti-Catholic ideology was characterized by binary oppositions – good/evil, true/false, light/darkness – that celebrated hard-and-fast distinctions between confessions. But ideology is rarely fixed and inflexible in practice. It is a pattern of thought that conditions how the world is interpreted, but how it does so alters according to context. In Ireland the association of “Catholic” with the native Irish caused sectarianism to be steeped along religious-ethnic lines. In England – where ethnicity was not an issue – the situation was different. The practice of a faith that seemed increasingly “superstitious” or “credulous” with every passing generation certainly made Catholics appear different to their neighbors; lesser than Protestants, yes, but not explicitly dangerous. At times of tension, superciliousness graduated to suspicion, a habit of thought conditioned by an ideology that provided innumerable historical instances of Catholic mendacity.

27 Jane Ohlmeyer, “Confederation and Union, 1641–60,” in Jackson, *Oxford Handbook of Modern Irish History*, 315–32, at 315, 316–17, and 320–21.

28 Ohlmeyer, “Confederation and Union,” 320–23; Micheál Ó Siochrá, *God's Executioner: Oliver Cromwell and the Conquest of Ireland* (London: 2009). See also Toby Barnard, *Cromwellian Ireland: English Government and Reform in Ireland, 1649–1660* (Oxford: 1975); John Cunningham, *Conquest and Land in Ireland: The Transplantation to Connacht, 1649–1680* (London: 2011); Jane H. Ohlmeyer (ed.), *Ireland from Independence to Occupation, 1641–1660* (Cambridge, Eng.: 1995). Cromwell's legacy in Ireland has been the subject of debate and revision. See Jason McElligott, *Our Chief of Enemies* (Dundalk: 1994); Tom Reilly, *Cromwell an Honourable Enemy* (Dublin: 1999); Reilly, *Cromwell Was Framed: Ireland 1649* (Winchester: 2014).

2 Law and State

From the Elizabethan Reformation, the English state was formally anti-Catholic. This had its origins in Henry VIII's assertion of royal supremacy in 1533/34. This new type of monarchy – in which the Crown was both the head of church and state – was presented as a liberation of England from papal tyranny. The papacy was presented as an unscriptural institution that had incrementally encroached on the sovereignty of princes throughout the Middle Ages.²⁹ Because there was no scriptural office of “pope,” there were no grounds on which the papacy could claim jurisdiction over churches in all realms, and the papacy therefore usurped both Christ (as spiritual head of the church) and princes (who had jurisdiction over the church in their realms). The “pope” was merely the bishop of Rome: a bishop with authority in Rome alone, and with no authority over the rest of the church or the right to interfere in the sovereign affairs of princes.³⁰

This was certainly a display of political and theological hostility, but it cannot be described as ideologically “anti-Catholic.” Henry VIII may have been an odd sort of Catholic, but neither he nor his church were ever “Protestant” in any meaningful sense. Royal supremacy in the 1530s and 1540s is more accurately labelled “anti-papal.” Its concerns were largely restricted to attacking the jurisdiction of the papacy (rather than the Catholic Church), and although this developed into an attack on certain traditional religious practices during Henry's reign – monasticism, the cult of saints, veneration of images – Catholic doctrine and worship remained largely intact.³¹ As evangelism took on a more solid “Protestant” identity during Edward VI's reign, so royal supremacy moved from anti-papal to anti-Catholic.³² Anti-Catholicism was prominent at Edward's court revels, which included spectacular destructions of the

29 For some examples, see Alexander Alesius, *A treatise concernynge generall councilles, the byshoppes of Rome, and the clergy* (London: 1538); Privy Council, *Articles devisid by the holle consent of the kynges most honourable counsayle [...]* (London: 1533); and Thomas Swinnerton, *A litel treatise ageynste the mutterynge of some papistes in corners* (London: 1534).

30 For a discussion of these problems, see Peter Marshall, “Is the Pope Catholic? Henry VIII and the Semantics of Schism,” in *Catholics and the “Protestant Nation”: Religious Politics and Identity in Early Modern England*, ed. Ethan H. Shagan (Manchester: 2005), 22–48.

31 For a good overview, see Diarmaid MacCulloch, “Henry VIII and the Reform of the Church,” in *The Reign of Henry VIII: Politics, Policy and Piety* ed. Diarmaid MacCulloch (Houndmills: 1995), 159–80.

32 Davies, *A Religion of the Word*, chap. 3 in particular; Margaret Aston, *England's Iconoclasts*, vol. 1: *Laws against Images* (Oxford: 1988), 246–76.

(Catholic) Tower of Babel or smiting of an apocalyptic seven-headed (papal) dragon to publicly underscore the monarchy's anti-Catholic credentials.³³ Protector Somerset's sponsorship of the press, which saw printed output soar to unprecedented levels unmatched until the civil wars almost a century later, was equally strident.³⁴ A significant proportion of this output were works of anti-Catholic denigration. Bernardino Ochino's *Tragoedie or dialoge of the unjuste usurped primacie of the Bishop of Rome* (1549) presented Henry VIII and Edward VI saving England from centuries of creeping papal iniquity. Similarly, Walter Lynne's *Beginning and endynge of all popery* (1548) used ancient prophecy to expose the papacy as Antichrist and predict its downfall, and a series of ballads and popular polemic openly ridiculed Catholic rituals and images as frauds.³⁵ Polemic complemented iconoclasm. That Edward's church was the most destructive of any of the Tudor monarchs – implementing a wave of legislation against the “idolatrous” images, relics, and chantries that were cornerstones of late-medieval Christianity – was the translation of anti-Catholic ideology into action. The removal of paintings, statues, and relics across the country was presented as a divinely mandated purification of popery, the implementation of the first two commandments by a godly state.³⁶

Although the 1559 Elizabethan religious settlement was presented as a triumph over “popery,” anti-Catholicism was less fervid in the early part of Elizabeth I's reign than it had been under Edward. Despite the concerns of William Cecil and other leading figures about a coming European-wide Catholic aggression, the settlement included a modicum of wriggle room for the queen's Catholic subjects.³⁷ The wording in the Communion service combined the expressions of the 1549 and 1552 Edwardian prayers books into a masterfully ambiguous phrasing, allowing believers across the Christian spectrum to receive the central sacrament of the church.³⁸ This provided the moral

33 Albert Feuillerat (ed.), *Documents Relating to the Revels at Court in the Time of King Edward VI and Queen Mary: The Loseley Manuscripts* (1914; repr. Vaduz: 1965), 26, 39, 108, and 269.

34 John N. King, “Freedom of the Press, Protestant Propaganda, and Protector Somerset,” *Huntington Library Quarterly* 40 (1976), 1–9.

35 Bernardino Ochino, *A tragoedie or dialoge of the unjuste usurped primacie of the Bishop of Rome* [...], trans. John Ponet (London: 1549); Walter Lynne, *The beginning and endynge of all popery, or popishe kyngedome* (London: 1548).

36 Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Tudor Church Militant: Edward VI and the Protestant Reformation* (London: 1999), chap. 2 in particular; Aston, *England's Iconoclasts*, 246–76.

37 Stephen Alford, *Burghley: William Cecil at the Court of Elizabeth I* (New Haven: 2011), chap. 7.

38 Peter Marshall, *Heretics and Believers: A History of the English Reformation* (New Haven: 2017), 433–34. On the effects of this see Brian Cummings (ed.), *The Book of Common Prayer* (Oxford: 2011), xxxiii–xxxiv and 137–40; Norman L. Jones, *Faith by*

space for many Catholics to become church papists, those who attended the English church either out of a sense of duty to the monarch or fear of prosecution, and ensured that they remained part of the parish and community.³⁹ This relative leniency ended following a series of events that occurred between 1568 and 1572: the arrival in England of the exiled Mary, Queen of Scots, who, with her strong claim to the English Crown, acted as a focus of plots in a realm where the current monarch was unmarried, childless, and likely to remain so; the 1569 Northern Rebellion, in which large parts of the Northeast restored Catholic liturgy and destroyed Protestant prayer books in a defiant display of “popery”; Pius v’s excommunication of Elizabeth I in 1570, which removed Elizabeth’s Catholic subjects from ties of fealty to her, increasing the likelihood of regicide in the eyes of the state; and the 1571 Ridolfi Plot, a conspiracy to place Mary, Queen of Scots on the English throne following Elizabeth’s assassination.⁴⁰ Such activities were not representative of English Catholics, but they were used to justify the regime’s presentation of Catholicism as a political threat. The trick of polemic was to make the exceptional appear typical, and the cluster of events between 1568 and 1572 gave credence to anti-Catholic stereotypes like the plotting papist, cunning Jesuit, or lust for regicide. Credence provided traction. From this point onwards, to be openly Catholic was to reject the legitimacy of both the church and the queen in the eyes of the state: it was a political as well as a religious statement.⁴¹

Calls for the regime to take action against “popery” were vehement. Thomas Norton, a godly lawyer with close links to Cecil, defined “papists” – anyone who believed in Catholic doctrine – as *ipso facto* treasonous: “no clemency, gentleness, benefits or loving dealing can win a papist, while he continues a papist, to love her majesty.”⁴² That these attitudes had traction at the heart of the state is demonstrated by Cecil’s “Short Memorial of the State of the Realm” (1569), a

Statute: Parliament and the Settlement of Religion, 1559 (London: 1982), 62–72, 89–94, and 130–51. See also Cyndia S. Clegg, “The 1559 Books of Common Prayer and the Elizabethan Reformation,” *JEH* 67 (2016), 94–121.

39 On this theme, see Alexandra Walsham, *Church Papists: Catholicism, Conformity and Confessional Polemic in Early Modern England* (Woodbridge: 1993). The presence of church papists led to heightened anxiety about the perfidy of “popery,” see chap. 5 in particular.

40 Wallace MacCaffrey, *Elizabeth I* (London: 1994), 103–44; Krista Kesselring, *The Northern Rising of 1569: Faith, Politics, and Protest in Elizabethan England* (Basingstoke: 2007).

41 For a superb overview of 1568–72, see Marshall, *Heretics and Believers*, 476–96 and 502–04.

42 Thomas Norton, *A warning agaynst the dangerous practises of papistes* [...] (London: 1569), B1r-v; Thomas S. Freeman, “The Reformation of the Church in this Parliament”: Thomas Norton, John Foxe and the Parliament of 1571,” *Parliamentary History* 16 (1997), 131–47.

document that advised the regime that the queen now faced an international coterie of “popery” in the form of Rome, Spain, France, Mary, and Elizabeth’s Catholic subjects. The remedy? The queen should marry and produce an heir (thus removing the problem of Mary).⁴³ Cecil’s bold and blunt interference in the succession tells us that although we think of anti-Catholicism as an ideology, there were moments when it was also a matter of *realpolitik*.

The result of this – and the subsequent arrival of seminary priests and Jesuits from the mid-1570s onwards – was the growing severity of the penal code, as chapters in this volume by Caroline Bowden, Robert Scully, Colleen Seguin, and William Sheils demonstrate in detail. The English state and law were now explicitly anti-Catholic, and this penal code remained in place in various forms (and with various degrees of severity) through the 1606 Oath of Allegiance, and the various test acts passed during the Restoration, and down to the 1829 Emancipation.⁴⁴ This legal tradition created a new category of person: “recusant.” Catholicism was now a political and a religious problem. Recusancy was an explicit rejection of the English church, and therefore an explicit rejection of the English state.⁴⁵ To be Catholic was to be potentially seditious.

The penal code expressed a trait of anti-Catholicism common across Europe and, subsequently, America, that Catholics were suspect because they served two masters: their sovereign and the pope.⁴⁶ It followed that to be Catholic was therefore to be less “English,” less loyal to the crown, law, or state, and, at times of crisis, to be feared as a potential fifth column. That this sentiment was pervasive and extensive explains why all attempts to relax the penal laws up to the 19th century triggered destabilizing waves of protest that charged the

43 “Cecil’s Short Memorial of the State of the Realm, 1569,” in *English Historical Documents*, vol. 5(A), 1558–1603, ed. Ian W. Archer and F. Douglas Price (London: 2011), 193–203; Alford, *Burghley*, chap. 11, 154–55 in particular; Alford, *The Early Elizabethan Polity: William Cecil and the British Succession Crisis, 1558–1569* (Cambridge: 1998), chap. 8, 182–88 in particular.

44 Johann P. Sommerville, “Papalist Thought and the Controversy over the Jacobean Oath of Allegiance,” in Shagan, *Catholics and the “Protestant Nation,”* 162–84; John Miller, *Popery and Politics in England 1660–1688* (Cambridge, Eng.: 1973), 55–56, 64, 125, 131, 163, and 173.

45 On the complexities of this term and the range of experience it encompasses, see John Bossy, *The English Catholic Community, 1570–1850* (London: 1975), 6, 38–39, 85–87, and 121–25; Walsham, *Church Papists*, 10–13, 20–21, and 38–40. For recent considerations, see Frederick E. Smith, “The Origins of Elizabethan Recusancy Reconsidered,” *Historical Journal* 60 (2017), 301–32; Lucy Underwood, “Recusancy and the Rising Generation,” *RH* 31 (2013), 511–33.

46 On America, see Evan Haefeli (ed.), *Against Popery: Britain, Empire, and Anti-Catholicism* (Charlottesville, VA: 2020); on Europe, see Lisa Dittrich, *Antiklerikalismus in Europa. Öffentlichkeit und Säkularisierung in Frankreich, Spanien und Deutschland (1848–1914)* (Göttingen: 2014).

monarch or ruling party of betraying England, the Reformation, and of being stooges to “popery.” We see this in the reaction to Charles II’s 1672 Declaration of Indulgence, James VII/II’s 1687 Declaration of Indulgence, and in opposition to moves towards toleration during the late 1770s, which culminated in the Catholic Relief Act of 1778 (which extended the civil and legal liberties of Catholics). The Gordon Riots of 1780, the most violent public riots in English history, expressed that sentiment grimly.⁴⁷ Some 40–50,000 people gathered in Saint George’s Fields in response to a call from the Protestant Association – led by Lord George Gordon – for repeal of the Catholic Relief Act. Many MPs and Lords were treated roughly, and when the Commons voted to adjourn further discussion of the repeal, a six-day period of arson, violence, and plunder spread over London.⁴⁸ This was a visceral expression of a 200-year-old truism that Catholicism was beyond the pale of England’s culture and constitution.

From the late-16th century, then, “popery” was not only foreign, it was loyal to foreign powers; it was not only false religion, but distinctly hostile to England’s crown and church. State anti-Catholicism as expressed in the penal code would make anti-Catholicism central to “Englishness” in subsequent generations.⁴⁹ For Anne McLaren, the anti-Catholicism of the Elizabethan state was a response to Mary, Queen of Scots’s claim on the English throne. The animus against Mary as a *Catholic* rather than as a *woman* allowed for her legitimacy as a future monarch to be eroded without also eroding the authority of Elizabeth. For McLaren, therefore, anti-Catholicism emerged in England as a national ideology as a direct result of a very specific crisis in the succession.⁵⁰

The presentation of Catholicism as “foreign” necessitated rewriting England’s history. The uncomfortable truth – that England had been part of

47 This is a key thesis in Walsham, *Charitable Hatred*, 16, 19, 117, 172–76, 261–66, and 286–87. On the Declarations of Indulgence, see John Miller, “James II and Toleration,” in *By Force or by Default? The Revolution of 1688–89*, ed. Eveline Cruickshanks (Edinburgh: 1989), 8–27; Tim Harris, *Restoration: Charles II and his Kingdoms* (London: 2006), 63–64, 69–72, 122–23, and 130; J.P. Kenyon (ed.), *The Stuart Constitution, 1603–1688: Documents and Commentary*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, Eng.: 1986), 379–84.

48 Colin Haydon, *Anti-Catholicism in Eighteenth-Century England: A Political and Social Study* (Manchester: 1993), chap. 6; Christopher Hibbert, *King Mob: The Story of Lord George Gordon and the Riots of 1780* (1958; repr. Gloucestershire: 2004); Ian Haywood and John Seed (eds.), *The Gordon Riots: Politics, Culture and Insurrection in Late Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Cambridge, Eng.: 2012).

49 Wiener, “Beleaguered Isle,” *passim*.

50 Anne McLaren, “Gender, Religion, and Early Modern Nationalism: Elizabeth I, Mary Queen of Scots, and the Genesis of English Anti-Catholicism,” *AHR* 107 (2002), 739–67; McLaren, “The Quest for a King: Gender, Marriage, and Succession in Elizabethan England,” *JBS* 41 (2002), 259–90.

the Catholic Church far longer than it had been separated from it – meant that the origins of Christianity in England became a subject of real importance, as Felicity Heal has demonstrated. Polemicists asserted that England's Christian roots pre-dated Augustine's papal mission in 597, having been planted by Saint Paul, Joseph of Arimathea, or Simon Zealotes, with the subsequent imposition of papal authority in England amounting to usurpation. Such historical pruning intended to show historical continuity between the early church and the Church of England to undermine claims that the English Reformation was a schism; and the claim that England received the word independently of "popery" contributed to the sense that the realm was a special beneficiary of divine providence.⁵¹ Extraordinary acts of Catholic aggression like the Armada (1588), Gunpowder Plot (1605), and Irish massacres (1641) were placed in a longer historical trajectory that stressed England's longstanding independence from Rome and Rome's longstanding, perennial aggression towards England.⁵² This raised anxiety, but also, paradoxically, confidence. The false church's continual assaults were backhanded proof of English piety; that it always failed proved English Protestantism's divine favor. The events of 1588, 1605, and 1641, and, subsequently, the Battles of Boyne and Aughrim in 1690 and 1691, sat prominently in popular memory. Their commemoration in sermons, marches, bonfires, and bells punctuated public life as routine expressions of custom and community that provided rhythmic reminders of popery's fundamental foreignness and cemented Catholicism's status in popular memory as an enemy within and without.⁵³

51 Felicity Heal, "Appropriating History: Catholics and Protestant Polemics and the National Past," *Huntington Library Quarterly* 68 (2005), 109–32; Rosamund Oates, "Elizabethan Histories of English Christian Origins," in *Sacred History: Uses of the Christian Past in the Renaissance World*, ed. Katherine Van Liere, Simon Ditchfield, and Howard Louthan (Oxford: 2012), 166–85; Adam Morton, "Remembering the Past at the End of Time," in *Memory and the English Reformation*, ed. Alexandra Walsham, Ceri Law, Brian Cummings, and Bronwyn Wallace (Cambridge: 2020).

52 Arthur F. Marotti, *Religious Ideology and Cultural Fantasy: Catholic and Anti-Catholic Discourses in Early Modern England* (Notre Dame, Ind.: 2005), chap. 5; Alexandra Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England* (Oxford: 1999), chap. 5; Thomas S. Nowack, "Propaganda and the Pulpit: Robert Cecil, William Barlow and the Essex and Gunpowder Plots," in *The Witness of Times: Manifestations of Ideology in Seventeenth Century England*, ed. Katherine Z. Keller and Gerald J. Schiffhorst (Pittsburgh: 1993), 34–52 and 265–67; David Cressy, "The Fifth of November Remembered," in *Myths of the English*, ed. Roy Porter (Oxford.: 1992), 68–90; M. Perceval-Maxwell, *The Outbreak of the Irish Rebellion of 1641* (Montreal: 1994), 269–84; Ethan Shagan, "Constructing Discord: Ideology, Propaganda, and English Responses to the Irish Rebellion of 1641," *JBS* 36 (1997), 4–34.

53 David Cressy, *Bonfires and Bells: National Memory and the Protestant Calendar in Elizabethan and Stuart England*, 2nd ed. (Gloucestershire: 2004), chaps. 7–10 in particular;

This animus against “popery” as un-English was manifested in reaction to the 1715 and 1745 Jacobite rebellions. Between 1689 and 1746, stereotypical fears of Catholicism as a threat to the English Crown, church, and polity gained greater credence following the campaigns of the “pretenders” James Edward and Charles Edward Stuart to regain the crown lost by their father and grandfather in the 1688 revolution. A dynastic and political conflict blended into a religious one, and events were easily interpreted conspiratorially: James II’s wife, Mary of Modena, approached Innocent XI in 1689 with a plea for a Catholic alliance against England, and the papacy did not recognize the Hanoverian monarchy until the death of James III in 1766.⁵⁴ During the 1715 rising, the support of Catholics in large parts of Lancashire, Yorkshire, Northumberland, and Cumberland heightened fears of foreign invasion, and, as Colin Haydon has noted, Jacobitism “appeared to have the character of a Catholic Crusade which entirely justified long-held government fears about papists’ politics.”⁵⁵ Huge volumes of printed materials, sermons, and popular pope burnings stressed generations-old stereotypes of Catholics massacring Protestants, and of liberty being supplanted by tyranny, reason by superstition.⁵⁶ Anti-Catholicism was thus mobilized in defense of the Crown and state, ensuring that “Jacobitism” (a political campaign for Stuart legitimacy) and “popery” elided in popular parlance when in reality there was no clear point of contact between the two. Anti-Catholicism, then, could manufacture unity: material printed during the 1745 campaign called for the hostility between Anglicans and Dissenters and Whigs and Tories to be put aside in the face of a common “popish” enemy.⁵⁷ It also had lasting effects. Sectarianism in Lancashire became more marked after the 1715 rising, and the notion that “popery” was the enemy of true religion, king, and nation was heightened during the mid-18th century following the perception of Jacobitism as a tangible expression of Catholic intent.⁵⁸

Aidan Clarke, “The 1641 Rebellion and Anti-popery in Ireland,” in *Ulster, 1641: Aspects of the Rising*, ed. Brian Mac Cuarta (Belfast: 1993), 139–57 and 214–18.

54 HMC, *Calendar of the Stuart Papers Belonging to His Majesty the King, Preserved at Windsor Castle*, 7 vols (London: 1902–23), 1:35; Paul Kléber Monod, *Jacobitism and the English People, 1688–1788* (Cambridge, Eng.: 1989); Eveline Cruickshanks and Jeremy Black (eds), *The Jacobite Challenge* (Edinburgh: 1988).

55 I am indebted in this section to Haydon, *Catholicism in Eighteenth-Century England*, chaps. 3 and 5, quotation at 81.

56 Haydon, *Catholicism in Eighteenth-Century England*, 91–97, 118–21, 127–31, and 135–40.

57 Haydon, *Catholicism in Eighteenth-Century England*, 161–62.

58 Haydon, *Catholicism in Eighteenth-Century England*, 96–97.

3 Ireland and the Wars of the Three Kingdoms

One development of the association between “Catholic” and “foreign” in English culture was growing wariness of Ireland as a “popish” problem. Anti-Catholicism was a prominent feature of Irish politics following the plantations, and in turn Irish politics became an increasingly important focus of English anti-Catholicism as the 17th century progressed.⁵⁹ The crucial factor here were the Confederate Wars (1641–53), in which the Catholic Irish secured a period of jurisdictional independence and freedom of worship which they would not enjoy again until Emancipation, and which confirmed English fears about the danger of unchecked “popery” to the security of the three kingdoms.⁶⁰

These wars developed in three phases. The first – between the outbreak of rebellion against the New English authorities in October 1641 and the ceasefire of September 1643 – was tied to Britain’s descent into civil war. The Old English and native Irish united in the Catholic Confederation, established an alternative government, and called on Charles I to grant full toleration to Catholics in Ireland. The second phase (1643–47) saw protracted peace negotiations between Charles and the Confederates. The Confederates considered lending military support to the king against the English Parliament because they recognized that the latter’s Puritanism provided a far greater threat to their aims than the Caroline court did. In exchange for this proposed support, the king considered repealing the recusancy laws and granting the Confederates a measure of independence. Those considerations only confirmed suspicion of Charles’s “popery” for Parliament in England and Scotland and concerned the Protestant government in Dublin.⁶¹ Here, then, anti-Catholicism shaped

59 In this section I am indebted to Ohlmeyer, “Confederation and Union,” and to Joseph Cope, “The Irish Rising,” and Toby Barnard, “State, Politics, and Society in Ireland, 1641–1662,” both in *The Oxford Handbook of the English Revolution*, ed. Michael Braddick (Oxford: 2015), 77–95 and 379–93.

60 See Ohlmeyer (ed.), *Ireland from Independence to Occupation*; Robert Armstrong, *Protestant War: The “British” of Ireland and the Wars of the Three Kingdoms* (Manchester: 2005); Joseph Cope, *England and the 1641 Irish Rebellion* (Woodbridge: 2009); Pádraig Lenihan, *Confederate Catholics at War, 1641–49* (Cork: 2001); Micheál Ó Siochru, *Confederate Ireland 1642–1649: A Constitutional and Political Analysis* (Dublin: 1999).

61 Ohlmeyer, “Confederation and Union,” 317–20; Michael O Siochru, “The Centre Cannot Hold: Ireland 1643–1649,” in Braddick (ed.), *Oxford Handbook of the English Revolution*, 137–53; Kevin Forkan, “The Ulster Scots and the Engagement, 1647–8,” *Irish Historical Studies* 35 (2007), 455–76; Forkan, “‘The Fatal Ingredient of the Covenant’: The Place of the Ulster Scottish Colonial Community during the 1640s,” in *Reshaping Ireland, 1550–1700: Colonization and Its Consequences*, ed. Brian Mac Cuarta (Dublin: 2011), 261–80; Forkan, “Ormond’s Alternative: The Lord-Lieutenant’s Secret Contacts with Protestant Ulster, 1645–6,” *Historical Research* 81 (2008), 610–35.

relationships between sides in the political turmoil of the 1640s. The final phase (1647–53) saw the Confederate and Royalist armies defeated in 1649 and led to an unprecedented assertion of English control over Catholic Ireland by Cromwell's government.⁶² Memory of the conflict was multifaceted, bitterly contested, and had an important legacy in the immediate political context of the three kingdoms, in Irish politics during the late 17th and early 18th centuries, and in longstanding English attitudes to the Irish.⁶³

Anti-Catholicism had been a central factor in the disintegration of Irish politics during 1630–41, and that disintegration in turn fed into fears of Stuart “popery” which animated the civil wars. The 1641 rebellion was rooted in the unpopular lord lieutenancy of Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, who succeeded in alienating all sides of Irish politics. Plans to create a new plantation in Connacht united the Old English and native Irish against the New English government.⁶⁴ Wentworth's natural allies against this “popish” antagonism – the New English and Scottish Protestants – were outraged by his importing anti-Calvinist bishops, which offended their Puritan sensibilities and smacked of popery. His clampdown on support for the Scottish Covenanters following the rebellion against the prayer book in 1637 further heightened Protestant antagonism against him.⁶⁵ In this heady environment of suspicion, mundane actions could be seen as mendacious, and Wentworth's attempts to placate the Old English by entering discussions about loosening restrictions on landholding fomented rumors of plans for toleration of Catholicism – proof of “popery” in the Stuart Crown.⁶⁶

Anti-Catholicism, then, contributed to rebellion in Ireland. And English Parliamentarians then incorporated that rebellion into their anti-Catholic opposition against the Stuart Crown during the run up to civil war. Letters from Dublin Castle to the English Parliament presented the rebellion as a “wicked and damnable conspiracy plotted ... by some evil affected papists here.” When news of the violence reached the House of Commons on 1 November 1641, Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, noted that “there was deep silence ... and a

62 Micheál Ó Siochrú, *God's Executioner: Oliver Cromwell and the Conquest of Ireland* (London: 2008).

63 T.C. Barnard, “Settling and Unsettling Ireland: The Cromwellian and Williamite Revolutions,” in Ohlmeyer, *Ireland from Independence to Occupation*, 265–91.

64 Hugh F. Kearney, *Strafford in Ireland: A Study in Absolutism* (Cambridge, Eng.: 1989), 85–129 and 185–98.

65 Cope, “The Irish Rising,” 79–81.

66 Conrad Russell, “The British Background to the Irish Rebellion of 1641,” *Historical Research* 61 (1988), 166–82; Alan Ford, *The Protestant Reformation in Ireland, 1590–1641* (Dublin: 1997), 161–62.

kind of consternation, most men's heads having been intoxicated ... with imaginations of plots and treasonable designs through the three kingdoms."⁶⁷ Much was made of the massacres of Protestants, with reports exaggerated for polemical effect. Ethan Shagan has shown that printed reports of these events were vital to winning support for Parliament's cause. Works like Henry Jones's *A remonstrance of divers and remarkeable passages* (1642) and Sir John Temple's *The Irish rebellion* (1646) stressed the pleasure taken in the ritual humiliation, rape, maiming, and killing of Protestants.⁶⁸ Such perfidy presented popery as an urgent threat that Parliament, not the Stuart Crown, was best suited to resist.

It is likely that more people died in Ireland during the conflicts of the 1640s than in the wars of 1798 or the 20th century.⁶⁹ Their legacy in Irish society was therefore to further entrench religious-ethnic sectarianism, of which anti-Catholicism was an important feature. The Confederation demonstrated the precarious nature of Protestant rule and heightened anxieties about the threat posed by Catholicism. Periods of political unrest were now punctuated by rumors of Catholic insurgency. During the 1685 Monmouth Rebellion, rumors of a Catholic uprising circulated with such credibility in Borrisokane, County Tipperary that a watch was placed on the town, and armed patrols circulated at night. Three years later, during the 1688 revolution, letters circulated in various parts of Ireland warning of Catholic plans to cut Protestant throats, sparing none.⁷⁰ The events of 1641 also shaped the English government's response to Ireland for the remainder of the century. Aidan Clarke has demonstrated that

67 John Nalson, *An Impartial Collections of the Great Affairs of State* [...], vol. 2 (London: 1683), 514; Edward Hyde, *The History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England Begun in the Year 1641*, vol. 1, ed. W. Dunn Macray (Oxford: 1988), 397, both quoted in Cope, "Irish Rising," 77.

68 Cope, "The Irish Rising," 84–85; Shagan, "Constructing Discord," 4–34. See also Kathleen M. Noonan, "Martyrs in Flames: Sir John Temple and the Conception of the Irish in English Martyrologies," *Albion* 36 (2004), 223–55; Noonan, "The Cruell Pressure of an Enraged, Barbarous People: Irish and English Identity in Seventeenth-Century Policy and Propaganda," *Historical Journal* 41 (1998), 151–77; Joseph Cope, "Fashioning Victims: Dr. Henry Jones and the Plight of Irish Protestants, 1642," *Historical Research* 74 (2001), 370–91.

69 Ohlmeyer, "Confederation and Union," 316. On violence see Micheál Ó Siochrá, "Atrocity, Codes of Conduct and the Irish in the British Civil Wars, 1641–1653," *P&P* 195 (2007), 55–86. See also individually authored chapters by David Edwards, Brian Mac Cuarta, and Kenneth Nicholls, as well as the co-authored chapter by Mark Clinton, Linda Fibiger, and Damian Shiels, in David Edwards, Pádraig Lenihan, and Clodagh Tait (eds.), *Age of Atrocity: Violence and Political Conflict in Early Modern Ireland* (Dublin: 2007).

70 Barnard, "State, Politics, and Society in Ireland, 1641–1662," 383–84 and 386–87; Tim Harris, *Revolution: The Great Crisis of the British Monarchy, 1685–1720* (London: 2006), 112 and 426.

the 1641 conflict did not begin with the widespread killing of Protestants, but it was remembered as such in the 17th century and after.⁷¹ The Cromwellian reassertion of English control in Ireland during 1649–60 was driven in part by fears of a repeat of those massacres, as well as concerns about security (Ireland had been a site for foreign invasions of the British Isles – real and imagined – since the 16th century) and by anti-Catholicism (in the belief that this risk was caused by popery). The Act of Settlement (1652) saw nearly all lands held by Catholics come under state control in order that they be settled by Protestants.⁷² Prewar Protestant authorities (even those loyal to the Stuarts) were reestablished as traditional brokers of power, and the Catholic Irish were moved *en masse* to Connacht.⁷³ In sum, the 1641–43 rebellion confirmed the status of the Irish as “papists” in the minds of New English and English regimes, who imposed a harsher system on them as a result. Events had been refracted by anti-Catholicism in popular memory, and, combined with assumptions based on ethnicity, this had real consequences in Irish politics and the lives of the Catholic Irish.

4 Anti-Catholic Unity

Anti-Catholicism, then, was a powerful impulse in English and Irish history between the 16th and 19th centuries. It helped to cement identities – “Protestant,” “Church,” “Nation” – and define political parties, religious groups, and social mores both explicitly (during times of tension when such things were contested) and implicitly (as a background set of assumptions that quietly defined positive values against negative ones). Social psychologists have demonstrated that othering and stereotyping are important factors in identity formation and group cohesion. People assimilate to an in-group by exaggerating their similarity to the primary traits of that group and their differences from those in the out-group.⁷⁴ In doing so stereotyping is part of a process of

71 Aidan Clarke, “The 1641 Massacres,” in *Ireland 1641: Contexts and Reactions*, ed. Micheál Ó Siochrú and Jane Ohlmeyer (Manchester: 2013), 37–51; Ohlmeyer, “Confederation and Union,” 317. On the memory of the massacre see Toby Bernard, “The Uses of 23 October 1641 and Irish Protestant Celebrations,” *EHR* 106 (1991), 889–920.

72 Ohlmeyer, “Confederation and Union,” 320–21; Bernard, *Cromwellian Ireland*. See above n. 28 for further references to Cromwell and Ireland.

73 John Cunningham, “The Transplanters’ Certifications and the Historiography of Cromwellian Ireland,” *Irish Historical Studies* 37 (2011), 376–95.

74 For an overview of work in the field of social psychology on this issue, see David J. Schneider, *The Psychology of Stereotyping* (New York: 2005), 229–320; Perry R. Hinton,

binary opposition through which the negative (in this instance popery) defines and validates positive attributes associated with the in-group (in this instance piety, doctrine, liberty, reason, and so on). Anti-Catholicism – like other intolerances – facilitated group identity.

One of the critical ways in which it did so was in the expression of national identity. Anti-Catholicism was a catalyst of the 1688 revolution. A Catholic king in James VII/II rankled in nations that were defined so stridently by their “Protestant” institutions and past, and the fear of “popery” shaped interpretations of James’s policies and actions as alarming and tyrannous. Anti-Catholicism also helped the component parts of Britain come together into a functioning (if far from harmonious) whole after that revolution. The presence of common “popish” enemies – absolutism, Louis XIV’s ambition for hegemony in Europe during the Nine Years’ War (1688–97) and War of the Spanish Succession (1702–13), Jacobitism – helped to foster an overarching “British Protestant” interest which partially overcame longstanding and pronounced cultural and political differences among England, Scotland, and Ireland. By projecting hostilities outwards, that interest also distracted from the fact that both “British” and “Protestant” identities were far from stable or uncontested.⁷⁵

This was particularly true following the 1707 union that consolidated England, Scotland, and Wales under one ruler, one legislature, and one system of trade. This was a marriage of convenience – the English hoped to undercut the threat of Jacobitism to the Hanoverian succession through union – and was unpopular in Scotland.⁷⁶ “Great Britain” did not contain one people. Early 18th-century English, Scots, and Welsh had distinct traditions of folklore, customs, dress, and, to a large degree, language, and Scotland and England were also separated by markedly different ecclesiastical and legal structures. Linda

Stereotypes, Cognition and Culture (Hove: 2000), 105–25. For how this work may be employed by historians, see Adam Morton, “Fighting Popery with Popery: Subverting Stereotypes and Contesting Anti-Catholicism in Late-Seventeenth-Century England,” in Koji Yamamoto (ed.), *Stereotypes and Stereotyping in Early Modern England: Puritans, Papists, and Projectors* (Manchester: 2022, forthcoming).

75 Tony Claydon, *Europe and the Making of England* (Cambridge: 2007), passim; Christopher A. Whatley, *The Scots and the Union: Then and Now* (Edinburgh: 2014), 2–6, 45–50, 82–88, 99–103, 153–54, 170–76, and 221–26; Allan I. Macinnes, *Union and Empire: The Making of the United Kingdom in 1707* (Cambridge, Eng.: 2007).

76 Karin Bowie, “Popular Resistance, Religion and the Union of 1707,” and Allan I. Macinnes, “The Treaty of Union: Made in England,” in *Scotland and the Union, 1707–2007*, ed. T.M. Devine (Edinburgh: 2008), 39–53 and 54–76; Karin Bowie, “Public Opinion, Popular Politics and the Union of 1707,” *SHR* 82 (2003), 226–60; Neil Davidson, “The Scottish Pre-Industrial Urban Crowd and the Riots against the Treaty of Union, 1705–7,” in *A History of Riots*, ed. Kevin Flett (Newcastle: 2015), 77–120.

Colley has argued that overcoming these differences to the degree necessary for Britain to function as a nation relied on Protestantism, “the foundation that made the invention of Great Britain possible.” Despite their differences, England, Scotland, and Wales had Protestant histories in common. These acted as a “powerful cement” that gave “the majority of men and women a sense of their place in history and sense of identity,” allowing economic and foreign policy to be conceived as a crusade against the French during the next century.⁷⁷ Protestant liberty and prosperity was contrasted with French tyranny and poverty, and in wars of imperial expansion Britain – not England, Scotland, or Wales – was presented as the bulwark against French Catholic autocracy on the global stage.⁷⁸ In providing a common purpose anti-Catholicism papered over cracks in identities by forcing people who could not agree on what they were for, to at least agree on what they were against.

This had happened on a smaller scale earlier in English history. For Patrick Collinson, anti-Catholicism was the “sheet anchor” of 16th-century Protestantism, an ideology that brought embittered conformist and Nonconformist Protestants together through the provision of a common enemy.⁷⁹ That story was replayed many times in subsequent centuries. Deeply disputed religious categories that few Protestant agreed upon were defined as virtuous by being presented against popery. For example, “rational religion” was presented as the antithesis of popish superstition in order to allow the Anglican Church to claim a role in the Enlightenment as a force of reason; and in the late-17th century “toleration” was defined against “popish” persecution and priestcraft as an expression of Christian charity and the Protestant state.⁸⁰

77 Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707–1837* (New Haven: 1992), chap. 1, esp. 57–58. For a discussion of how the concept of “nation” was contested in these debates, see Clare Jackson, “Conceptions of Nationhood in the Anglo-Scottish Union Debates of 1707,” *SHR* 87 (2008), 61–77. For an important discussion of Scottish responses to the union, see John Robertson (ed.), *A Union for Empire: Political Thought and the Union of 1707* (Woodbridge: 2007). Colin Kidd, “North Britishness and the Nature of Eighteenth-Century British Patriotisms,” *Historical Journal* 39 (1996), 361–82 unpicks the complexities of “Britishness” and the divergent traditions of Protestantism.

78 For an interesting rereading of this argument, see Jessica L. Harland-Jacobs, “Incorporating the King’s New Subjects: Accommodation and Anti-Catholicism in the British Empire, 1763–1815,” *Journal of Religious History* 39 (2015), 203–23.

79 Patrick Collinson, *The Birthpangs of Protestant England: Religious and Cultural Change in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Basingstoke 1988), 10.

80 See Raymond D. Tumbleson, *Catholicism in the English Protestant Imagination: Nationalism, Religion, and Literature, 1660–1745* (Cambridge, Eng.: 1998), chaps. 4–5; John Marshall, *John Locke, Toleration and Early Enlightenment Culture* (Cambridge, Eng.: 2006), chaps. 1, 2, 10, 13, 15, and 22.

That novel ideas like this – unorthodox to this point in their understanding of religious orthodoxy and the church's role in society – were dressed in anti-Catholicism made them appear less novel than was actually the case.

A similar pattern can be seen in the political sphere. Much of the “popery” that English (and then British) culture defined itself against was concerned with political rather than religious Catholicism. As Jonathan Scott has shown, the changing shape of Europe in the mid-17th century was crucial here. The Thirty Years' War (1618–48) saw Protestant territories significantly reduced, and the century was bookended by Catholic superpowers, Spain and France, whose wars against Protestant states and pursuit of Catholic orthodoxy were easily interpreted through anti-Catholic stereotypes of tyranny and persecution.⁸¹ That Restoration and post-Revolution politics were partially shaped by this recent history is unsurprising. Most important was the presentation of parliamentary liberty as crucial to the protection of England (and then Britain) from the “popish” absolutism associated most explicitly with Louis XIV, whose autocracy abused his subjects' political and religious freedoms (which English parliaments safeguarded) and drove his unjust and cruel wars (ambitions that English parliaments contained in their monarchs).⁸² “Popish absolutism” was a stick with which Whig politicians beat Charles II and James VII/II, and positive virtues in English/British culture were once again partially defined through anti-Catholic ideology.⁸³ Indeed, many of the central values of modernity – toleration, liberty, reason, democracy – owed a significant (and underappreciated) debt to anti-Catholicism.⁸⁴

81 Jonathan Scott, *England's Troubles: Seventeenth-Century English Political Instability in European Context* (Cambridge, Eng.: 2000). On this theme, see William S. Maltby, *The Black Legend in England: The Development of Anti-Spanish Sentiment in England, 1558–1660* (Durham, N.C.: 1971); Marshall, *John Locke*, 17–93.

82 Miller, *Popery and Politics*, 67–68, 76–78, 90–93, 117–28, and 149–50. A key text here is Anthony Marvell, *An Account of the Growth of Popery [...]* (London: 1677), 5–19, 33–40, and 45–55.

83 Harris, *Restoration*, 56–58, 120–29, 152–53, 226–37, 374–76, and 419–24.

84 On this theme, see Clement Fatovic, “The Anti-Catholic Roots of Liberal and Republican Conceptions of Freedom in English Political Thought,” *Journal of the History of Ideas* 66 (2005), 37–58; John McTague, “Anti-Catholicism, Incurability and Credulity in the Warming-Pan Scandal of 1688–89,” *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 36 (2013), 433–48.

5 Anti-Catholic Fractures

The role of anti-Catholicism in forging unity should not be overplayed, however, as the ideology was also deeply fractious. This was because of the protean and confused nature of “popery” outlined at the beginning of this chapter. Almost any person, group, or idea could be defined as “popish,” as political or cultural circumstances required. This was once again a product of othering. In- and out-group definitions were policed against the “popish” other, but group identities are rarely stable and shift according to context. As the definition of the in-group changed – “English,” “Protestant,” and so on – so did the definition of who/what was “popish.” As such, anti-Catholicism became a language used in disputes between different religious and political groups within England far more routinely than it was against Catholics outside of England. Each group – conformist and Nonconformist, Royalist and Roundhead, Whig and Tory – painted its opponent as “popish” in order to legitimize their position and delegitimize their opponent’s. What was “popish” was heavily dependent on context.⁸⁵

This can be seen almost as soon as the 1559 Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity “settled” England’s Reformation. For many Protestants, the religious settlement was the beginning of the processes of reform towards a fully realized, godly kingdom. For the Elizabethan regime, it ended that process. As a result, tensions existed between the state, which insisted on conformity to the English church, and hotter Protestants, who bridled at conforming to a church they saw as a half-reformed, “popish” compromise.⁸⁶ Between 1560 and 1640 that tension was often expressed through anti-Catholicism. During the Admonition Controversy of the early 1570s – when Puritans attempted to replace the 1559 settlement with a Presbyterian church structure – the English church in its current form was damned as “popish.” Episcopacy was popish because it was unscriptural; church courts were popish because – like papal actions against the Elect throughout history – they persecuted liberty of conscience. Consequently the English church, despite formally removing

85 Morton, “Fighting Popery with Popery,” *passim*; Peter Lake, “Anti-Puritanism: The Structure of a Prejudice,” in *Religious Politics in Post-Reformation England: Essays in Honour of Nicholas Tyacke*, ed. Kenneth Fincham and Peter Lake (Woodbridge: 2006), 80–97.

86 Marshall, *Heretics and Believers*, chaps. 15–16. For very important collections of essays on this theme, see Peter Lake and Michael Questier (eds.), *Conformity and Orthodoxy in the English Church, c.1560–1660* (Woodbridge: 2000); Nicholas Tyacke (ed.), *England’s Long Reformation, 1500–1800* (London: 1998).

the papacy, remained a “limb” of Antichrist.⁸⁷ This feature of Puritan agitation against the English church was stepped up considerably during the 1630s in response to Laudianism, a more ceremonial strain of Protestantism that downplayed preaching in favor of ceremony and heightened the dignity of priests.⁸⁸ Hotter Protestants warned that the English bishops’ promotion of Laudianism was an imposition that would begin a backslide towards popery.

Anti-Catholicism was now a language of controversy which rival groups of Protestants (broadly Calvinist and anti-Calvinist) used to work through contested matters of ecclesiology – the extent of monarchical control over the church, the legitimacy of episcopacy and ecclesiastical courts, and the degree to which the church could insist on obedience in matters of conscience – in their wrestling over the nature of the English church between 1590 and 1640.⁸⁹ Painting each other “popish” was a large part of this process. For Puritans, Arminians/Laudians were “popish” because their insistence on ceremonialism and the dignity of the clergy smacked of Roman corruption of the Word, and their downplaying of predestination seemed to be semi-Pelagian (an error that Protestants had long associated with the Catholic Church). For Laudians/anti-Calvinists, Puritans were “popish” because they were seditious, their lobbying for further reform masking the desire for an antimonarchical, dangerously populist form of church and state that – like the papacy – failed to acknowledge royal supremacy.⁹⁰ These rival visions of “Protestant” church and state became fissures in the political landscape that contributed to the collapse of consensus on the eve of the civil wars.

87 See the first and second admonitions to Parliament in Archer and Price, *English Historical Documents*, 180–89; Patrick Collinson, *The Elizabethan Puritan Movement* (London: 1967), parts 1–4; Collinson, *Godly People: Essays on English Protestantism and Puritanism* (London: 1983), chaps. 8 and 12–14; Brett Usher, “The Fortunes of English Puritanism: An Elizabethan Perspective,” in Fincham and Lake, *Religious Politics in Post-Reformation England*, 98–112.

88 Milton, *Catholic and Reformed*, 63–92 and 426–47; Michael Questier, “Arminianism, Catholicism, and Puritanism in England during the Early 1630s,” *Historical Journal* 49 (2006), 53–78; Christianson, *Reformers and Babylon*, 132–78.

89 Milton, *Catholic and Reformed*, chaps. 1–4 in particular; Nicholas Tyacke, *Anti-Calvinists: The Rise of English Arminians c.1590–1640* (Oxford: 1987).

90 On this theme, see Patrick Collinson, “Antipuritanism,” in *The Cambridge Companion to Puritanism*, ed. John Coffey and Paul C.H. Lim (Cambridge, Eng.: 2008), 19–33; Collinson, “Ecclesiastical Vitriol: Religious Satire in the 1590s and the Invention of Puritanism,” in *The Reign of Elizabeth I: Court and Culture in the Last Decade*, ed. John Guy (Cambridge, Eng.: 1995), 150–70; Lake, “Anti-Puritanism: The Structure of a Prejudice,” 80–97.

Bitter experiences during those wars increased the conviction of both conformists and Nonconformists that the other was suspect.⁹¹ That there were considerably more Nonconformist groups at the Restoration than there had been in 1640 made restrictions on religious practice even more unpopular and contested. The penal code treated Nonconformist Protestants in a similar manner to Catholics, with a series of Corporation and Test Acts (1661, 1673, 1678) imposing limitations on meetings and forbidding Catholics and Nonconformists from holding public office.⁹² The established church's defense of that code and Nonconformist pleas for toleration were both expressed in part as measures against popery. For the established church, any move to slacken the penal code's insistence on conformity would weaken the church and the crown, which history had shown to be England's principle defenders from popery.⁹³ For Nonconformists, the penal code imposed "popish" persecution: they were martyrs just as Marian Protestants had been martyrs, witnesses punished for matters of conscience and forced to commune with error.⁹⁴ Used in this way, anti-Catholicism was not a clearly defined ideology but a language through which religious and political issues were debated, contested, and worked through.

Anti-Catholicism was also involved in defining royal power. The Henrician Reformation presented royal supremacy as the antithesis of papal supremacy

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- 91 John Coffey, *Persecution and Toleration in Protestant England, 1558–1689* (Harlow, Eng.: 2000), 134–65; Blair Worden, "Toleration and the Cromwellian Protectorate," in *Persecution and Toleration*, ed. W.J. Sheils (Oxford: 1984), 199–233; Fiona McCall, *Baal's Priests: The Loyalist Clergy and the English Revolution* (Farnham: 2013).
- 92 Kenyon, *Stuart Constitution*, 382–95; Walsham, *Charitable Hatred*, 60–62 and 269–80; John Miller, "James II and Toleration," in Cruickshanks, *By Force or by Default*, 8–27; Roger Thomas, "Comprehension and Indulgence," in *From Uniformity to Unity, 1662–1962*, ed. Geoffrey F. Nuttall and Owen Chadwick (London: 1962), 189–253.
- 93 Anthony Fletcher, "The Enforcement of the Conventicle Acts, 1664–1679," in Sheils, *Persecution and Toleration*, 235–46; Mark Goldie, "The Theory of Religious Intolerance in Restoration England," in *From Persecution to Toleration: The Glorious Revolution and Religion in England*, ed. Ole Peter Grell, Jonathan I. Israel, and Nicholas Tyacke (Oxford: 1991), 331–68. For contemporary views, see Samuel Parker, *A Discourse of Ecclesiastical Politie* [...] (London: 1670), and Edward Stillingfleet, *The Unreasonableness of Separation* [...] (London: 1683).
- 94 Scott, *England's Troubles*, 176, 261, 270–71, 362–63, 371–73, and 420–21; N.H. Keeble, *The Literary Culture of Nonconformity in Later Seventeenth-Century England* (Leicester: 1987), chap. 2. Examples are innumerable, but see John Howe, *The Case of the Protestant Dissenters, Represented and Argued* (London: 1689); *To the King and Both Houses of Parliament the Suffering Condition of the peaceable People, called Quakers* [...] (London: [1685?]); George Whitehead, *A Brief Account of some of the Late and Present Sufferings of the People called Quakers* [...] (London: 1680).

and therefore the central constitutional defense against popery. That claim was the cause of tensions in subsequent generations, however, as a result of the Tudor and Stuart monarchies' persistent frustrations of attempts to secure further reform. The question of who was head of the church – Word or Crown – was potent and at the center of many *causes célèbres* from Elizabeth's reign onward, including the suspension of Archbishop Edmund Grindal (1577), the Martin Marprelate Controversy (1588–90), and the *Book of Sports* (1633).⁹⁵ Suspicions that royal supremacy perpetrated popery in England rather than preserved the realm from it were equally apparent in the chastising of successive Tudor and Stuart monarchs' failure to pursue an explicitly Protestant foreign policy. Fears of monarchical popery were a destabilizing presence in the early 17th century and, as Michael Braddick has shown, anti-Catholicism became a critiquing language of monarchical power during the civil wars.⁹⁶ That language advertised Parliament as reforming champions of “no popery” and denigrated the Crown and episcopacy as promoters of “popery” – variously identified in the court, the Stuarts' marriage of Catholic queens, Laudianism, the decay of preaching, failure to encourage observance of the Sabbath, unlawful use of the courts, among other things – in a manner that allowed a coalition of opposition groups with very different visions for England and Scotland's church, society, and state to unify around in resisting Charles I.⁹⁷

Anti-Catholicism continued to shape politics after the Restoration.⁹⁸ Alongside contributing to debates about foreign policy, relations with France, and toleration, anti-Catholicism was a factor in the emergence of party

95 Collinson, *Elizabethan Puritan Movement*, 29–44, 71–84, 159–208, and 243–72; Peter Lake, *Anglicans and Puritans? Presbyterianism and English Conformist Thought from Whitgift to Hooker* (London: 1988).

96 Anthony Fletcher, *The Outbreak of the English Civil War* (London: 1981), 407–19. On the role of religion more broadly, see John Morrill, “The Religious Context of the English Civil War,” *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th series, 35 (1985), 135–57.

97 Michael Braddick, *God's Fury, England's Fire: A New History of the English Civil Wars* (London: 2008), 47–49, 100–08, 116–21, 128–30, and 145–47. On the issue of Catholic queens, see Francis Dolan, *Whores of Babylon: Catholicism, Gender, and Seventeenth-Century Print Culture* (Notre Dame, Ind.: 2005), passim; Adam Morton, “Sanctity and Suspicion: Catholicism, Conspiracy and the Representation of Henrietta Maria of France and Catherine of Braganza, Queens of Britain,” in *Queens Consort, Cultural Transfer and European Politics, c.1500–1800*, ed. Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly and Adam Morton (Abingdon: 2017), 172–201.

98 Harris, *Restoration*, chaps. 2, 3, and 7 in particular; Harris, *Revolution: The Great Crisis of the British Monarchy, 1685–1720* (London: 2007), chaps. 1, 5, and 6–9 in particular; Mark Knights, *Politics and Opinion in Crisis, 1678–81* (Cambridge, Eng.: 1994), passim; Miller, *Popery and Politics*, passim; Scott, *England's Troubles*, 44–45, 94–97, 110–17, 125–29, 164–68, 185–87, 205–10, 220–24, and 374–75.

politics. Both Whigs and Tories couched their markedly different views of church, polity, and society through the presentation of themselves as the true champions of Protestant Britain. The conversion of the future James VII/II to Catholicism in 1673 triggered political unrest that culminated in the Exclusion Crisis of 1678–83, when the Whig party lobbied for a substantial increase in parliamentary powers at the expense of the monarchy as a means of preventing the return of “popery” (which encapsulated absolutist government and the Catholic religion). The mass petitioning, printing, and electoral campaigns of these years had an unwieldy momentum following the “exposure” of the fraudulent Popish Plot, a wholly invented pan-European Catholic conspiracy to assassinate Charles II, burn London, massacre Protestants, and reconvert Britain to Rome that articulated popular fears of what awaited a nation governed by a Crown that was not suitably explicit in its Protestantism.⁹⁹

There were two rival conspiracy theories in this new party politics. For Whigs, parliamentary liberty and constitutional reform was the surest way of defending the nation from popery by limiting the Crown’s absolutist pretensions. This was articulated powerfully by Andrew Marvell’s *Account of the Growth of Popery and Arbitrary Government* (1677), which accused the Crown of conspiring against parliamentary liberty and Protestantism.¹⁰⁰ For the Tories, the Whig’s use of anti-Catholicism to popularize their appeal ultimately exposed them as “papists in masquerade.” The Tory refrain during these years was “41 is Come Again”: anti-Catholicism was being used to whip up popular opposition to Charles II just as it had against his father, and disguised the fact that Whig calls for “reform” were actually conspiracies to undermine the Protestant church and Crown. This was “popish” because it was exactly what history showed Jesuits had tried to achieve in England since the 1580s.¹⁰¹

99 John Kenyon, *The Popish Plot* (London: 1972); K.H.D. Haley, *The First Earl of Shaftesbury* (Oxford: 1968), chaps. 17–26; Harris, *Restoration*, chap. 3 in particular.

100 Marvell, *Account of the Growth of Popery and Arbitrary Government*; Scott, “Exhuming the Popish Plot,” passim; Miller, *Popery and Politics*, chaps. 8–9.

101 The chief polemicist here was Roger L’Estrange. See his *History of the Plot [...]* (London: 1679); *L’Estrange’s Narrative of the Plot [...]* (London: 1680), 13–15; *A Further Discovery of the Plot [...]* (London: 1680); *Discovery upon Discovery [...]* (London: 1680), 9 and 23–27; *An Answer to the Appeal from the Country to the City* (London: 1679), 10–11 and 14–23; Morton, “Intensive Ephemera: *The Catholick Gamesters* and the Visual Culture of News in Restoration London,” in *News in Early Modern Europe: Currents and Connections*, ed. Simon Davies and Puck Fletcher (Leiden: 2014), 115–40; Peter Hinds, “*The Horrid Hellish Popish Plot*”: Roger L’Estrange and the Circulation of Discourse in Late Seventeenth-Century London (Oxford: 2009), chap. 3 in particular.

Elizabethan Puritans and bishops, Stuart Calvinists and anti-Calvinists, Restoration Whigs and Tories: each painted the other popish to legitimize their own positions. These examples of how anti-Catholicism was used to define and contest key political and religious issues is far from exhaustive. The central point is that the animus against “popery” was so entrenched in English culture after the Reformation that anti-Catholicism became a language that helped to shape the boundaries of groups, institutions, and ideas. It often legitimized wildly contrasting positions concurrently, destabilizing society by turning hostility inwards and attacking rival groups of Protestants and political parties, and being employed routinely to charge the church and state with corruption. Charges of “popery” inspired unity or disunity depending upon the context in which they were used and the purposes to which they were put.

6 Anti-Catholicism in Ireland: Restoration to Emancipation

Anti-Catholicism was equally varied in Restoration Ireland. It was involved in articulating and contesting sectarianism, intra-Protestant tensions, and rival Catholic and Protestant versions of “Irish” identity. At the Restoration Ireland regained its status as an independent kingdom (albeit subordinate to the British Crown), but it also saw Catholics – many of whom had been loyal to the Crown during the civil wars – lose out to Protestants – many of whom had not been.¹⁰² With Charles II restored as king, Catholics and Protestant royalists who had lost their lands under Cromwell expected compensation. The potential benefits of the Act of Settlement (1662) – which restored land to Catholics who had not been involved in the 1641 rebellion – were frustrated in the implementation. New English and Scottish Protestants controlled the political and legal system, and this, coupled with there not being enough lands available to make the act’s promises a reality, meant that Restoration government achieved little for Catholics, who held just 29 per cent of the land in 1675 (down from 66 per cent in 1641).¹⁰³ That Catholic Ireland was sustained culturally and spiritually

102 For a good summary, see Ted McCormick, “Restoration Ireland, 1660–88,” in Jackson, *Oxford Handbook of Modern Irish History*, 356–74, and Harris, *Restoration*, chap. 2, both of which I am indebted to in this section. See also S.J. Connolly, *Religion, Law and Power: The Making of Protestant Ireland, 1660–1760* (Oxford: 1992).

103 McCormick, “Restoration Ireland, 1660–88,” 359. On land, see L.J. Arnold, *The Restoration Land Settlement in County Dublin, 1660–1688: A History of the Administration of the Acts of Settlement and Explanation* (Dublin: 1993); Karl S. Bottigheimer, “The Restoration Land Settlement in Ireland: A Structural View,” *Irish Historical Studies* 18 (1972), 1–21; Kevin McKenny, “The Restoration Land Settlement in Ireland: A Statistical Interpretation,”

through commercial and political links to Europe and the Atlantic world alleviated the disadvantage somewhat, but sectarianism was a lived reality.¹⁰⁴

Protestant rule was unsettled by relations between the New English Protestants and the “popish” James II/VII, however. James was suspected, in both England and Ireland, of seeking full toleration for Catholics. The influence of his friend Robert Talbot, Earl of Tyrconnell (promoted to lord deputy of Ireland in 1687), only increased suspicions of “popery” in the Crown. An opponent of the Cromwellian regime, Tyrconnell now had the opportunity to settle scores. He encouraged Old English Catholics to lobby against the Restoration land settlement and many felt bold enough to refuse to pay rent to their Protestant landlords with little fear of recrimination.¹⁰⁵ Protestant fears about their lands were matched by nervousness about their political dominance. James permitted Catholics to join the army, and their promotion to offices in corporation and state provided newfound political power and a degree of influence in Parliament.¹⁰⁶ That many of these measures were implemented by royal prerogative rather than by Parliament led to accusations that the king acted arbitrarily: in short, that he was a “popish” tyrant who threatened Protestants’ political and religious liberties.

These political tensions unfolded in the bloody Williamite Wars of 1689–91, which saw an attempted Catholic revolution followed by a brutal reassertion of British control.¹⁰⁷ Following the 1688 revolution in England, Old English Catholics in Ireland, encouraged by gains made under Tyrconnell, supported

in *Restoration Ireland: Always Settling and Never Settled*, ed. Coleman A. Dennehy (Aldershot: 2008), 35–52.

- 104 Thomas O'Connor (ed.), *The Irish In Europe, 1580–1815* (Dublin: 2001); O'Connor and Mary Ann Lyons (eds.), *Irish Communities in Early-Modern Europe* (Dublin: 2006); L.M. Cullen, “The Irish Diaspora of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries,” in *Europeans on the Move: Studies in European Migration, 1500–1800*, ed. Nicholas Canny (Oxford: 1994), 113–52; Canny, “Ireland and Continental Europe, c.1600–c.1750,” in Jackson, *Oxford Handbook of Irish History*, 333–53; Canny, *Kingdom and Colony: Ireland in the Atlantic World, 1560–1800* (Baltimore: 1988).
- 105 McCormick, “Restoration Ireland, 1660–88,” 361; J.G. Simms, *Jacobite Ireland, 1685–91* (Toronto: 1969), chap. 2; Harris, *Revolution*, 102–05, 125–37, and 140–41; John Miller, “The Earl of Tyrconnell and James II’s Irish Policy, 1685–88,” *Historical Journal* 20 (1977), 803–25; Pádraig Lenihan, *The Last Cavalier: Richard Talbot (1631–91)* (Dublin: 2014).
- 106 Simms, *Jacobite Ireland*, 134–37; Raymond Gillespie, “The Irish Protestants and James II, 1688–90,” *Irish Historical Studies* 28 (1992), 124–33.
- 107 I am indebted to Harris, *Revolution*, chap. 10 here. For good overviews see John Childs, *The Williamite Wars in Ireland, 1688–91* (London: 2007); Richard Doherty, *The Williamite War in Ireland, 1688–1691* (Dublin: 1998); David Hayton, *Ruling Ireland, 1685–1742* (Woodbridge: 2004), chap. 1; Patrick Kelly, “Ireland and the Glorious Revolution: From Kingdom to Colony,” in *The Revolutions of 1688*, ed. Robert Beddard (Oxford: 1991), 163–90.

the deposed James against William of Orange and tried to wrest economic, political, and religious control of Ireland from England and the New English Protestants. Support for James and William did not divide into neat Catholic and Protestant camps – land and political power split denominational loyalties. Nevertheless, the Williamite reassertion of the Restoration settlement that followed the war saw the Catholic majority made subordinate to a Protestant Ascendancy that endured for almost a century. Violence on both sides licked at old wounds and opened new ones, and anti-Catholicism was significant in shaping how this period in Irish history was remembered.¹⁰⁸ For Catholics, William (and, by extension, the British state) was an invader who had usurped the true king and therefore had no legitimate claim to rule. For Protestants, William's victory at the Battle of the Boyne was commemorated as a providential delivery of Ireland from popery.

Alongside sectarianism, anti-Catholicism was also a political language of intra-Protestant hostilities in Restoration Ireland. Initially, intra-Protestant tensions in Ireland reflected those in England: Church of Ireland Anglicans, loyal to the Crown during the civil wars, suspected Presbyterians and Dissenters, many of whom had not been loyal, of "popish" sedition.¹⁰⁹ Tension increased following the Williamite Wars. The Irish church now looked on Scottish Presbyterians with suspicion because episcopacy had been supplanted during the 1688/89 revolution in Scotland. The emergence of a Presbyterian general synod and the influx of Scottish immigrants in the 1690s following harvest failures only increased fears of Presbyterian designs. Tensions were reflected in fractious debates about toleration.¹¹⁰ Irish Whigs argued for Protestant unity (expressed in toleration for Dissent) against "popery;" Irish Tories for the protection of the established church (through the penal code) from the "popery" of Catholics and seditious "popery" of Dissenters. Presbyterians lobbied for an act of toleration similar to that of 1689 in England, but were subjected to new test acts in 1704, which saw a mass resignation of Presbyterians and Dissenters from corporation offices, which only increased the political power of the established church. A muted toleration was only granted to Dissenters in 1719.¹¹¹

108 Ian McBride, *The Siege of Derry in Ulster Protestant Mythology* (Dublin: 1997); Pádraig Lenihan, *1690: Battle of the Boyne* (Gloucestershire: 2001).

109 D.W. Hayton, "Early Hanoverian Ireland, 1690–1750," in Jackson, *Oxford Handbook of Modern Irish History*, 401–21, at 405–07. I am indebted to this piece and Harris, *Revolution*, chaps. 6 and 7, in the next three paragraphs.

110 Raymond Gillespie, "The Presbyterian Revolution in Ulster, 1660–1690," in *The Churches, Ireland, and the Irish*, ed. W.J. Sheils and Diana Wood (Oxford: 1989), 159–70.

111 See Hayton, *Ruling Ireland, 1685–1742*, chaps. 4 and 6; Phil Kilroy, *Protestant Dissent and Controversy in Ireland, 1660–1714* (Cork: 1994), 188–98; J.C. Beckett, *Protestant Dissent in*

During the period of Protestant Ascendancy a vice-regent government backed by English military support allowed Protestants to control the law and politics and afforded the Church of Ireland similar powers in religious affairs. Although the relationship between Britain and Ireland was formally that of ruler and colony – the English Privy Council oversaw Ireland's Parliament, and the English Parliament regulated Irish trade and economy (generally on terms disadvantageous to the Irish) – the dynamism of Ireland's burgeoning economic and political culture, and its growing relations with the wider world, caused tensions to emerge between the Protestant Ascendancy and the British in the early-18th century.¹¹² New English Protestants began to define themselves as "Irish" around the turn of the century, particularly when their interests clashed with Britain's.¹¹³ Flashpoints included the Woollen Act (1699) – which prohibited the exporting of Irish wool to protect British trade – and the Forfeiture Act (1700) – which proposed to seize the lands of Jacobites active in the Williamite Wars, in effect funding an English invasion of Ireland after the fact. In 1698 William Molyneux's *The Case of Ireland, Stated* made the case for Ireland's autonomy.¹¹⁴ Circumstance allowed this to be partially achieved over the next 50 years. Because the Dublin government needed parliamentary supply to function, the Irish Parliament became a permanent institution. The "undertakers" appointed by viceroys to manage Parliament accorded the latter a good measure of de facto independence, and by the second decade of the 18th century, Ireland's Protestant political class actively lobbied against

Ireland, 1687–1780 (London: 1948), chaps. 1–7; Ian McBride, "Ulster Presbyterians and the Confessional State, c.1688–1733," in *Political Discourse in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Ireland*, ed. David George Boyce, Robert Eccleshall, and Vincent Geoghegan (Basingstoke: 2001), 169–92, at 176–78.

112 Hayton, "Early Hanoverian Ireland, 1690–1750," 403–05 and 410–12; L.M. Cullen, *Anglo-Irish Trade, 1660–1800* (Manchester: 1968).

113 On this topic, see D.W. Hayton, "Anglo-Irish Attitudes: Changing Perceptions of National Identity among the Protestant Ascendancy in Ireland, c.1690–1740," *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture* 17 (1987), 145–57; David Lammey, "The Growth of the 'Patriot Opposition' in Ireland during the 1770s," *Parliamentary History* 7 (1988), 257–81; Ian McBride, "The Common Name of Irishman: Protestantism and Patriotism in Eighteenth-Century Ireland," in *Protestantism and National Identity: Britain and Ireland c.1650–c.1850*, ed. Tony Claydon and Ian McBride (Cambridge: 1998), 236–61; Stephen Small, "The Twisted Roots of Irish Patriotism: Anglo-Irish Political Thought in the Late-Eighteenth Century," *Éire-Ireland* 35 (2001), 187–216.

114 Hayton, "Early Hanoverian Ireland," in Jackson, *Oxford Handbook of Modern Irish History*, 402–03, 410–13, and 415–16; Patrick H. Kelly, "William Molyneux and the Spirit of Liberty in Eighteenth-Century Ireland," *Eighteenth-Century Ireland* 3 (1988), 133–48; Jacqueline R. Hill, "Ireland without Union: Molyneux and His Legacy," in *A Union for Empire: Political Thought and the British Union of 1707*, ed. John Robertson (Cambridge: 1995), 271–96.

English corruption in Irish politics in steadfast declarations of patriotism.¹¹⁵ That patriotism picked up speed throughout the century in the press, political clubs, and political groups, and was vehement after the French Revolution.¹¹⁶ It was often explicitly Protestant: key events in the Williamite Wars against “popery” were appropriated by the Protestant class to express their sense of Ireland’s past and destiny.

The hardship of Catholics during the 18th century was confirmed in this context. Laws passed between 1695 and 1709 made Catholic education illegal, prevented Catholics from holding office or practicing law, ensured that Catholic estates were broken up upon the death of their holder, and prevented Catholics purchasing freehold land. The extent to which these laws should be seen as a clearly conceived systematic persecution of Catholics, or as a series of *ad hoc* measures imposed in reaction to specific political circumstances, is debated; as is the extent to which the restrictions of political and economic liberties along confessional lines which they imposed were in keeping with practices across Europe or were the product of more wholesale sectarian prejudice.¹¹⁷ The restrictions were certainly severe if implemented firmly and fully – Catholics could not even own horses worth more than £5.¹¹⁸ Yet enforcement was patchy and local politics – good relations with Protestant neighbors, the leniency of magistrates, or the necessity of communities running effectively – lessened their weight in practice.¹¹⁹ Despite the restrictions, the

115 On undertakers, see Eoin Magennis, *The Irish Political System, 1740–1765: The Golden Age of the Undertakers* (Dublin: 2000); Patrick McNally, *Parties, Patriots and Undertakers: Parliamentary Politics in Early Hanoverian Ireland* (Dublin: 1997).

116 Bob Harris, “The Patriot Clubs of the 1750s,” in *Clubs and Societies in Eighteenth-Century Ireland*, ed. James Kelly and Martyn Powell (Dublin: 2010), 224–43; Padhraig Higgins, *A Nation of Politicians: Gender, Patriotism, and Political Culture in Late Eighteenth-Century Ireland* (Madison, WI: 2010); James Kelly, “Elite Political Clubs,” in Kelly and Powel, *Clubs and Societies*, 268–72. To situate this in a broader intellectual climate, see Ian McBride, *Scripture Politics: Ulster Presbyterians and Irish Radicalism in the Late Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: 1998).

117 On the debate, see John Bergin et al. (eds), “New Perspectives on the Penal Laws,” special issue, *Eighteenth-Century Ireland* 1 (2011). See also Charles Ivar McGrath, “Securing the Protestant Interest: The Origins and Purpose of the Penal Laws of 1695,” *Irish Historical Studies* 30 (1996), 25–46; Thomas Bartlett, *The Fall and Rise of the Irish Nation: The Catholic Question, 1690–1830* (Dublin: 1992), chaps. 1–2; James Kelly, “Sustaining a Confessional State: The Irish Parliament and Catholicism,” in *The Eighteenth-Century Composite State: Representative Institutions in Ireland and Europe, 1689–1800*, ed. D.W. Hayton, James Kelly, and John Bergin (Basingstoke: 2010), 44–77.

118 Hayton, “Early Hanoverian Ireland,” in Jackson, *Oxford Handbook of Modern Irish History*, 405.

119 See James Kelly, “Inter-Denominational Relations and Religious Toleration in Late Eighteenth-Century Ireland: The ‘Paper War’ of 1786–88,” *Eighteenth-Century Ireland* 3

Catholic Church flourished in the 18th century – a 1731 parliamentary report into the “State of Popery” showed the number of priests to be growing – and campaigns of the 1720s and 1730s to “improve” Ireland morally and economically worked from the assumption that “popery” was entrenched.¹²⁰

Resurgent Catholicism had developed into Catholic nationalism by the early 19th century.¹²¹ This had huge ramifications for Anglo-Irish relations and for sectarian tensions in Ireland, as both Catholics and Protestants increasingly defined themselves as *the* “Irish.” Catholic influence in Ireland grew during the late 18th century. The demand for troops to fight the Revolutionary War in America during the 1770s and 1780s, and against France from the 1790s, meant that the English government needed Irish Catholics. In the Catholic Relief Act (1793), William Pitt’s government scaled back the penal code, granting Catholic men the vote and Catholics some freedom of worship, to buy Ireland’s loyalty and boost the recruitment of Irish troops into the British army.¹²² This emboldened Irish Catholics to lobby for greater rights, and politicization – movements, meetings, petitioning campaigns – grew as a result. And it offended the Irish Parliament’s sense of its sovereignty and left Irish Protestants accustomed to control feeling threatened by the rising Catholic nationalism. The 1790s saw outbreaks of sectarian violence as debate raged about who were the Irish and who spoke for Ireland. Anti-Catholic history was significant here. The Orange Order, founded in 1798, commemorated a pattern of Irish history as the battle with and liberation from popery, and contested visions of the past and who

(1988), 39–60. The pretense of conversion was also an important alleviating factor. See Charles Ivar McGrath, “The Provisions for Conversion in the Penal Laws, 1695–1750,” in *Converts and Conversion in Ireland, 1650–1850*, ed. Michael Brown, Charles I. McGrath, and Thomas P. Power (Dublin: 2005), 35–59; Thomas P. Power, “Converts,” in *Endurance and Emergence: Catholics in Ireland in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Power and Kevin Whelan (Dublin: 1990), 101–27.

120 Hayton, “Early Hanoverian Ireland,” in Jackson, *Oxford Handbook of Modern Irish History*, 413.

121 My interpretation here is heavily indebted to Bartlett, *Fall and Rise of the Irish Nation*.

122 Robin Reilly, *Pitt the Younger, 1759–1806* (London: 1978), 264–73. For a good overview, see Thomas Bartlett, “‘So Many Wheels within Wheels’: The 1793 Catholic Relief Act Revisited,” in *Ourself Alone? Religion, Society and Politics in Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Ireland: Essays Presented to S.J. Connolly*, ed. D.W. Hayton and Andrew R. Holmes (Dublin: 2016), 126–36. See also Robert Kent Donovan, “The Military Origins of the Roman Catholic Relief Programme of 1778,” *Historical Journal* 28 (1985), 79–102; Claire E. Lyons, “Playing Catholic against Protestant: British Intervention in Catholic Relief in Ireland, 1778,” *Eighteenth-Century Ireland* 28 (2013), 116–35.

had committed sectarian atrocities against whom become a growing feature of the public sphere.¹²³

Catholic nationalism expanded in the next generation. In 1823 the Catholic Association – founded by Daniel O’Connell and Richard Lalor Sheil – saw the nationalist movement mature from petitioning for rights to broader politicization of Ireland’s Catholics.¹²⁴ With political power rooted in vast numbers of subscriptions to its cause, the Catholic Association was instrumental in securing Catholic Emancipation from a Peel and Wellington government that recognized the dangers of resisting its demands.¹²⁵

7 The 19th Century

Catholic Emancipation, achieved by an act of Parliament of 1829, was not the end of anti-Catholicism. The 1829 legislation provoked such a vehement reaction that 1830 to 1870 must be seen as a high point of anti-Catholic feeling in British history on par with the civil wars, the late 17th century, and the Jacobite rebellions. A reciprocal relationship between tolerance and intolerance had driven the pattern of anti-Catholic and anti-Dissenter sentiment since the Reformation: intolerance stimulated calls for leniency and leniency triggered calls for the “Protestant Nation” to be protected by stringent applications of the penal code. Thus, Catholic relief in England and Scotland had fomented the Gordon Riots and those riot’s shocking displays of violence added grist to the mill of those who championed toleration in the subsequent generation. When those calls were heeded in 1829, many quarters of British society reacted with “No Popery” campaigns. The pattern which was three centuries’ old continued to a familiar rhythm.¹²⁶

123 Allan Blackstock, *Loyalism in Ireland 1789–1829* (Woodbridge: 2007); Eric P. Kaufmann, *The Orange Order: A Contemporary Northern Irish History* (Oxford: 2007); Kevin Whelan, “The Origins of the Orange Order,” *Bullán* 2 (1996), 19–37.

124 Oliver MacDonagh, *O’Connell: The Life of Daniel O’Connell 1775–1847* (London: 1991), chaps. 10–12.

125 Bartlett, *Fall and Rise*, chaps. 13–14.

126 A pattern first noted by Walsham, *Charitable Hatred*. G.F.A. Best, “The Protestant Constitution and Its Supporters, 1800–1829,” *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th series, 8 (1958), 105–27; Gilbert A. Cahill, “Irish Catholicism and English Toryism,” *Review of Politics* 19 (1957), 62–76; J.H. Hexter, “The Protestant Revival and the Catholic Question in England, 1779–1829,” *Journal of Modern History* 8 (1936), 297–319; G.I.T. Machin, *The Catholic Question in English Politics, 1820 to 1830* (Oxford: 1964); Ian A. Muirhead, “Catholic Emancipation: Scottish Reactions in 1829,” *IR* 24 (1973), 26–42; Muirhead, “Catholic Emancipation in Scotland: The Debate and the Aftermath,” *IR* 24 (1973), 103–20.

The causes of the midcentury spike in anti-Catholic feeling were religious, social, and political. A Tory reaction to 1829 as a threat to the 1688/89 Protestant constitution was significant. John Wolffe has shown that the revival of evangelism in the period 1820–60 was tied in part to popular Toryism, and that associations like the British Reformation Society (1827), Protestant Association (1835), Evangelical Alliance (1845), Scottish Reformation Society (1850), and Protestant Alliance (1845) were pressure groups who influenced public opinion and saw themselves as champions of the 1688/89 constitution. The millennial worldviews of other groups accorded Emancipation apocalyptic urgency that inspired significant efforts to convert Irish Catholics newly arrived in mainland Britain. Although memory of a Protestant past was a hugely significant factor in triggering anti-Catholic anxieties about perceived threats to British culture, 19th-century anti-Catholicism was no simple repetition of an ancient ideology. It was possessed with the urgency of contemporary political events – such as the rise of Ultramontane Catholicism, the Maynooth Affair, and the “Papal Aggression” of 1850–51, by which the papacy established a formal Catholic hierarchy and 12 dioceses in England – that caused the Catholic Church to become more prominent in Britain and the wider world and made “popery” appear to be a real threat.¹²⁷

Irish migration was the most significant factor, however. It caused anti-Catholicism to assume global importance as an ideology common across the English-speaking world, with similar spikes in anti-Catholic feeling occurring in Britain, Australia, New Zealand, the United States, and Canada in response to mass Irish immigration following the famine of 1845–50.¹²⁸

¹²⁷ John Wolffe, *The Protestant Crusade in Great Britain, 1829–1860* (Oxford: 1991). For other studies, see Robert J. Klaus, *The Pope, the Protestants, and the Irish: Papal Aggression and Anti-Catholicism in Nineteenth-Century England* (New York: 1987); Michael Wheeler, *The Old Enemies: Catholic and Protestant in 19th-century English Culture* (Cambridge, Eng.: 2006); Walter Ralls, “The Papal Aggression of 1850: A Study in Victorian Anti-Catholicism,” *CH* 43 (1974), 242–56; D.G. Paz, “Another Look at Lord John Russell and the Papal Aggression, 1850,” *The Historian* 45 (1982), 47–64. On Catholic revival, see Josef L. Altholz, “The Political Behavior of English Catholics, 1850–1867,” *JBS* 4 (1964), 89–103; Bossy, *English Catholic Community*, 296–390; Derek Holmes, *More Roman Than Rome: English Catholicism in the Nineteenth Century* (London: 1978).

¹²⁸ Donald M. MacRaild, “Transnationalising ‘Anti-Popery’: Militant Protestant Preachers in the Nineteenth-Century Anglo-World,” *Journal of Religious History* 39 (2015), 224–43; MacRaild, “‘No Irish Need Apply’: The Origins and Persistence of a Prejudice,” *Labour History Review* 78 (2013), 269–99; MacRaild and Kyle Hughes, “Anti-Catholicism and Orange Loyalism in Nineteenth-Century Britain,” in *Loyalism and the Formation of the British World, 1775–1914*, ed. Allan Blackstock and Frank O’Gorman (Woodbridge: 2014), 61–80; John Wolffe, “Anti-Catholicism and the British Empire, 1815–1914,” in *Empires of Religion*, ed. Hilary M. Carey (Cambridge, Eng.: 2008), 43–63; Wolffe, “North Atlantic

British anti-Catholic evangelical societies worked with their contemporaries in the United States and elsewhere in the Atlantic world precisely because evangelism was both a response to and a motivator of a more strident global Catholicism.¹²⁹ Donald MacRaild has argued that anti-Catholicism was a species of anti-Irish sentiment, showing that the two were tied together in forms of entertainment common across the globe, like theater, preaching tours, and the popular press, from the 1840s.¹³⁰ Andrew Holmes has shown how anti-Catholicism in the Atlantic emerged from and replicated Protestant-Catholic hostilities in Ireland.¹³¹ The Orange Order grew in response to the politicization of Catholic Ireland in the Catholic Association, providing a global organization of anti-Catholic expression. In Canada, for example, Ulster migration was significant in stimulating an anti-Catholic ideology that combined anti-Irish, anti-French, pro-monarchy, and anti-Revolutionary America sentiments. In the 19th century anti-Catholicism was becoming a transcultural phenomenon that was at once quintessentially “British,” “American,” “Australian,” and “Canadian,” and none of these things entirely.¹³²

8 Conclusion

Anti-Catholicism was present and important throughout British and Irish history after the Reformation, but the ways in which it was present and important were subject to considerable variety and change. “Anti-Catholicism” was no simple tradition or pattern of thought or an unchanging or consistent prejudice.

Anti-Catholicism in the Nineteenth Century: A Comparative Overview,” *European Studies* 31 (2013), 23–41.

129 John Wolffe, “A Comparative Historical Categorisation of Anti-Catholicism,” *Journal of Religious History* 39 (2015), 182–202; Wolffe, “Transatlantic Visitors and Evangelical Networks, 1829–61,” in *International Religious Networks*, ed. Jeremy Gregory and Hugh McLeod (Woodbridge: 2012), 183–93.

130 MacRaild, “Transnationalising ‘Anti-Popery.’”

131 Andrew R. Holmes, “Religious Conflict in Ulster, c.1780–1886,” in *Protestant-Catholic Conflict from the Reformation to the 21st Century: The Dynamics of Religious Difference*, ed. John Wolffe (Basingstoke: 2013), 101–31.

132 An approach taken in Yvonne Maria Werner and Jonas Harvard (eds), “European Anti-Catholicism in Comparative and Transnational Perspective,” special issue, *European Studies* 31 (2013), and Timothy Verhoeven (ed.), “Transnational Approaches to the History of Anti-Catholicism in the Modern Era,” special issue, *Journal of Religious History* 39 (2015); Verhoeven, *Transatlantic Anti-Catholicism: France and the United States in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: 2010); Verhoeven, “Transatlantic Connections: American Anti-Catholicism and the First Vatican Council (1869–70),” *CHR* 100 (2014): 695–720.

Rather, as this chapter has shown, manifestations of anti-Catholicism were to a large degree contingent upon the social and political context in which they were expressed. A core of anti-Catholic tropes and stereotypes certainly existed, but these were used in different ways at different times, and were put to different ends.

Despite being a constant presence in British and Irish history, anti-Catholic feeling ebbed and flowed. With regard to the 16th and 17th centuries, Alexandra Walsham has demonstrated that this was true of intolerance more broadly: it was a “germ,” dormant and unseen until in the right conditions it became dangerous and destabilizing.¹³³ Similarly, although anti-Catholicism was present in English culture, it was not always a driving force in that culture. It became so at certain moments (the civil wars, the Revolution of 1688/89, during the Jacobite agitations, or waves of Irish immigration in the 19th century) because of political and cultural circumstance. One of the hallmarks of anti-Catholic ideology throughout the centuries is that any move to lessen restrictions on Catholics (or other groups deemed to be “popish”) almost always triggered spikes in anti-Catholic feeling. As such, the growth of liberalism, secularism, or toleration do not mark the waning of intolerance – tolerance and intolerance danced together throughout British history, and the former is not a boundary sign of modernity that separates us from our ancestors. Indeed, anti-Catholicism was important in shaping key traits of modernity: “reason,” “liberalism,” and “toleration” were all ideals defined in part against “popery.” This was not just a British story: anti-Catholicism was part of the culture wars throughout 19th-century Europe. Edwina Hagen has outlined the role that anti-Catholicism played in the Dutch Enlightenment during the late 18th and early 19th centuries. As new concepts of citizenship were created to support the expanding nation-state, a virtuous moral commitment to the nation was seen as an essential part of being enlightened. Religion provided that moral commitment, and the form of that enlightened religion was shaped by recasting age-old anti-Catholic tropes in the service of the Age of Reason.¹³⁴

133 Walsham, *Charitable Hatred*, 317.

134 Edwina Hagen, “Dutch Civic Virtues, Protestant and Enlightened: Anti-Catholicism and Early Cultural Nationalism in the Netherlands around 1800,” *European Studies* 31 (2013), 101–14. See also Yvonne Maria Werner, “‘The Catholic Danger’: Liberal Theology and Anti-Catholicism in Sweden,” in Wolffe, *Protestant-Catholic Conflict*, 166–87; Manuel Borutta, “Settembrini’s World: German and Italian Anti-Catholicism in the Age of the Culture Wars,” *European Studies* 31 (2013), 43–67; Michael B. Gross, *The War against Catholicism: Liberalism and the Anti-Catholic Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Germany* (Ann Arbor: 2004).

What does this ultimately tell us? For John Wolffe, anti-Catholicism was a manifestation of a cultural insecurity. It was a means by which dominant groups drew boundaries to cement their identity and was therefore heightened at times of uncertainty.¹³⁵ This focus on cultural insecurity helps us to understand why anti-Catholic feeling spiked when anxiety about England's unfinished Reformation crested in the late 16th century, during the civil wars and in the face of Catholic absolutism in the later 17th century, when Jacobitism threatened British society in the early 18th century, and in reaction to Irish immigration and Ultramontane Catholicism in the 19th century.

How anti-Catholicism shaped the lives of British and Irish Catholics and how they reacted to it are important questions for future research; answering them is necessary for us to fully understand the experience of Catholics in British and Irish society. The ubiquity of anti-Catholicism across the centuries is clearly related to the continued vitality of Roman Catholicism in English (and more broadly British and Irish) history after the Reformation.¹³⁶ That we now no longer understand English Catholics to be isolated, politically timid, or culturally quiescent, but vitally and importantly part of what it meant to be "English," should cause us to consider whether or not the persistent potency of anti-Catholicism was in some ways a reflection of the visible and vocal manner of Catholicism's continued presence in England.

135 John Wolffe, "Beyond Protestant-Catholic Conflict?," in Wolffe, *Protestant-Catholic Conflict*, 256–57.

136 There is a great deal of scholarship on this theme, but see Michael C. Questier, *Catholicism and Community in Early Modern England: Politics, Aristocratic Patronage and Religion, c.1550–1640* (Cambridge, Eng.: 2006); Questier, "Catholic Loyalism in Early Stuart England," *EHR* 123 (2008), 1132–65; Gabriel Glickman, *The English Catholic Community, 1688–1745: Politics, Culture and Identity* (Woodbridge: 2009); Glickman, "Catholic Interests and the Politics of Overseas Expansion, 1660–1689," *JBS* 55 (2016), 680–708; Glickman, "Christian Reunion, the Anglo-French Alliance and the English Catholic Imagination, 1660–72," *EHR* 128 (2013), 263–91; Alexandra Walsham, *Catholic Reformation in Protestant Britain* (Aldershot: 2014); Peter Lake, *Bad Queen Bess? Libels, Secret Histories and the Politics of Publicity in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth I* (Oxford: 2016); Lake and Michael Questier, "Puritans, Papists, and the 'Public Sphere' in Early Modern England: The Edmund Campion Affair in Context," *Journal of Modern History* 72 (2000), 587–627.

PART 3

Catholic/Recusant Culture



Martyrdom and the Catholic Community

Anne Dillon

On the morning of Friday, 1 December 1581, the Jesuit priest Edmund Campion was executed on the scaffold at Tyburn in London.¹ In a well-publicized show trial, he had been tried, found guilty, and sentenced to death for treason. The charges against him were that he had conspired to raise rebellion, invite foreign invasion, and overthrow and kill the queen, Elizabeth I. He was executed with two other priests: Ralph Sherwin and Alexander Briant.² This was a carefully planned, meticulously organized, state propaganda exercise, and when Campion mounted the cart positioned beneath the gallows and began his final speech a large crowd was present to listen and to watch. Campion began his last words with a quotation from St Paul (1 Cor. 9: 4), one which resonates with martyr allusions.³

Spectaculum facti sumus Deo, Angeli, & hominibus saying, These are the wordes of S. Paule, Englished thus: We are made a spectacle, or a sight vnto God, vnto his Angels, and vnto men: verified this day in me, who am here a spectacle vnto my lorde god, a spectacle vnto his angels, & vnto you men.⁴

- 1 See Gerard Kilroy, *Edmund Campion: A Scholarly Life* (Farnham: 2015) for the most authoritative account of Edmund Campion's life and death; chap. 11 gives details of the execution.
- 2 The proclamation of 1 April 1582 confirmed this. It reads: "Proclamation to denounce Jesuites traitours. Greenwich: 1 April 1582 against Seminary Priests and Jesuits. Edmond Campion, Jesuit, Raulphe Sherwine & John Bryant, seminary Priests have been executed for treasons." See *TRP*, 2:490. Ralph Sherwin (1550–81) had trained for the priesthood at the English College, Douai. Following ordination, in 1577, he spent three years at the English College in Rome before leaving to join the English mission in 1580. Alexander Briant (1556–81) trained at the English College, Douai. Ordained in March 1578, he had returned to England as a missionary priest in 1579.
- 3 It was traditional to allow a condemned man to speak before execution, and those watching paid close attention to what he said. It was believed that since these were the final words spoken by the condemned before appearing before God for final judgment, he would speak the truth, confess his guilt, and ask forgiveness for the crime against the sovereign and the community.
- 4 Thomas Alfield, *A true reporte of the death & martyrdome of M. Campion Jesuite and prieste, & M. Sherwin, & M. Bryan preistes [...] Observid and written by a Catholike preist, which was present therat* (n.p.d. [London: 1582]). Campion's last words at B4v-C1r; ARCR, 2:3, no. 4.

With his dying words, therefore, Campion presented himself to the crowds as a martyr, a preemptive self-construction with which many present that morning, Catholic and Protestant, concurred. Campion was then duly executed in law as a traitor by hanging, drawing, and quartering. It was within the arguments and responses of the English Catholic community to these events and this judgement that the charges of treason against him were rebutted and his death constructed as martyrdom. This began at the scaffold. Thomas Alfield, a fellow priest, had “pressed to that bloody spectacle to observe and marke those dealings,” which he faithfully recorded in his eyewitness account of the proceedings and exchanges as Campion, Sherwin, and Briant were put to death. Alfield assured his readers that his was a true and accurate record – *A true reporte*.

Campion's trial and execution constitute one of the most densely recorded and detailed case studies available for analysis of the accusations of treason laid by the English state against nearly 300 English and Welsh Catholics between 1577 and 1681, all of whom were found guilty and subsequently executed.⁵ It also allows an examination of the Catholics' responses to these charges and their argument that those executed were not traitors but martyrs: that they had been put to death not for treason but for matters of religion and conscience. The first part of this chapter considers these charges and responses. They were recorded in a variety of sources including court papers, gallows accounts, and eyewitness reports, such as Alfield's, and in a wide range of other texts, manuscripts, martyrologies, and images created by the Catholic community at home and in exile within which the Catholic community constructed these deaths as martyrdom. The second part of this chapter examines some of these sources to show how the English Catholics utilized the figure of the martyr, thus constructed, for numerous purposes: to challenge the Protestant propaganda of the scaffold, to train priests for the English mission, to publicize the English Catholic cause in Continental Europe in order to raise funds for the Catholic community at home and in exile, as well as appeal to the Continental Catholic powers to take arms against the Protestants, and to comfort and encourage the community at home to create and maintain a separate Catholic identity. In these scripts, texts, and images, the martyr became a triumphant emblem of Catholicism, a banner, a rallying point of identification for English Catholics, a symbol of their adherence to the Catholic faith in the face of deprivation and persecution.

5 See Kilroy, *Edmund Campion*, chaps. 9–11 for a detailed account of Campion's case.

Before we return to Campion on the scaffold we should note that this discussion focuses on English and Welsh Catholic martyrdom. The Acts of Union of 1536 and 1543⁶ imposed the English system of administration and representation on Wales; consequently Welsh Catholics were subject to the same laws and limitations as their English counterparts.⁷ The term English Catholics throughout this chapter should therefore be understood as referring to both English and Welsh Catholics. The situation of Catholics in Ireland differed from that in England and Wales. Ireland was incorporated as a kingdom into the Tudor state in 1541. Throughout the Reformation the majority of the population remained Catholic while governed by a Protestant minority. The Act of Supremacy and the Act of Uniformity were imposed, but the English lord deputies were more concerned with political compliance than doctrinal reform. Most Catholics who died, both clerical and lay, did so under martial law, imposed at times of rebellion and rising, when they were condemned as traitors and summarily executed, usually without trial. Their deaths were, however, included in the martyrologies compiled by English Catholics on the Continent. Oliver Plunkett, Catholic Bishop of Armagh and Primate of all Ireland (whose case is discussed below) was caught up in the aftermath of the Popish Plot. He was tried in London in Westminster Hall and executed at Tyburn as a traitor in 1681.

Meanwhile, in Scotland the Reformation was achieved and sustained with little loss of life. The Scottish Reformation Parliament of 1560 adopted a Protestant confession of faith, rejecting papal jurisdiction and the Mass. The Protestants shrewdly adopted a policy of intimidation rather than martyr-making. Consequently, most priests found ministering to Catholics were judged by the Calvinist national Kirk to have offended against the community and punished by public humiliation and degradation (although a small number were executed by hanging for saying Mass) rather than, as in England, agents of foreign powers conspiring to destroy the body politic and the assassination of an anointed monarch. However, when the Scottish Jesuit missionary John Ogilvie was captured he was trapped by his interrogators in his responses to their questions on the papal deposing power; and he was also found guilty of saying Mass. Convicted of treason, he was hanged at Glasgow on 28 February 1615.⁸ No laymen or women are known to have been executed for the Catholic

6 27 Henry VIII, c. 42 and 34; 35 Henry VIII, c. 26.

7 J. Gwynfor Jones, *Early Modern Wales, 1525–1640* (Basingstoke: 1994); Glanmor Williams, *Wales and the Reformation* (Cardiff: 1997).

8 *An Authentic Account of the Imprisonment and Martyrdom in the High Street at Glasgow in the Year 1615, of Father John Ogilvie of the Society of Jesus*, trans. Charles J. Kerslake (London: 1877); Daniel Macleod, “‘Declining his Majesty’s Authority’: Treason Revisited in the Case of John

faith during the Scottish Reformation. Mary I of Scotland, an anointed queen, was accused of treason by the English Privy Council, found guilty of conspiring with a group of Catholics against the life of Queen Elizabeth, and executed on 8 February 1587. Her death, as we shall see, was included in Catholic martyrologies produced on the Continent.

1 Martyrdom and Martyrs

Alfield reported that some of the bystanders at the gallows murmured that the men were “honorable martirs.” So what was understood by this description of the three men at the moment of their execution?

The word “martyr” is derived from the Greek μάρτυς for witness, and signifies someone who witnesses by their death to their religious beliefs. Evasion, flight, concealment, and disguise are all strategies that those faced with the possibility of such a death are encouraged to adopt. A martyrdom cannot be judged to be such if it has in any way been invited or sought; in such a case it would be an act of suicide. Nor can it be a true martyrdom if the person does not fully understand the beliefs – the cause – for which they die. Martyrdom, in other words, is never accidental or inadvertent: knowledge and understanding of the reasons for the death are its prerequisites as also is free will exercised in its acceptance when apostasy is the only alternative. St Cyprian’s teaching, “*martyres veros non facit poena sed causa*,” which was later emphasized by St Augustine, that it is the cause, the body of beliefs witnessed to in such a death, that determines martyr status rather than the suffering endured, was embedded in the concept of martyrdom.⁹ The debate about the validity of a martyrdom is, therefore, one about the truth of the body of beliefs, the Church, to which the martyr witnesses. Within this debate, the martyr functions as a rhetorical device through which polemicists, theologians, writers, and image makers from opposing doctrinal positions define their beliefs and mark out their differences across the religious divide. This was the understanding of martyrdom, held in common by both Catholics and Protestants at this time, and it had an ancient provenance.

Ogilvie,” in *Scotland’s Long Reformation: New Perspectives on Scottish Religion*, ed. John McCullum (Leiden: 2016), 179–201.

9 St Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, *De unitate ecclesiae*, trans. and ed. E.H. Blackeney, vol. 14 (London: 1928), 12; St Augustine, *Letter*, 89.2, quoted in G.G. Willis, *Saint Augustine and the Donatist Controversy* (London: 1950), 103.

From its earliest days, the Church had understood martyrdom to be the ultimate imitation of Christ in his passion and death. Accounts of the self-sacrifice of the martyrs for their faith and the moral imperative implicit in their example came to occupy a central place in the teaching methods used to catechize its members. The ideal of martyrdom had popular appeal, and the stories of the martyrs were fashioned for a wide audience.¹⁰ They were recognized and celebrated every day in the liturgy of the Mass and figured largely in the calendar and *sanctorale* of the breviary. Images of martyrdom were a commonplace in the medieval Church. They were to be found everywhere: in wall paintings in chapels, churches, basilicas, and cathedrals; in stained glass; on rood screens; in copies of the *Golden Legend*; in psalters; and in the cheap woodcuts sold by peddlers at the martyr shrines and on pilgrim routes.¹¹ They were well-loved, familiar heroes and heroines, the subjects of dramatic stories in which they displayed supreme physical and spiritual courage in the face of tyrannical demands from the heretic that they repudiate their faith.

The ideal of martyrdom presented in these heroic examples did not, however, invite imitation, they served a homiletic purpose. The reader or listener was invited not to emulate their subjects' death or even their extreme self-denial but to take the example of the martyrs' forbearance and virtues into their own everyday lives. They were catechisms and sermons in stone, glass, and paper that explained in a simple and memorable way the fundamental teachings of the Church in whose cause the martyrs depicted there had died. Their narratives stress that the extraordinary stamina they displayed in sustaining unspeakable torture without pain or loss of composure was the result of miraculous intervention, that Christ himself became one with the martyr in the moment of their death. This ineffable symbiosis was said to account for the martyrs' apparent display of superhuman endurance and calm in the face of an agonizing and often prolonged ordeal. This was an important part of the understanding of martyrdom as a timeless repetition of Christ's own death on Calvary. Within this rhetoric of witness through sacrifice of self, their peaceful composure revealed that they had freely accepted martyrdom, without demur, as a gift from God; that they had not died unwillingly nor had they

10 See for example Helen White's account of this strategy in White, *Tudor Books of Saints and Martyrs* (Madison: 1963); Alison Knowles Frazier, *Possible Lives: Authors and Saints in Renaissance Italy* (New York: 2005), esp. chap. 2.

11 Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, trans. William Grainger Ryan (Princeton: 1993), and Voragine, *The Golden Legend* (William Caxton, 1483), ed. F.S. Ellis, Temple Classics (London: 1900, repr. 1922, 1931); Fordham University, Medieval Sourcebook, <http://www.fordham.edu/hasall/basis/goldenlegend/>.

indulged in a despairing act of suicide. At the very moment of death, it was believed, the martyrs entered into the divine presence to stand before God. From this point on, they negotiated the space between heaven and earth acting as mediators for their supplicants: powerful supporters of them in life and, in particular, at the moment of their death. The earthly remains of the martyrs or the material objects associated with them – their relics – were preserved in shrines that were often enclosed by the chapels, churches, and cathedrals built in their honor. Relics were seen as both a continuation of the martyrs' physical presence in this world and conduits of the divine power to which they now had access. Such *entrée*, it was believed, allowed them to petition on behalf of their clients and might even permit, through divine intervention, miracles that drove out demons, cured the sick, extinguished fires, eliminated famine, and defeated enemies.

Martyrs were therefore cherished cultural icons, universally recognizable and easily accessible. Even the Protestant reformers had been unable to remove their universal resonance. They had, through the work of their own Protestant martyrologists such as John Foxe and Jean Créspin, simply adopted and modified the martyr template and its history for their own political, religious, and didactic imperatives.¹² Meanwhile, within the Catholic community, the martyrs and their relics continued to be, with Tridentine modifications, an essential part of the spiritual economy of salvation.¹³

Now, in England, in the radically changed world of Reformation, new Catholic martyrs were being made. These were not the traditional intercessors of the medieval Church whose images were now banished from parish church, chapels, and cathedrals; they were shockingly different. They were familiar contemporaries: family members, neighbors, school and university friends, fellow seminarians, men and women in the circumstances of whose deaths were embodied their religious beliefs and the stringent legal constraints imposed

12 John Foxe, *Actes and Monuments of these latter and perillous days, touching matters of the church* (London: 1563); Jean Créspin, *Le livres des Martyrs* (Geneva: 1554).

13 See the works of Peter Brown for discussion on the development of the cult of martyrdom in the late antique and medieval periods, esp. *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago: 2009), and "The Rise and Function of the Holy Man in Late Antiquity," in *Society and the Holy in Late Antiquity* (London: 1982). Other useful studies include: Charles Freeman, *Holy Bones, Holy Dust: How Relics Shaped the History of Medieval Europe* (New Haven: 2012); Julia M.H. Smith, "Saints and their Cults," in *Cambridge History of Christianity*, vol. 3: *Early Medieval Christianities, c. 600–c.1100*, ed. Thomas F.X. Noble and Julia M.H. Smith (Cambridge: 2008); Robert Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead Do Such Great Things? Saints and Worshippers from the Martyrs to the Reformation* (Princeton: 2013).

by the state on their practice of those beliefs. English and Welsh Catholics who were now living in religious exile at home and in geographical exile on the Continent. The Catholics argued that those members of their community who were now being put to death, ostensibly for treason but in fact for religion, were dying in witness to the tenets of faith of what they believed to be the true Church founded by Christ in St Peter; the same Church and beliefs to which all Christian martyrs had witnessed since the time of the apostles. It was this debate about the truth of those beliefs that drove the Reformation and lay at the heart of the English Catholic community's claims to membership of the true Church and its construction of its martyrs.

In order to understand these claims and counterclaims, we need first to examine the political and legal context in which these English and Welsh Catholics were found guilty of treason and executed according to law.¹⁴ We therefore return to Edmund Campion at Tyburn.

2 "[N]ot for treson, not for conspiring her highnesse death and ruin"

Campion's execution followed the precise protocol laid down in statute for the execution of a traitor in England in the early modern period. This was a carefully choreographed theatrical ritual of physical obliteration. It was articulated by the judge in passing sentence as follows:

For these your unnatural proceedings against your prince, & horrible treasons against your country, I am now to proceed in judgement against you, which is this. You shall be carried either upon a sled, or upon a hurdle unto the place of execution, there yee shall be hanged by the neck, presently yee shall be cut down, & your members shall be cut from you, & cast into the fire, even in your own sight ... your bowels shall be pulled out of your body, & cast likewise into the fire, your head shall be cut off,

14 For statistics and lists of those declared by the Catholic Church to be martyrs, see *The Catholic Martyrs of England and Wales: A Chronological List of English and Welsh Martyrs Who Gave Their Lives for Christ and His Church During the Penal Times (A.D. 1535–1680): The Saints, the Beati and the Eighty-Five Venerable Martyrs Whose Cause of Beatification was Resumed on 21 September 1978* (London: 1979); Richard Challoner, *Memoirs of Missionary Priests as well Secular and Regular and other Catholics of both sexes that have suffered death in England on Religious Accounts from the year of Our Lord 1577 to 1684*, 2 vols ([London]: 1741–42), ed. and rev. John H. Pollen (London: 1924), 2 vols in 1, introduction, v–xviii, and 1:1–269; G.F. Nuttall, "The English Martyrs 1535–1680: A Statistical Review," *JEH* 22 (1971), 191–97.

your body shall be quartered & the parts of your body shall be disposed of as officers shall see occasion.¹⁵

The purpose of this form of execution was to punish the traitor in an emblematic, cautionary demonstration of the sovereign's right to make war on, and eliminate, his enemies. The accused, having been found guilty by the Elizabethan government of being an enemy of the state, an agent of foreign powers conspiring to destroy the body politic and the assassination of an anointed sovereign, and having endangered the safety and harmony of the community, was first symbolically expelled from that community by being dragged on a wicker sledge to the place of execution. There, after being hanged for a brief time, he was cut down while still alive and eviscerated, beheaded, and quartered. The body parts were then burned, buried, or scattered; often they were boiled and displayed on city walls or other prominent civic buildings to serve as a warning to others.

When Campion and his companions reached Tyburn, they were removed from the hurdle and, in turn, mounted the cart positioned beneath the gallows. Campion, the first to die, had just begun his final speech, described above, when he was peremptorily interrupted by a privy counsellor, Sir Francis Knowles, "earnestly vrging him to confesse his treason against her maiestie, and to acknowledge himselfe guilty." Campion denied guilt. He had, he said, committed no act of treason or conspiracy, "'or any matter els any way intended against her Maiestie or the state,' other than saying of Masse, hearing of confession, preaching, and such like duties and functions of Priests ... as he would answer before God." Moreover, he told them, he prayed for "Elizabeth your queene, and my queene, vnto whom I wish a long quiet raigne, with all prosperity." He then received a further challenge from other counsellors present who pressed him "to declare his opinion of Pius quintus Bull concerning the excommunication of our Soueraigne and queene." Campion was silent on this: "To which demaunde he gaue no answer."¹⁶

The bull *Regnans in excelsis* of Pope Pius V, issued on 25 February 1570, had been hastily and badly drafted. It was, Oskar Meyer notes, "indefensible from a strictly legal point of view."¹⁷ It asserted that Elizabeth was "'no queen,' and not

15 Christopher Robinson, "Letter from the Ven. Christopher Robinson to the Rev. Richard Dudley, describing the Martyrdom of the Ven. John Boste, 1594," from a transcript of the Everingham manuscript in *Miscellanea I* (CRS) 1 (London: 1905), 85–92, quotation at 87.

16 Alfield, *A true reporte*, C2r; Kilroy, *Edmund Campion*, 341–42.

17 Arnold Oskar Meyer, *England and the Catholic Church under Queen Elizabeth*, 2nd ed. (London: 1967), 82. See also Thomas Clancy, *Papist Pamphleteers* (Chicago: 1964); Adrian Morey, *The Catholic Subjects of Elizabeth I* (London: 1978); Peter Holmes, *Resistance and*

only absolved her Catholic subjects from their allegiance but actively required them to withdraw it.”¹⁸

And also (declare) the nobles, subjects and people of the said realm and all others who have in any way sworn oaths to her, to be forever absolved from such an oath and from any duty arising from lordship, fealty and obedience; and we do, by authority of these presents, so absolve them and so deprive the same Elizabeth of her pretended title to the crown and all other the above said matters. We charge and command all and singular the nobles, subjects, peoples and others afore said that they do not dare obey her orders, mandates and laws. Those who shall act to the contrary we include in the like sentence of excommunication.¹⁹

The bull was something of an embarrassment for both Catholics and Protestants. The Elizabethan government, although ready to use it for propaganda purposes, was anxious not to give it excessive publicity, while the majority of English Catholics never even saw the document. Catholics in the know recognized that, from the point of view of canon law, it contained serious defects. Campion's own responses to interrogation on it during his trial suggest that he had strong reservations about it, believing it to be unwise and possibly illegitimate.²⁰ Nevertheless, the Elizabethan treason legislation levelled against Catholics was premised on its declaration that the queen was a heretic and excommunicated and that her subjects were accordingly absolved from any oaths of fealty and were instructed to disobey her “orders, mandates and laws” under pain of their own excommunication from the Catholic Church.

The publication of *Regnans in excelsis* in 1570 had prompted the extension of the treason laws already in place.²¹ These were based upon Edward III's Statute

Compromise: The Political Thought of Elizabethan Catholics (Cambridge: 1982). For the most recent scholarship on the bull, see Aislinn Muller, *The Excommunication of Elizabeth I: Faith, Politics, and Resistance in Post-Reformation England, 1570–1603*, St Andrew's Studies in Reformation History (Leiden: 2020).

18 E. Rose, *Cases of Conscience: Alternatives Open to Recusants and Puritans Under Elizabeth I and James I* (Cambridge: 1975), 42.

19 *Regnans in excelsis* (1570), The Bull of Excommunication Against Elizabeth I Issued by Pius V,” in E.A. Livingstone, ed. *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 2nd rev. ed. (Oxford: 2006).

20 See the discussions in Kilroy, *Edmund Campion*, 315–16; Meyer, *England and the Catholic Church Under Queen Elizabeth*, passim.

21 For an account and discussion of the treason law in the period, see Leslie Joan Ward, “The Law of Treason in the Reign of Elizabeth I 1558–1588” (PhD thesis, University of Cambridge, 1985); Alan D. Orr, *Treason and the State: Law, Politics and Ideology in the*

of Treason under which it was considered high treason to “encompass or imagine the death of the King, Queen or eldest male heir, to levy war against the sovereign in his realm and to adhere to the sovereign’s enemies in his realm, giving them aid and comfort in his realm or elsewhere.”²² The second Treasons Act of 1571 legislated for denial of the supremacy and for accusing the queen of heresy,²³ and the Act Against Papal Bulls decreed that obtaining a papal bull was a treasonable offence.²⁴ The Act against Fugitives over the Sea legislated for cases of Englishmen who left the country to train in the English seminaries in mainland Europe and then returned to work on the English mission. It stipulated that anyone who had left the country without a passport had to return within six months or lose all their possessions.²⁵ This was further strengthened in 1580/81 by the Act to Retain the Queen’s Subjects in their due Obedience, which decreed the death penalty for those teaching the papal supremacy, fines and imprisonment for those hearing Mass, and £20 per month fines for those who refused to attend church.²⁶ The Act against Seditious Words and Rumours Uttered against the Queen’s Excellent Majesty carried the death penalty for a second offence.²⁷ Then, in 1584/85, An Act against Jesuits, Seminary Priests and Such Other Like Disobedient Persons went onto the statue books.²⁸ These laws were applied, with additions and amendments and degrees of stringency that varied according to the political and religious climate (at home and abroad) throughout the period under study.

The laws for the supremacy and the practice of religion in the Church, of which the sovereign was supreme governor, had been evolving from the time of Elizabeth’s succession and, in the matter of the accusations brought against the Catholics, were, therefore, inextricably bound up with the treason laws. The Act of Supremacy of 1559²⁹ revoked all Marian religious legislation, abolished foreign jurisdiction, both spiritual and temporal, and united all jurisdiction in the person of the queen, the supreme governor of the Church of

English Civil War (Cambridge: 2002). For a useful introduction and guide to the legislation against Catholics, see *Recusancy and Conformity in Early Modern England: Manuscript and Printed Sources in Translation*, ed. Ginevra Crosignani, Michael Questier, and Thomas M. McCoog, with the assistance of Peter Holmes (Toronto: 2010).

22 25 Edward III, 5, c. 2.

23 13 Elizabeth I, c. 1.

24 13 Elizabeth I, c. 2.

25 13 Elizabeth I, c. 3.

26 23 Elizabeth I, c. 1.

27 23 Elizabeth I, c. 2.

28 27 Elizabeth I, c. 2.

29 1 Elizabeth I, c. 1.

England. To belong to the commonwealth implied membership of the established church. The Act of Uniformity, which outlined what form the English church should take, legislated for standardization of common prayer and divine service, the administration of the sacraments, and enforced the use of the Edwardian prayer book in worship as in 1549.³⁰ These two acts defined the church in England politically, legally, and theologically, and effectively transformed religious belief into a political statement.

Religion and its public practice was not, therefore, simply a matter of things spiritual, but the hard endoskeleton supporting the body politic: the basis of sovereign power, the law, and the commonwealth. Only one religion could be permitted if the integrity, security, and peace of church and commonwealth were to be maintained. The idea of doctrinal pluralism (and therefore of toleration) was abhorrent to Catholics and Protestants alike, while the use of secular power to control the threat of religious dissent was believed to be crucial to the security of the nation.³¹ Evidence of at least outward conformity became mandatory. Those who refused were penalized under law not for conscience but for political nonconformity: as potential traitors.

The papacy, the government argued, was attempting to withdraw the queen's subjects from their lawful and natural allegiance by usurping her role as supreme governor of the English church and her sovereignty in general. The crime was defined as aiding in the appropriation of the queen's powers, both temporal and spiritual. This statute and the subsequent act of 1585³² were seen as clarifications of the provision made in the 1351 Treason Act. The pope was the enemy of the queen, and since seminary priests and Jesuits had sworn allegiance to him, they were necessarily the queen's enemies, agents of a foreign power conspiring destruction of the commonwealth. It was on this basis that refusal to take the Oath of Supremacy could lead to being indicted for treason on charges of *praemunire*. In June 1570, Elizabeth instructed the lord keeper, Nicholas Bacon, to state in the Star Chamber that

Her Majesty would have all her loving subjects to understand that as long as they shall openly continue in the observation of her laws and shall not wilfully and manifestly break them by their open acts, her majesties

30 1 Elizabeth I, c. 2.

31 For discussion on the problems of how different religious affiliations might be integrated within one national identity and how political allegiance and religious belief began to be perceived as two different identities within one context, see Stefania Tutino, *Law and Conscience: Catholicism in Early Modern England, 1570–1625* (Aldershot: 2007).

32 27 Elizabeth I, c. 2.

meaning is not to have any of them molested by any inquisition or examination of their consciences in causes of religion.³³

This somewhat ambiguous statement suggested that church attendance was a civil matter rather than an expression of belief. Some Catholics, as we shall see, in times of persecution, pragmatically, took advantage of this somewhat fluid interpretation; others, however, did not. They believed that they had only the stark option of either obeying the law, thus incurring excommunication and damnation of their immortal soul, or obeying conscience and incurring a possible charge of treason.³⁴ The problem was that apart from their refusal to attend the religious rituals of what they believed to be an heretical church (which attendance they held to be a mortal sin) the most profound aspects of their religious beliefs were those articulated through the rituals of the Eucharist and the other sacraments. Some sacraments did not require a priest, but the celebration of the Eucharist and the administration of the sacrament of penance could only be mediated through the offices of an ordained priest. Under the settlement, it was not possible for a priest to continue his ministry publicly, and if he did so privately, as Campion had done, then he placed himself and his congregation at risk. This fundamental gap between Catholic and Protestant beliefs and practices created by the demands of the settlement in matters of religion are summarized in Campion's statement (above) in the final moments that, "as he would answer before God," he had not nor had he intended to commit any act of treason or conspiracy, "or any matter els any way intended against her Maiestie or the state, other than saying of Masse, hearing of confession, preaching, and such like duties and functions of Priests." However, state legislation, irrespective of Bacon's statement that the queen did not wish her subjects to be "molested by any inquisition or examination of their consciences in causes of religion," construed such priestly ministry and the religious rituals through which Catholic belief was expressed (and for which a priest was essential) as acts of treason.

The crucial final exchange, which took place between Campion and the members of Elizabeth's Council on the scaffold, embodies the discontinuity between the Catholic community and the Protestant government, and articulates the crux of the Catholic argument that these men were martyrs. When Campion was asked whether he renounced the pope, he replied, Alfield noted

33 John Strype, *Annals of the Reformation* (London: 1725), 2nd ed., vol. 1, part 2, 622; J.E. Neale, *Elizabeth I and Her Parliaments. Vol I: 1559–1581* (London: 1953), 192.

34 See the discussion in *Recusancy and Conformity in Early Modern England*, 116–29; Alexandra Walsham, *Church Papists: Catholicism, Conformity and Confessional Polemic in Early Modern England*, 2nd ed. (Woodbridge: 1999).

in *A true reporte*, that “he was a Catholike: whereupon one inferred, saying: ‘In your Catholisisme (I noted the worde) al treason is contained.’” Campion’s double declaration of his loyalty to his sovereign and to his religious beliefs was taken to be his admission of treason; only a declaration of loyalty to the sovereign as the supreme governor of the English church was legally acceptable.

All the Catholics who were put to death under these laws affirmed on oath at their trial and in their final moments on the scaffold that they were not traitors: they all acknowledged their loyalty to their sovereign and reiterated that they were concerned only with matters of religion.³⁵ Thomas Forde, accused as “a traitor and malefactor to the Queene’s Majestie and the whole Realme, moving and sturing of sedition,” responded that he acknowledged the queen as his sovereign and that never in his life had he offended her.³⁶ Luke Kirbie highlighted the dilemma in which all English Catholics who refused to attend Protestant services found themselves when he told the crowds at his execution that he had been accused and found guilty of coming “hither for supposed treason, although in deede it be for my conscience.”³⁷ The Catholics argued that only the church whose head was the successor of St Peter could determine orthodox belief and practice, and that it was for this belief, a matter of conscience, that these Catholics, who in spite of affirming loyalty to their sovereign, were put to death. These exchanges, which were reiterated at every execution of those Catholics found guilty of treason, embody the state’s construction of English Catholics as a disloyal and treacherous faction, the enemy within, and the Catholic community’s own identification of itself as one loyal to its sovereign and persecuted only for matters of religion. They capture the Catholics’ crucial claim that these “traitors” were true martyrs put to death solely for their religious beliefs. William Allen summed up their dilemma in 1581:

These laws against Gods expresse commandments which prescribe obedience and subjection to our Prelates, these decrees that limite Gods constant and permanent truth to the mutability of temporal statutes, to mortal mens willes and fancies: these are the lawes of the Realme (and not the Civil ordinances of our Prince) that we refuse to obey ... these

35 See transcripts of trials and accounts of executions in *Unpublished Documents Relating to the English Martyrs, 1584–1603*, ed. John Hungerford Pollen (CRS) 5 (London: 1908).

36 William Allen, *A briefe historie of the glorious martyrdom of xii, reverend priests, executed within these twelve monethes for confession and defence of the catholike faith* (n.p. [Reims]: 1582), *ARCR* 2:4, no. 7, Aiv.

37 Allen, *A briefe historie*, Biiir.

are the lawes of the Realme to which we can not conforme ourselves in conscience, except we like to perish everlasting.³⁸

3 “[S]o high and rare a benediction”: William Allen and Martyrdom

William Allen's influence on the understanding and theology of martyrdom within the Catholic community was seminal, not least in the formulation of his plans for his foundation, in 1568, of the English College at Douai. This was first English seminary to be established under the new Tridentine directives and the first created specifically to train priests for the English mission.³⁹ In 1574, the first of Allen's newly ordained priests returned to England having been prepared “to face every danger and endure every suffering for the deliverance of the Church and their brethren.”⁴⁰ His writings and teaching reference a recurring motif in English Catholic texts of this time: the belief that the heresy of Protestantism had been sent by God as punishment for a grave – although unspecified – collective sin; one which required the sacrificial shedding of blood to make reparation. This understanding of the need for atonement was informed by, and merges in Allen's writings with, the Council of Trent's statement on the theology of the sacrifice of Calvary and the Mass which taught:

therefore, our God and Lord ... offered up to God the Father His own body and blood under the species of bread and wine; and, under the symbols of those same things, He delivered His own body and blood to be received by His apostles, whom He then constituted priests of the New Testament; and by those words, Do this in commemoration of me, He commanded them and their successors in the priesthood, to offer them; even as the Catholic Church has always understood and taught.⁴¹

38 William Allen, *An apologie and true declaration of the institution and endeavours of the two English colleges, the one in Rome, the other now resident in Rhemes: against certaine sinister informations given up against the same* (Reims: 1581), *ARCR* 2:4, no. 6, 45.

39 Other English seminaries followed: The Venerable English College in Rome in 1579, St Alban's at Valladolid in 1589, the English College of St Gregory at Seville in 1592, and the English College of Sts Peter and Paul at Lisbon in 1628. Scottish and Irish colleges were also founded to train men for the mission.

40 William Allen, *Letters and Memorials of William Cardinal Allen: 1532–1594*, edited by the Fathers of the Congregation of the London Oratory, with an historical introduction by Thomas Francis Knox. *Records of the English Catholics Under the Penal Law*, 2 vols (London: 1888), 2, xi.

41 *The Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent*, ed. and trans. H.J. Schroeder (Illinois: 1978), Session 22, September 1562.

Allen had long decided that martyrdom would be an integral part of any missionary enterprise and his theology of martyrdom was central to the curriculum which he drew up for his seminarians to prepare them for life on the English mission. He created and fostered a seminary culture in which the ideal of martyrdom in mission was privileged and revered, telling his students that “to contribute any drop of blood, or iote of affliction, to the making up of the full measure of Christes passion for his body, which is the Church, far exceedeth humane dignitie and felicitie.”⁴² This is well documented in his published works and in his letters, but perhaps it is most succinctly articulated in the work in which the statements above were made, *An apologie and true declaration* published in 1581. In it he drew on the long-established tradition and understanding of blood sacrifice as an act of atonement, and specifically on the Christian belief that Christ’s death was the ultimate blood sacrifice freely undertaken to expiate the sin of mankind.⁴³ The seminarians were reminded that the Mass that they offered every day was, as the Council of Trent had newly reaffirmed, a continuation of Christ’s sacrifice of his own blood on Calvary in which he had established his Church, “him self no otherwise planting his law and religion, but by giving up his blood and life.”⁴⁴ When the first of his seminary priests returned to England, he recorded that they had been trained and made ready “to face every danger and endure every suffering for the deliverance of the Church and their brethren.”⁴⁵ Just as the Church had been founded in Christ’s blood, he argued, so it would be restored through the blood of martyrs, because “Blood so yelded maketh the forciblest meane to procure mercie that can be.”⁴⁶

42 Allen, *An apologie and true declaration*, 114v.

43 The sources and commentaries on blood and martyrdom are considerable. Among recent work, see Anastasia Stylianou, “Martyrs’ Blood in the English Reformations,” *BCH* 33 (2017), 534–60; Caroline Bynum, *Wonderful Blood: Theology and Practice in Late Medieval Northern Germany and Beyond* (Philadelphia: 2007); and Bynum, “The Blood of Christ in the Later Middle Ages,” *CH* 71 (2002), 685–714; David Biale, *Blood and Belief: The Circulation of a Symbol Between Jews and Christians* (Berkeley: 2007); Blake Leyerle, “Blood is Seed,” *The Journal of Religion* 81 (2001), 26–48; Joyce E. Salisbury, *The Blood of Martyrs: Unintended Consequences of Ancient Violence* (New York: 2004), 60 and 137–38. An important source written in the period is Reginald Pole’s *Pro ecclesiasticae unitatis defensione*; see Joseph G. Dwyer’s translation and edition, Reginald Pole, *Pole’s Defense of the Unity of the Church*, trans. Dwyer (Westminster, Maryland: 1965), passim.

44 Allen, *An apologie and true declaration*, 114v.

45 Anne Dillon, *The Construction of Martyrdom in the English Catholic Community, 1535–1603* (Aldershot: 2002), 12; Allen, *Letters and Memorials*, xl.

46 Allen, *An apologie and true declaration*, 119v.

His student priests were, therefore, taught that they should be prepared to offer themselves, "in a spirituall sacrifice, for the confirmation of faith, and accomplishment of al your Priestly actions."⁴⁷ Restating Tertullian's teaching that Christian blood shed in martyrdom "is like the seed you sow, it springs from the earth again, and fructifies the more,"⁴⁸ he assured them that if they died as martyrs in England, their blood would atone for England's collective sin for which it had been punished by the infliction of heresy. This became, by its repetition in these texts, a statement of how both the priests – and those to whom they ministered – were to understand their priestly vocation. They were not traitors but missionaries whose ultimate imitation of Christ would be in their death. Just as Christ had redeemed mankind and established his Church through his own blood sacrifice, "him self no otherwise planting his law and religion, but by giving up his bloud and life,"⁴⁹ so the missionary priests would redeem and re-establish the Church through the shedding of their own blood if they were called to do so. This was the teaching that Allen's priests took with them on mission and which is echoed in the eyewitness reports of their trials and executions. The account of the execution of the seminary priest John Boste is typical of these accounts. As Boste was made ready for execution on the gallows at Dryburn, near Durham, on 24 July 1594, he told the presiding sheriff, "I take it upon my death, I never went about to hurt her (the queen). I wish to God ... that my blood may be in satisfaction for her sins."⁵⁰

Allen assured his seminarians that

where God giueth the grace of Martyrdom, it is a ioyful signe of mercie ... he will not forsake the place nor people, which he blesseth vvith so high and rare a benediction, but wil either mollifie the hartes of the Prince and Magistrate, or giue aboundance of grace and fortitude to suffer and hold out, til it please him of his goodnes, to send a calme, or the conversion of the whole: which we wil expect (and as much as in us lieth, procure) other xx^{tie} and xx^{tie} and twice xx^{tie} to that, and how many mo yeres so euer be appointed by his prouidence for chastisement of our sinnes.⁵¹

47 Allen, *An apologie and true declaration*, 120v.

48 *The Apology of Tertullian*, trans. W. Reeve, The Ancient and Modern Library of Theological Literature 31 (London: 1889), chap. 50; Blake Leyerle, "Blood is Seed," *passim*.

49 Allen, *An apologie and true declaration*, 111v.

50 *Miscellanea I* (CRS) 1 (London: 1905), 85–92, quotation at 90.

51 Allen, *An apologie and true declaration*, 111v.

Paraphrasing Matt. 10:17–25, he warned that they would be

examined of your Priesthod, of saying or hearing Masse, of absolving or taking absolution: you are called traitours and seditious persons, you are prisoned in dungeons among theeues ... you are tempted by faire promises on the one side, and fearful threatenings on the other, to yeld though it be neuer so litle: not relenting, you languish there in perpetual prison, or be condemned to die, and are executed in maner of traitours.⁵²

But, he assured them that all their suffering would be an intercession for the forgiveness of this collective sin of the country:

Euery time that you confesse Christes name, euery wrinche of any ioynt for it, euery opprobrious scoffe and scorne giuen by the popular, vwhen you be caried in the sacred vestiments through the streates (for that also some of our brethren there haue happily borne) euery vilany and sacrilege done to your Priesthod, euery of your sores, sorovves, and sighes, euery of your vvantes and necessities, make a stronger intercession for our Countrie and afflicted Church, then any prayers lightly in the world.⁵³

Allen expected martyrdom to be an inevitable outcome of mission; it was central to the seminarians' understanding of their own future clerical role. The seminary priests and Jesuits who returned to England to minister to the Catholic community were under no illusion of what might be demanded of them. Allen confidently stated in 1581 that he had "three or foure hundred ready to die for God's cause."⁵⁴ All were called to martyrdom, to witness to the Catholic faith. This policy of promotion and glorification of the status of martyrdom, the creation of a martyr cult, was intended to strengthen the Catholic community, to stiffen its collective spine. Whenever news reached the Douai seminary that an alumnus of the college had been martyred, a solemn Mass of thanksgiving was sung. So too at the English College in Rome, the community gathered in the chapel beneath the Martyrs' Picture, surrounded by the martyr murals, discussed below, to sing the *Te Deum*. But when Allen told his students that martyrdom would be the way by which the Catholic religion would be restored in England, that "We put not our trust in Princes or practises

⁵² Allen, *An apologie and true declaration*, 108v.

⁵³ Allen, *An apologie and true declaration*, 111v.

⁵⁴ Allen, *An apologie and true declaration*, 110r.

abrode, nor in armes or forces at home,”⁵⁵ he was being more than economical with the truth. The evidence shows that even as he wrote this, he and Robert Persons were deep in negotiations with the French *Ligue* – newly revived under the house of Guise – and its patron, Philip II of Spain, and with the papacy to invade England, depose the queen, and replace her with a Catholic monarch.⁵⁶ He was clearly not depending upon martyrs’ blood and prayer alone for the conversion of England; he was also putting his faith in force of arms and invasion.

4 “[T]hou hast made martirs many of thine owne”

From the reign of Elizabeth onwards, as the Act of Supremacy and the Act of Uniformity effectively transformed religious belief into a political statement of loyalty to the Elizabethan commonwealth, the Catholics’ man of conscience became, in Protestant legal eyes, a traitor. It was within this nexus of judicial demands and religious belief, the Catholics’ interpretation of, and responses to, the charges against them at their trials and at their executions, and the events surrounding them, that the Catholic martyr was constructed. It is this construction, this interpretation of these deaths as martyrdom, that was recorded and argued in the variety of polemical texts, martyr accounts, manuscripts, martyrologies, and images that followed. Martyrdom is the ultimate public act of witness to religious belief, and both the Catholics and the Protestants at this time employed the symbol of the martyr within an ongoing confessional debate about the truths of their respective beliefs and their claims to membership of the true Church. But nothing is ever as cut and dried as it might seem. While the body of legislation against Catholics might appear to be straightforward in theory, it was far more complex and fluid in practice, and we should

55 Allen, *An apologie and true declaration*, 110r.

56 The French League (*La Ligue catholique*) was founded by Henry, 3rd Duke of Guise (1550–88) in 1576, supported by Philip II of Spain, with, among other aims, the intention of preventing the Protestant Henry of Navarre from succeeding to the French throne. His brother, Cardinal of Guise, Archbishop of Reims (1555–88), was a close supporter. Both were patrons of William Allen’s seminary at Reims. Dedicated to the eradication of Protestantism, the League was a major player in the French Wars of Religion. Claude, 1st Duke of Guise (1496–1500) was, through his daughter Mary, the grandfather of Mary, Queen of Scots. See John Bossy, “Leagues and Associations in Sixteenth Century French Catholicism,” in *Voluntary Religion*, ed. W.J. Sheils and Diana Wood (Studies in Church History) 23 (1986), 229–44; Mark W. Konnert, *Local Politics in the French Wars of Religion: The Towns of Champagne, the Duc of Guise, and the Catholic League, 1560–95* (Aldershot: 2006), passim; Brian C. Lockety, *Early Modern Catholics, Royalists, and Cosmopolitans: English Transnationalism and the Christian Commonwealth* (Farnham: 2015), passim, esp. 71–76.

take into account three major influences as we examine the construction of Catholic martyrdom.

The first concerns the location of the English Catholic community in the period of this study. It was from its earliest days a geographically split one. Most Catholics lived their lives in England and Wales within the constraints and sanctions imposed by successive monarchs. However, many senior clerics and academics left soon after Queen Elizabeth's accession and settled in the Low Countries. Some of them, such as William Allen and other scholars and those who joined the Society of Jesus, became the leaders and policy makers of the English Catholic community. In the seminaries, schools, colleges, convents, and monasteries they founded there in the following decades they educated and trained those who succeeded them. Many lay Catholics too opted for a life in exile and settled in the Low Countries, France, Italy, Spain, and other parts of Continental Europe where they found employment of all kinds, as academics, teachers, musicians, writers, printers, artists, even mercenaries. Others established themselves as merchants and traded within mainland Europe, Britain and Ireland, and across the Atlantic.⁵⁷ Consequently, the most influential English and Welsh Catholics – those who founded the seminaries, trained priests, directed the mission, established convents for English Catholic women, lobbied foreign powers, raised money, wrote, printed, and distributed the pamphlets, books, broadsheets, and blockbooks in which the English Catholic martyr was constructed and polemically deployed – lived and worked and practiced their faith openly and without fear in mainland Europe. Some of the most important influences on the construction of the Catholic martyr in scripts, texts, images, poetry, and music derived, therefore, from the fact that those English Catholics who created this material lived and worked in exile and were necessarily dependent upon and, ultimately, much influenced by their hosts and their hosts' political concerns. The Catholic martyr, therefore, should be seen not only within the context of the radically reconfigured

57 The literature on English Catholic exiles in the period is extensive. The most recent work includes: Christopher Highley, *Catholics Writing the Nation in Early Modern Britain and Ireland* (Oxford: 2008); Katy Gibbons, *English Catholic Exiles in Late Sixteenth-Century Paris* (Royal Historical Society Studies in History) 79 (Woodbridge: 2011); Nicholas Terpstra, *Religious Refugees in the Early Modern World: An Alternative History of the Reformation* (Cambridge: 2015); Timothy Fehler, *Religious Diaspora in Early Modern Europe: Strategies of Exile* (London: 2014); Gabriel Glickman, *The English Catholic Community, 1689–1745, Politics, Culture and Ideology* (Woodbridge: 2009); Giada Pizzoni, "Mrs Helena Aylward: A British Catholic Mother, Spouse and Businesswoman in the Commercial Age (1705–1714)," *BCH* 33 (2017), 603–21; Pizzoni, *British Catholic Merchants in the Commercial Age, 1670–1714* (Woodbridge: 2020).

political and religious landscape of the British Isles but also within the context of the international social, political, and religious influences of the countries which sheltered the exiles and facilitated their work.

This leads us to a second point. Throughout the period under discussion, most missionary priests, whether secular or Jesuit – and later, Benedictine and Franciscan – and those who aided and sheltered them, did not end their life on the gallows. They came quietly into the country from the Continent, usually disguised, sometimes without detection, and unobtrusively ministered to their congregation. Many of the Catholic laity too were similarly moving into and out of the country from the Continent as students, merchants, mercenaries, and the like, and it is clear that the borders were more permeable than is usually acknowledged. In the cases of the priests, they were mostly noted and watched and their movements monitored by government authorities. When arrested, they were interrogated, imprisoned, warned, and then usually deported; in some cases, this sequence was repeated several times. More frequently, they were simply stopped at the ports and turned back, or, instead of being deported, they were sent to an open prison established for the purpose in 1579 in the bishop of Ely's palace at Wisbech.⁵⁸ The evolving treason laws were not generally applied to all those apprehended; it was usually only when the state was faced with serious political and military threat that they were applied in full as they were, for example, in the 1570s and 1580s. When Allen's missionary priests began to arrive, the threats of regicide and invasion by Spain via Ireland were very real as Nicholas Sander and James FitzMaurice engineered the landing of Spanish and Italian troops on the Irish coast under the papal banner. Then, in 1580, the small Jesuit mission arrived.⁵⁹ These "states of emergency" were followed by other Catholic plots against the sovereign, the near-miss of Spanish invasion in 1588, and, a decade later, by Spain's ill-fated

58 T.D. Atkinson, Ethel M. Hampson, E.T. Long, C.A.F. Meekings, Edward Miller, H.B. Wells, and G.M.G. Woodgate, "Wisbech: Recusants in the Castle," in *A History of the County of Cambridge and the Isle of Ely*, vol. 4: *City of Ely; Ely, N. and S. Witchford and Wisbech Hundreds*, ed. R.B. Pugh (London: 2002), 252–53.

59 For the Jesuit mission in Britain and Ireland, see Henry Foley, S.J., *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus: Historic Facts Illustrative of the Labours and Sufferings of Its Members in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, 7 vols. in 8 (London: 1877–88). Among more recent publications, see Robert E. Scully, S.J., *Into the Lion's Den: The Jesuit Mission in Elizabethan England and Wales, 1580–1603* (St Louis: 2011); Thomas M. McCoog, S.J., "And touching our society": *Fashioning Jesuit Identity in Elizabethan England* (Toronto: 2013); *The Society of Jesus in Ireland, Scotland and England, 1589–1597: Building the Faith of St. Peter upon the King of Spain's Monarchy* (Farnham and Rome: 2012); *The Correspondence and Unpublished Papers of Robert Persons, SJ*, vol. 1: 1574–1588, ed. Victor Houlston, Ginevra Crosignani, and Thomas McCoog, S.J. (Toronto, 2017).

attempts to try again to invade in 1596 and 1597. But martyr-making executions even in the 1580s and early 1590s, when Catholic plots and threats of invasion were at their height, were fewer than might have been expected. Those carried out, including Campion's as we have seen, were essentially brutal, cautionary propaganda exercises specifically designed to make a political point nationally or internationally, to stress the legality of treason laws in place, and to warn. The reasons for these executions were, therefore, never straightforward.

A further political influence on Catholic martyr-making was the fact that successive monarchs and their governments had also to hold in check various Protestant factions in England; they were, at various times, under pressure to pacify them, or at least pay lip service to their demands. Many Catholic executions took place within these constraints. Campion's execution, which took place at the time of the proposed match between Elizabeth and Francis, Duke of Anjou and Alençon, was, Gerard Kilroy shows, "a final futile attempt to win over a hostile population to an unpopular marriage."⁶⁰ The case of Margaret Clitherow, who was executed at York in 1586, is another such example. This was a case that got hopelessly out of hand. It was not intended that Margaret – a young mother in the early stages of pregnancy, whose stepfather was mayor of York – should be executed. The Protestants meant to use the charges against her and the details of her trial to send a message from the authorities not only to the Catholics in the region but to a potentially dissident faction in the state church.⁶¹ And in some local communities with long memories, some Protestant officials simply took the opportunity to use the treason laws to settle personal scores and take revenge on their Catholic neighbors for previous quarrels.

In the Stuart period, executions of Catholics for treason occurred less frequently than in Elizabeth's reign, although numbers spiked sharply at times of national crisis such as at the time of the Gunpowder Plot of 1605, and immediately following the assassination of the French king, Henry IV. After the Gunpowder Plot, stricter measures against Catholics were put in place. The Popish Recusants Act of 1605 introduced legislation that curtailed Catholic involvement in public life: they were forbidden to practice law and medicine or to act as guardians or trustees. So too, it gave licence to local magistrates to enter Catholic houses to search for weapons. Any Catholic who failed to receive the sacrament of the Lord's Supper at least once a year in his parish church was fined the sum of 60 pounds or forfeit two-thirds of his land. It also,

60 Kilroy, *Edmund Campion*, passim, quotation at 329.

61 Peter Lake and Michael Questier, *The Trials of Margaret Clitherow: Persecution, Martyrdom and the Politics of Sanctity in Elizabethan England* (London: 2011); Dillon, *Construction of Martyrdom*, chap. 6.

crucially, provided a new Oath of Allegiance, which required those who took it to swear that the pope did not have

any power or authority to depose the King, or to dispose any of his Majesty's kingdoms, or dominions, or to authorize any foreign prince to invade or annoy him, or his countries, or to discharge any of his Subjects of their allegiance and obedience to his Majesty.⁶²

The oath was condemned by Rome, and it placed a further strain on Catholic consciences, in particular on those of the gentry class. If they took the oath, even under duress, they rejected the teaching of their church; if they did not take the oath, then they were, in law, guilty of treason.

The case of the Benedictine missionary priest John Roberts⁶³ is a good example of the government's response at a time of heightened tension to perceived Catholic threat. Between 1603 and 1610, Roberts was on several occasions arrested, interrogated, imprisoned, and then (although not always) deported. His final arrest, on 2 December 1610, was at the London safe house of Mrs. Percy – who was related to one of the Gunpowder conspirators – on the corner of Holborn and Chancery Lane. Roberts was known to frequent this house, which was always under surveillance; he was simply in the wrong place at the worst possible time. On 14 May 1610, Henry IV of France had been assassinated by a Catholic fanatic, Francois Ravaillac. There were urgent rumors that Catholic conspirators were planning a copycat assassination attempt on King James. The immediate response by the king and his council was to impose the full force of legislation on the Catholic community. Priests were rounded up and deported. Catholics were banned from attending services in the foreign embassies in London (another example of the authorities turning a blind eye to certain privileged Catholics practicing their religion in plain sight), and an act was passed ordering that the Oath of Allegiance should be administered to every Catholic subject, and, for the first time, a penalty was imposed on married recusant women. During the rest of 1610 and the early part of 1611, the existing penal laws were enforced with great severity, and it was not until July 1611 that things became calmer. John Roberts was caught up in all this. After

62 3 James I, c. 4, 1606. In the years that followed, several who refused in conscience to take the oath were executed for treason. These included the priests: Robert Drury, Thomas Atkinson, John Almond, John Thewlis, Edmund Arrowsmith, Richard Hirst, George Gervase, Thomas Garnet, John Gavan, and Henry Heath.

63 John Roberts (1577–1610) was a Welsh Benedictine monk. He was the first prior of St Gregory's, Douai.

his arrest, he was taken to Newgate, and three days later, on 5 December 1610, he was brought before the bishop of London, George Abbott, and Chief Justice Edward Coke. Roberts and a secular priest, William Somers, were tried on a charge of treason under the Elizabethan act of 1585 that enjoined all Jesuits, seminary priests, and other priests to leave the country within 49 days on pain of death for high treason; and for refusing to take the Oath of Allegiance. Both men were found guilty and sentenced to death. Had Roberts not been so well known to the authorities, who had been monitoring his movements for some time, he might have simply been deported. His execution and that of Somers were intended to send a clear warning to the Catholic community.

In all, 20 priests were executed between 1603 and 1625. The swinging financial penalties attached to the new law of 1606 led many Catholic families simply to keep their heads down and withdraw from society. In practice, however, because of the absence of a foreign Catholic threat, the state was inclined to be less severe in its application of the laws against them. The numbers of Catholic executions then fell again in the 1620s and 1630s. The period of the Civil Wars saw fewer executions of Catholics than might have been expected and only increased again around the time of the Popish Plot (1678–81). Oliver Plunkett (1625–81), Catholic Bishop of Armagh and Primate of all Ireland, was caught up in the aftermath of this. He was accused of treason but his trial at Dundalk in December 1679 collapsed. He was then sent to London where he was tried at Westminster Hall in June 1681. He was found guilty and executed by hanging, drawing, and quartering on 1 July 1681. Plunkett's was the last execution of a Catholic in England under the treason laws.⁶⁴

Not all Catholics in the period under discussion were steadfastly recusant. Recent research has shown that there was a significant loyalist impulse among the majority of the Catholic aristocracy and gentry in this period.⁶⁵ The state's approach was pragmatic: it endeavored to retain this loyalty while deterring those Catholics whom they believed sought the state's destruction. Equally, in order to survive the treason laws, the recusancy laws, and the pursuivants, many English lay Catholics, at some time in their lives, paid public lip service

64 See the account in John Kenyon, *The Popish Plot*, new ed. (London: 2000).

65 Thomas Ridgedell, "The Archpriest Controversy: The Conservative Appellants against the Progressive Jesuits," *BCH* 33 (2017), 561–82; Brian Lockey, *Early Modern Catholics, Royalists, and Cosmopolitans: English Transnationalism and the Christian Commonwealth* (Farnham: 2015); Stefania Tutino, *Law and Conscience: Catholicism in Early Modern England, 1570–1625* (Farnham: 2007); Michael Questier, *Catholicism and Community in Early Modern England: Politics, Aristocratic Patronage, and Religion, c.1550–1640* (Cambridge: 2006).

to the religious demands of the state and attended Protestant services while firmly crossing their fingers.⁶⁶ The case of the martyr John Rigbie is a particularly good example of this and also a rare instance of the martyrdom of a lay Catholic, one who had been for a time a church papist. Rigbie wrote his own account of the circumstances of his imprisonment and trial. This first-hand, autobiographical account of martyrdom spoke directly to the laity in the Catholic community; it was a report written to them from the front line by one of themselves.⁶⁷

The English Catholic community was thus a somewhat fluid concept in terms of both geographical location and physical movement between its English and Continental sites, and its individual members' practice of religion during the period under discussion. Catholic families – which term includes the members of their households and their tenants – survived from generation to generation because they were determinedly faithful to their religious beliefs, loyal to their sovereign, and most of all because they were pragmatic. It also helped considerably if they were wealthy, preferably landowners, because they could sustain the fines, and, if aristocratic – especially those who owned and controlled strategic landholdings – welcome at court.⁶⁸ Catholic martyrdom should, therefore, be seen in the context of local, national, and international concerns; political and religious infighting and threats to the sovereign and state; and above all by a gradually developing acceptance by both Catholics and Protestants of the realities of a post-Reformation England.

66 Walsham, *Church Papists*, passim.

67 The detailed account of the martyrdom of John Rigbie is included in the martyrology compiled and printed by Thomas Worthington who was then president of the seminary at Douai. T[homas] W[orthington], "The Martyrdom of M. John Rigbie," in *A relation of sixtene martyrs glorified in England in twelve monthes. With a declaration. That English Catholiques suffer for the Catholique religion. And that the seminary priests agree with the Jesuites* (Douai: 1601), *ARCR* 2 169, no. 847, 6–7. See also *A Lancashire Man: The Martyrdom of John Rigby at Southwark*, ed. C.A. Newdigate (London: 1928); and John Gerard, *The Autobiography of an Elizabethan* (1609), ed. Philip Caraman (London: 1951), 80–81 and 232–33; Dillon, *The Construction of Martyrdom*, 111–13.

68 Edward Somerset, 4th earl of Worcester (1550–1628) is a good example. He was a known Catholic and a patron of the Welsh Jesuit mission, who owned large tracts of land in the southern Welsh Marches. These were land holdings critical to England's defence in the event of foreign invasion via Ireland. See also Michael Questier, *Catholicism and Community in Early Modern England*, passim.

5 "[T]ouching their words, and behaviour at the tyme of execution": Writing Martyrdom

All executions are propaganda exercises and in this period they were staged as theatrical events where a capacity audience could gather. The execution of a Catholic found guilty of treason was intended by the government to impress on the community the connection between Catholicism, the priesthood, the papacy, and treason; the consequences of such association; and of the sovereign's inalienable right to eliminate such enemies from the community.⁶⁹ The concern to die a good death, the *ars moriendi*, was common to everyone irrespective of religion, class, or status at this time. It was universally understood that the behavior of a person in their final moments indicated whether they were deserving of salvation or not.⁷⁰ Consequently, at any execution, the behavior of the prisoner and his or her final speech were taken as precise indicators of guilt or innocence because it was assumed that a prisoner would tell the truth at the point of death and, if guilty, admit this and express remorse because to do otherwise, it was believed, would result in eternal damnation.⁷¹

The condemned Catholics' responses on the scaffold to the accusations of treason and their manner of dying with calm acceptance were seen, therefore, as the most lucid and reliable expressions of their innocence and of the truths of the belief that they had continued to hold in the face of intense persecution, torture, and imminent death. One of the Catholics' arguments for the innocence of the executed priests and their martyr status was premised on this and on their having rejected the offers of, as William Allen wrote, "grace and life" if only they acknowledged their "pretended crime."⁷² In dying a good death, the men demonstrated the truth of their cause and died as martyrs. Campion used, as we have seen, the quotations from St Paul to indicate his innocence and martyr status. Other condemned priests used similarly self-defining quotations or prayers such as Psalm 51: *Miserere mei, Deus*. Several of these last

69 Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of Prison*, trans. Alan Sheridan (Harmondsworth: 1979), 48; Albert Camus, *Resistance, Rebellion and Death*, trans. Justin O'Brien (London: 1961); David Nicholls, "The Theatre of Martyrdom in the French Reformation," *P&P* 121 (1988), 49–73.

70 Philippe Ariès, *The Hour of Our Death*, trans. Helen Weaver (London: 1981).

71 J.A. Sharpe, "Last Dying Speeches: Religion, Ideology and Public Execution in Seventeenth-Century England," *P&P* 107 (1985), 144–67; Sharpe, *Crime and Punishment in Early Modern England 1550–1750*, 2nd ed. (Routledge: 1998); John Briggs, Christopher Harrison, Angus McInnes, and David Vincent, *Crime and Punishment in England: An Introductory History* (Routledge: 1996).

72 Allen, *A briefe historie*, preface.

words on the scaffold became the texts of William Byrd's Latin motets that were, in many respects, the recusant community's musical expression of itself as a people exiled and persecuted in their own land.⁷³ It was this that informed the Catholics' policy of ensuring that detailed accounts of the trials and executions, including the exchanges between the condemned and the sheriff, the Protestant minister, and the privy counsellors present, as well as the dying man's final words and his demeanor in death, were recorded by eyewitnesses. This was intended to counter what Thomas Alfield described as "the diuers and contrary reportes falsely and maliciously bruted," published by the extremely efficient Protestant propaganda machine, which had been at work throughout the trial and in the days before and after the execution.⁷⁴ The Catholics also took care to show that "those innocents suffered only for religion for our fathers faith, and spirituall inheritance, for serving [G]od in priestly function and duties. And not for treason, nor for conspiring her highnesse death and ruin."⁷⁵

These intelligences from the scaffold were sent "passing among freindes from hand to hand," as Alfield described it,⁷⁶ via Catholics in England, clerical and lay, to their colleagues in exile in the Low Countries who, acting as post-masters, sent them on to the seminaries, the English Catholic leaders, leading Jesuits and their superior general, the rector of the English College, Rome, and contacts in Spain. Each seminary recorded the details of the deaths in these reports of those of their members who had been executed.⁷⁷ This practice continued throughout the whole of the period under discussion. Usually translated

73 Joseph Kerman, "William Byrd and the Catholics," *New York Review of Books* 26 (17 May 1979), 32–36; *The Masses and Motets of William Byrd* (London: 1981), 42; Craig Monson, "Elizabethan London," in *The Renaissance: From the 1470s to the End of the Sixteenth Century*, ed. Ian Fenlon (Man and Music) 2 (Basingstoke: 1989), 42; Kerry McCarthy, *Byrd* (Oxford: 2013). See also Jeremy L. Smith, *Thomas East and Music Publishing in Renaissance England* (Oxford: 2003); Chaira Bertoglio, *Reforming Music: Music and the Religious Reformations of the Sixteenth Century* (Berlin: 2017).

74 Alfield, *A true reporte*, A4r. The last moments of the Catholics on the scaffold were, therefore, crucial opportunities for propaganda and preaching for both Catholics and Protestants. See Peter Lake and Michael Questier, "Agency, Appropriation and Rhetoric Under the Gallows: Puritans, Romanists and the State in Early Modern England," *P&P* 153 (1996), 64–107.

75 Alfield, *A true reporte*, B1r.

76 Alfield, *A true reporte*, "To the reader."

77 See, for example, William Allen, *Letters and Memorials*, passim; Allen, *Letters of William Allen and Richard Barret, 1572–1598*, ed. Penelope Renold (CRS) 58 (London: 1967); Douai College, *The First and Second Diaries of the English College, Douay and an Appendix of Unpublished Documents*, ed. T.F. Knox, vol. 1 (London: 1878).

into Latin, the accounts were initially gathered and published by William Allen and Robert Persons in collections that formed the earliest martyrologies of the English Catholic community. They contained eyewitness accounts from the scaffold of individual cases, detailed denials of the charges against them, and an attack on the legislation against the Catholics. The first of these printed works, William Allen's *A briefe historie of the glorious martyrdom of xii executed within these twelve monthes for confession and defence of the catholike faith*, was published first in English because, as Allen told the Jesuit Alphonso Agazzari, rector of the English College in Rome, he was "constrained to compose the history of their deaths ... written in English first, for our people desire this very much and send me information for it."⁷⁸ French, Italian, Latin, and Spanish editions of the texts followed, all of which were expanded in subsequent editions as more accounts came in.⁷⁹ They became, edition by edition, an ever-lengthening official English Catholic martyrology, written to ensure that these executions, and the penal conditions under which Catholics in England were forced to live, were broadcast throughout Europe.⁸⁰ Robert Persons's text, *De persecutione Anglicana, epistola*, which was first printed in Latin, in 1581, on his own press in Rouen, provided a further vividly detailed picture of these conditions in the early 1580s. This too was written for a Continental readership because, he told his readers, "our adversaries" do not want "the afflictions and torments" to which Catholics are daily subjected to be "brought to the knowledge of them that are without."⁸¹ The text was quickly republished in several editions and translated into French, Italian, and German. The English translation, *An epistle of the persecution of Catholickes in Englande* (1582), opens with a lengthy address to the Privy Council.

78 Allen, *Letters and Memorials*, 2:147–48.

79 William Allen, *A briefe historie of the glorious Martyrdom of xii. Reverend priests, executed within these twelve monthes for confession and defence of the catholike faith. But under the false pretence of treason. Set forth by such as were conversant with them in their life, and present at their arraignment and death* (n.p. [Reims], 1582), *ARCR* 2:4, no. 7. For Latin and Italian translations, see *ARCR* 1:78, nos. 524–27, and 1:4, nos. 8–11.

80 One of the most comprehensive surveys of English Catholic martyrologies is J.T. Rhodes, "English Books of Martyrs and Saints," *RH* 22 (1994), 7–25.

81 Robert Persons, *De persecutione Anglicana, epistola. Qua explicantur afflictiones, aerumna, & calamitates gravissimae, cruciatus etiam & tormenta, & acerbissima martyria, quae Catholici nunc Angli, ob fidem patiuntur* ([Rouen]: 1581), *ARCR* 1:120, no. 874; and see *ARCR* 1:120–21, nos. 875–84 for further issues. Robert Persons, *An epistle of the persecution of Catholickes in Englande. Translated out of frenche into Englishe and conferred with the Latyne copie. by G.T. To whiche there is added an epistle by the translator to the right honorable lordes of her maiesties Preeue Councell towchyng the same matter* (Douai [Rouen], n.d. [1582]), *ARCR* 2:123, no. 627, 87.

This body of work formed the basis of the English Catholics' initial response to the charges made against them by the Elizabethan regime, and it acted as a template for their responses to accusations made by succeeding governments in the decades that followed. In 1583, the collection and assembling of the reports was taken over by the priests John Gibbons and John Fen at Trier. They compiled in Latin what became the official English Catholic martyrology, *Concertatio ecclesiae Catholicae in Anglia* (1583),⁸² a compendium of trial accounts, jail accounts, gallows reports, martyr lists, martyrologies, polemical responses to Protestant charges against Catholics, and the key documents written by the Catholic leaders in defense of the Catholic position in England and the seminaries on the Continent.⁸³ The *Concertatio* was supplemented in 1585 by Edward Rishton's edition of Nicholas Sander's *De origine ac progressu schismatis Anglicani*, which was later published in three volumes by Persons.⁸⁴ Translated into French, Spanish, Italian, and German, Sander's text became one of the most popular books of 16th-century Europe, going into 15 editions. The seminaries too created their own in-house martyrologies, some of which were published. In 1608, for example, Thomas Worthington, president of the seminary at Douai, published a collection of the martyr accounts of those members of the college executed in England up to this date.⁸⁵ In the

82 [John Gibbons and John Fen] (eds.), *Concertatio ecclesiae Catholicae in Anglia*, 2 parts (Trier: 1583), *ARCR* 1:78, no. 524, and *Concertatio ecclesiae Catholicae in Anglia adversus Calvinopapistas et Puritanos ...*, 3 parts (Trier: 1588), *ARCR* 1:78, no. 525. The history of the compilation and construction of the *Concertatio* has been discussed in the introduction of the facsimile imprint of the 1588 edition by Gregg International Publishers Limited (Farnborough: 1970). Helen White and, more recently, Jan Rhodes have discussed these texts. See Jan Rhodes, "English Books of Martyrs and Saints," Helen White, *Tudor Books of Saints and Martyrs*. See also *Martyrs and Martyrdom in England, c. 1400–1700*, ed. Thomas Freeman and Thomas Mayer (Woodbridge: 2007).

83 This might also be seen as part of the English Catholics' response to Foxe's *Actes and Monuments*. John Foxe's memorably illustrated, popular *Actes and Monuments* was written in English and was hugely influential on the Catholic martyrologists. It went into numerous editions. For Foxe, see *The Unabridged Acts and Monuments Online* or TAMO (The Digital Humanities Institute, Sheffield, 2011). Available from: <http://www.dhi.ac.uk/foxe>. See also works by, among many others, Elizabeth Evenden and Thomas S. Freeman, *Religion and the Book in Early Modern England: The Making of John Foxe's 'Book of Martyrs'* (Cambridge: 2011); John King, *Foxe's 'Book of Martyrs' and Early Modern Print Culture* (Cambridge: 2006).

84 Nicholas Sander, *De visibili monarchia Ecclesiae*, 8 books (Louvain: 1571), *ARCR* 1:139, no. 1013.

85 Thomas Worthington, *A catalogue of martyrs in England: for profession of the Catholique faith, since the year of our Lord, 1535 ... unto this year 1608* (n.p.d. [Douai: 1608]) *ARCR* 2:169, no. 846; and, as noted above, *A relation of sixtene martyrs; glorified in England in twelve monthes. With a declaration. That English Catholiques suffer for the Catholique*

17th century, the tradition of displaying images of former seminarians who had been martyred on the mission began in the seminaries. The college of Saint Albans at Valladolid has a martyrs' "corridor" where the collection of portraits of their martyrs, the college's own visual martyrology, can still be seen.

Within this canon of political, theological, historical, and martyrological texts and manuscripts, the English Catholics executed as traitors were constructed as martyrs whose deaths witnessed to and verified the truth of the Church in whose cause they had died. This construction of the Catholic martyrs directly challenged the Protestants' counter-accusations against them of treason and pseudomartyrdom, and at the same time refuted the Protestants' own martyr claims – skillfully argued and memorably illustrated in John Foxe's *Actes and Monuments* – and the new Protestant narrative of the origins and history of the English church on which Foxe premised his work.⁸⁶

Like all family stories, the original martyr accounts had expanded in the telling, and these embellishments found their way into the manuscripts delivered by the postmasters. Those officially published by Allen and others were stripped of any sensational or miraculous accretions that might have clung to them in transit; they read as pristine models of Tridentine martyrology. These

religion. And that the seminarie priests agree with the Jesuites (Douai: 1601), *ARCR* 2:169, no. 847. This latter martyrology, like all martyrologies, had a political agenda, in this case it was written within, and so sharply reflects, the quarrels between the Jesuits and seculars at this point in the mission; see Dillon, *Construction of Martyrdom*, 323–29. See also John Wilson, *The English martyrologe, conteyning a summary of the lives of the glorious and renowned saintes of the three kingdomes, England, Scotland, and Ireland. Collected and distributed into moneths, after the forme of a calendar, according to every saintes festivity. Wherunto is annexed in the end a catalogue of those, who have suffered death in England for defence of the Catholicke cause, since King Henry the 8. his breach with the Sea Apostolicke, unto this day. By a Catholike Priest* (n.p. [St. Omer]: 1608), *ARCR* 2:159–60, no. 806. This was an attempt to respond in kind to Foxe's *Actes and Monuments*.

- 86 Nicholas Harpsfield had responded to Foxe's argument in his *Dialogi sex* of 1566. [Nicholas Harpsfield], *Dialogi sex contra Summi Pontificatus, monasticae vitae, sanctorum, sacrarum imaginum oppugnatores, et pseudomartyres* (Antwerp: 1566), *ARCR* 1:88, no. 636. This had been reinforced by Thomas Stapleton's attack on Protestant historical claims: Stapleton, *A fortresse of the faith first planted amonge us englishmen, and continued hitherto in the universall church of Christ. The faith of which time Protestants call, papistry* (Antwerp: 1565), *ARCR* 2:145, no. 730. Robert Persons, *A treatise of three Conversions of England from paganism to Christian religion*, 3 vols (n.p. [St Omer]: 1603–04), *ARCR* 2:125–26, no. 638, written towards the end of his life, continued this challenge. Persons used a copy of the 1596 edition of Foxe's *Actes and Monuments* in writing this three-volume response. Persons's copy of Foxe is still in the English College archives in Rome and is covered with his detailed comments, annotations, and dismissive exclamation marks. He also left his ink thumb prints on several pages.

accounts were intended not for an English readership but a Continental one because, Allen argued, “if al the world could see with their eyes, as we doe feelee; al the Princes Christian would take compassion, and accompt our complaints most just and necessary.”⁸⁷ It was precisely to these “Princes Christian,” especially Philip II of Spain, the Catholic *Ligue*, the Holy Roman emperor, and the papacy that the English Catholic leaders were appealing in these texts. They sought financial aid for the recently-founded seminaries and to establish new ones, to provide financial and other help for the English Catholics in exile, and, above all, to persuade the Catholic Continental powerbrokers to rally under the banner of crusade for the invasion of England.

6 The Spectacle of Martyrdom: Broadsheets, Blockbooks, Prints, and Frescoes

These martyrologies and texts of persecution were the cornerstone of English Catholics’ campaign, but by far, the greatest impact was that made by the images of the brutal treatment, persecution, and martyrdom of English Catholics by the Protestant regime, created in broadsheets, blockbooks, and wall paintings by the English Catholic refugees. It is not possible in the limited space available to do justice to this remarkable canon of polemical images.⁸⁸ They were mostly the work of Richard Verstegan (ca. 1550–1640), an English engraver, printer, polemicist, editor, and intelligencer of Dutch descent who had been born and educated in England. He had fled England in February 1582, escaping arrest for his involvement in the printing of Alfield’s *A true reporte*. He worked in France and Rome before settling for the rest of his long and productive life in Antwerp.⁸⁹ His detailed, annotated, “drawn from life” images of persecution, torture, and execution read like illustrated news reports from a battlefield by

87 William Allen, *A true, sincere and modest defence, of English Catholiques that suffer for their faith both at home and abroad against a false, seditious and slaundersous libel intitled: The Execution of Justice in England ...* (n.p.d. [Rouen: 1584]), *ARCR* 2:6, no.14, 55.

88 See Dillon, *Construction of Martyrdom*, chaps. 3, 4, and 5; Highley, *Catholics Writing the Nation*, passim.

89 Paul Arblaster, *Antwerp and the World: Richard Verstegan and the International Culture of Catholic Reformation* (Leuven: 2004); A.G. Petti, “Richard Verstegan and Catholic Martyrologies of the Later Elizabethan Period,” *RH* 5 (1959), 64–90; “A Bibliography of the Writings of Richard Verstegan,” *RH* 7 (1963), 82–103; Christopher Highley, “Richard Verstegan’s Book of Martyrs,” in Highley and John N. King (eds), *John Foxe and his World* (Aldershot: 2002), 183–97; Highley, *Catholics Writing the Nation*, passim; Dillon, *Construction of Martyrdom*, chaps. 3–5.

a war correspondent. He shows clearly identifiable members of the Catholic community in the 1580s in historically verifiable settings and scenes. These woodcuts and engravings provide a synopsis in word and image of the cases of those priests tortured, condemned, and executed for treason in England, and members of their congregations, lay Catholics, who had been subjected to the penal laws and punished for having sheltered and aided them or simply for their recusancy. His broadsheet *Praesentis Ecclesiae Anglicanae typus*⁹⁰ includes images in which Edmund Campion, whom he drew from life, is clearly identified and shown being paraded through the streets to prison, interrogated and tortured by racking, then tried and executed. Other priests are portrayed suffering similar treatment after having been apprehended while saying Mass. The punishment meted out to those Catholic laity, including women, who sheltered priests is vividly portrayed [see Figure 14.1].⁹¹ The images and the script in this broadsheet are drawn from scenes recorded in Alfield's *A true reporte* and Robert Persons's account of the persecution of Catholics in England in his *An epistle of the persecution of Catholickes in Englande*, noted above – although Verstegan was most probably present at Campion's execution. They refute the Protestant charges of treason against the Catholics and present them as martyrs. Pulls from the plates of the broadsheet were used to illustrate the Rome edition of Persons's *De persecutione* and the first Italian edition of Allen's *A brieve historie*.⁹²

When Verstegan escaped from England, he initially found work in Paris with the Guise and created for them and the *Ligue* a series of explicit and horrifying annotated images, in broadsheet and blockbook format, of the persecution and martyrdom of Catholics and their priests in England at this time, in the 1580s. Towards the end of 1583, he created a blockbook of six leaves entitled *Descriptiones quaedam illius inhumanae et multiplicis persecutionis, quam in Anglia propter fidem sustinent Catholicè Christiani*. It enlarges the descriptions and graphic representations of the events shown in his *Praesentis Ecclesiae*

90 Richard Verstegan, *Praesentis Ecclesiae Anglicanae typus* (n.p. [Reims]: 1582), *ARCR* 1:171, no. 1293.

91 I am grateful to Dr Jan Graffius of Stonyhurst College for providing from the Stonyhurst archive eight of the images included here from the Stonyhurst Collections.

92 Richard Verstegan, *Praesentis Ecclesiae Anglicanae typus* (Rome: 1582), in Robert Persons, *De persecutione Anglicana libellus. Quo explicantur afflictiones, calamitate, cruciatus, & acerbissima martyria, quae Angli Catholici nunc ob fidem patiuntur. Quae omnia in hac postrema editione aenis typis ad viuum expressa sunt* (English College, Rome: 1582), *ARCR* 1:120–21, no. 876; William Allen, *Historia del glorioso martirio di sedici sacerdoti martirizati in Inghilterra ...* (Macerata: 1583), *ARCR* 1:4, no. 8.

Anglicanae typus and it was printed in Paris under his direction.⁹³ He then created, at the *Ligue*'s request, a French version of this work for a French Catholic readership. Entitled *Briefve description des diverses cruauitez que les Catholiques endurent en Angeleterre pour la foy*, it was published contemporaneously with, or shortly after, his *Descriptiones* in 1583–84.⁹⁴ Ostensibly, it depicts the persecution and martyrdom of English Catholics; however, the images (especially the details of landscape) and accompanying scripts subtly encourage the French readers to see themselves portrayed there [see Figure 14.2] should they fail to “keep this criminal Calvinist pestilence far from your shores.”⁹⁵ The *Ligue* even went so far as to put the plates of the French version on display in the cemetery of St Séverin in Paris in 1585 – as the Protestant Henry of Navarre became heir presumptive to the French throne – with priests on hand to explain them and to issue dire warnings of the consequences for French Catholics if a Protestant king should rule. Persons and Allen's martyrological works illustrated by pulls from Verstegan's plates circulated widely on the Continent as did these block-books. They formed influential prototypes for future texts and images of martyrdom throughout the period under study. Although they were intended to fulfill a specific agenda and target a specific readership of Continental powers, some found their way back into England, where they were cherished within Catholic family collections. Verstegan's images were used by the seminaries to prepare priests for their return to England and the mission where, as they saw in the images, they would run the risk of capture, torture, and possible martyrdom at the hands of their own countrymen.

Shortly after the English College in Rome made the transition, in 1579, from hospice to seminary, Robert Persons wrote to the rector, the Jesuit Alphonso Agazzari, urging him to “prepare for us men who will face racks fearlessly.”⁹⁶ Part of the response to this directive was the creation in 1584 of a cycle of martyr murals entitled *Ecclesiae Anglicanae Trophaea*, usually referred to as the *Trophaea*, which were painted on the walls of the college church of Saint Thomas of Canterbury by the Jesuits' trusted jobbing painter, Niccolò Circignani, under

93 [Richard Verstegan], *Descriptiones quaedam illius inhumanae et multiplicis persecutionis, quam in Anglia propter fidem sustinent Catholicè Christiani* (n.p.d. [Paris: 1583–84]), *ARCR* 1:170, no. 1283. See Dillon, *Construction of Martyrdom*, 147–69.

94 [Richard Verstegan], *Briefve description des diverses cruauitez que les Catholiques endurent en Angeleterre pour la foy* (n.p.d. [Paris: 1583–84]), *ARCR* 1:170, no. 1285. For images, full description, and use of the work by the French *Ligue*, see Dillon, *Construction of Martyrdom*, 147–69.

95 *Briefve description*, 5.

96 Persons to Agazzari, April 1582. Robert Persons, *Letters and Memorials of Fr. Robert Persons S.J.*, vol. 1 (to 1588), ed. L. Hicks (CRS) 39 (London: 1942), 143.

the guidance of the college's spiritual director, the Jesuit William Good.⁹⁷ The cycle of frescoes, which began and ended at the altarpiece, painted by Durante Alberti in 1581 and known as the *Martyrs' Picture* (still extant), can be subdivided into two clearly defined but continuous groups.⁹⁸ The first, composed of 24 composite pictures with brief explanatory texts, describes through a martyrological and missionary narrative the history of the English church from its first foundation to the reign of Henry VIII and the break with Rome.⁹⁹ The second group of ten murals depicts and describes in image and script English Catholic martyr witness, including interrogation under torture, being drawn on hurdles to the scaffold, and suffering a traitor's execution by hanging, drawing, and quartering [see Figures 14.3, 14.4, 14.5, and 14.6], from this time up to and including the execution of Richard Thirkeld on 29 May 1583 at York. This final mural [see Figure 14.6] was painted, and the commission completed, as the news of Thirkeld's execution was received by the college.

The most outstanding difference between the two groups of murals is the illustration of, and commentary on, the numerous miraculous events associated with the pre-Reformation martyrs and the total lack of any such "wonders" in those murals that depict English martyrs since the time of Henry's break with Rome. These latter are exemplary Tridentine martyrs, humanist men (and one woman, Margaret Pole, Countess of Salisbury, mother of Cardinal Reginald Pole) of virtue in every detail and without a trace of the miraculous in their depiction. Shortly after completion, the engraver Giovanni Battista de Cavalieri produced a folio volume of 35 etched plates of the murals and the *Martyrs' Picture*. These were printed by Bartholemew Grassi and published by the English College in 1584 and dedicated to Pope Gregory XIII. The final image in the murals, and in the collection of engravings, depicts Pope Gregory XIII, the founder of the college, "commending his alumni to Christ." They kneel at the altar, one with a rosary prominently displayed, before being sent to join the mission in England. The pope, it reads, asks that "he may strengthen with

97 Giovanni Battista de Cavalieri, after Niccolò Circignano, *Ecclesiae Anglicanae Trophaea, siue sanctor. martyrum, qui pro Christo Catholicaeq. fidei veritate asserenda, antiquo recentioriꝝ .persecutionum tempore, mortem in Anglia subierunt, passiones, Romae in Collegio Anglico per Nicolaum. Circinianum depictae; nuper autem per Io. Bap. de Caualleriis aeneis typis repraesentatae* (Rome: n.d. [1584]), *ARCR* 1:131, no. 944.

98 For a description, discussion, and images of the *Trophaea*, see Dillon, *Construction of Martyrdom*, chap. 4.

99 For teaching on the foundation of the Church in England through three conversions see N.D. [Robert Persons], *A treatise of three conversions of England from paganisme to Christian religion*, 3 vols (n.p. [St Omer]: 1603–04), *ARCR* 2:125–26, no. 638.

virtue those whom he sent to England to the defense of the faith, against the treachery of the enemy and divine torment."¹⁰⁰

This presentation of the most recent English Catholic martyrs in the context of the history of the planting of the Church in England in apostolic times is intended not only to celebrate the traditions of martyrdom in England since the time of the apostles but also to demonstrate that these most recent martyrs of the English Reformations take their rightful place in the unbroken succession of English martyrs who had witnessed, since the time of the apostles up to the date of the most recent martyr witness depicted here in the final fresco, to the same true Church established by Christ. They also serve as a formal annotated visual response to the newly developed Protestant narrative of the history of the Church in England set out by Foxe in his *Actes and Monuments*. In doing so, they prepared the men who trained here, in the most explicit way, for what was expected of them on the English mission [see Figure 14.7]. The men of the college took their missionary oath, composed by Persons, each swearing his "abiding readiness to return to England there to preach the Catholic doctrine in the face of all dangers," surrounded by these images.¹⁰¹ It was here too that the college community assembled to sing the *Te Deum* when news came in of the execution of one of their priests.

A gift copy of the *Trophaea* bound with a copy of Verstegan's *Descriptiones* was prepared and sent to Cardinal Allen for presentation to the duc de Guise and his brother Louis, the cardinal, on the occasion of their visit to the Douai seminary now at Reims. This was a particular gift to a family and organization, on whom, as we have seen, the English Catholic exiles depended for shelter, support, and finance of individuals and institutions, and in whose own political concerns they were deeply implicated. The book of the *Trophaea* quickly went into four further editions. They were intended for a Continental audience, but some, as previously noted, were smuggled into England and into Catholic households where they became treasured family possessions, often assuming the status of sacramentals.

Verstegan's martyrology, *Theatrum crudelitatum haereticorum nostri temporis*, first published in Amsterdam in 1587, was his most explicit call for an international holy war against the Calvinists. It is composed of 28 detailed, annotated engravings depicting the torture, imprisonment, and slaughter of Catholics by Calvinists in France, Belgium, England, Scotland, and

100 *Ecclesia Anglicanae Trophaea*, plate 36.

101 Robert Persons, "The Memoirs of Father Robert Persons, 1581–1584," ed. J.H. Pollen, in *Miscellanea II* (CRS) 2 (London: 1906), 12–218, at 99.

Ireland.¹⁰² Each person is identified by name and the circumstances of their death are described in the script beneath the image that illustrates these. It includes the cases of those executed in Henry VIII's reign, including Thomas More, John Fisher, the Carthusian monks, and Margaret Pole, and those executed thus far in Elizabeth's reign. It also describes and illustrates some cases of Catholics put to death in Ireland [see Figure 14.8]. Verstegan used as his source for these Irish cases the martyrology compiled by the English Franciscan, Thomas Bouchier.¹⁰³ They include the torture and execution in 1578, without trial under martial law, of Patrick O'Hely, Bishop of Mayo, and his fellow Franciscan Con O'Rourke, and the case of Dermot O'Hurley, Archbishop of Cashel, who was accused of treason and brutally tortured before being executed under martial law in April 1584.¹⁰⁴ Verstegan also includes a plate that depicts among other images of persecution and torture, the execution at York

102 Richard Verstegan, *Theatrum crudelitatum haereticorum nostri temporis* (Antwerp: 1587), ARCR 1171, no. 1297. See Dillon, *Construction of Martyrdom*, chap. 5; Highley, *Catholics Writing the Nation*; Highley, "Richard Verstegan's *Book of Martyrs*," 183–97; D.A. Freedburg, "The Representation of Martyrdoms During the Early Counter-Reformation in Antwerp," *The Burlington Magazine* 118 (1976), 128–38; A.G. Petti, "A Bibliography of the Writings of Richard Verstegan (c.1550–1641)," *RH* 7 (1963–64), 82–103; Petti, "Richard Verstegan and Catholic Martyrologies of the Later Elizabethan Period;" Paul Arblaster, *Antwerp and the World: Richard Verstegan and the International Culture of the Catholic Reformation* (Leuven: 2004), chap. 2.

103 Thomas Bouchier, *Historia ecclesiastica de martyrio fratrum ordinis diui Francisci dictorum de Observantia, qui partim in Anglia sub Henrico octavo rege: partim in Belgio sub Principe Auriaco, partim & in Hybernia tempore Elizabethae regnantis Reginae, idque ab anno 1536 usque ad hunc nostrum presentem annum 1582, passi sunt* (Paris: 1582), ARCR 1:20, no. 106. Further editions were published at Ingolstadt in 1583 and 1584, Paris in 1586, and Cologne in 1628. Nicholas Sander had included Irishmen in his list of martyrs in his *De visibili monarchia Ecclesiae* (1571) and in the second edition published in Wurzburg in 1592; see ARCR 1:39–40, nos. 1013–16, as also did the compilers of the *Concertatio*.

104 For the Reformation in Ireland and Irish martyrdom in this period, see *inter alia*, Alan Ford, *The Protestant Reformation in Ireland, 1590–1641*, 2nd ed. (Dublin: 1997), and "Martyrdom, History and Memory in Early Modern Ireland," in *History and Memory in Modern Ireland*, ed. Ian McBride (Cambridge: 2001), 43–66; "Firm Catholics' or 'Loyal Subjects?'" Religious and Political Allegiance in Early-Seventeenth-Century Ireland," in *Political Discourse in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Ireland*, ed. D.G. Boyce, Robert Eccleshall, and Vincent Geoghegan (London: 2001), 1–31; Colm Lennon, *Sixteenth-Century Ireland: The Incomplete Conquest*, 2nd ed. (Dublin: 2005); Michael Mullett, *Catholics in Britain and Ireland 1558–1829* (Basingstoke: 1998); Clodagh Tait, "Adored for Saints: Catholic Martyrdom in Ireland c.1560–c.1655," *Journal of Early Modern History* 5 (2001), 128–59; Tait, "Relics and the Past: The Material Culture of Martyrdom in Early Modern and Modern Ireland," in J. Lyttleton and C. Rynne (eds), *Plantation Ireland, Settlement and Material Culture*, c.1500–c.1700 (Dublin: 2009); Elizabethanne Boran and Crawford Gribben (eds), *Enforcing Reformation in Ireland and Scotland 1550–1700* (Aldershot: 2006).

in 1586, by *peine forte et dure*, of Margaret Clitherow. This is accompanied by a detailed account of her case, a summary of the charges brought against her under the treason laws – to which she refused to reply – and a precise depiction of the mode of her execution: she was pressed to death. It was the first published account of Margaret Clitherow's execution to appear in either England or Continental Europe. He ends the book with the image and account of the execution of Mary, Queen of Scots, on 8 February 1587, and a call to the European Catholic powers to avenge this Calvinist regicide [see Figure 14.9].

These are war images from an exceptionally gifted war correspondent reporting from the battlefield. In depicting the Protestant aggressors in these images as frenzied in their cruelty against the Catholics, Verstegan employed the well-established medieval trope of the heretic as the servant of the Antichrist, one whose essential wickedness and cruelty creates chaos and destruction.¹⁰⁵ His images in the *Theatrum* illustrate the violence that, he argues, is inflicted by Calvinists not only on the bodies of Catholics, but also – in their program of destruction of churches, shrines, and monasteries – on the fabric of Catholicism. He insists that the images should be read as a warning of the consequences of allowing Calvinism to take root in the community. They challenge in the most powerful way the pretense that Catholics were executed for treason and not for matters of religion; they were designed to provoke, in their explicit portrayals of torture and execution, international outrage. The *Theatrum* was a public call to Philip II and the papacy for military intervention, a holy war, a crusade against Elizabeth, “that cruel parricide” who, he argues, had executed the rightful heir to the English throne, Mary Stuart. These images circulated throughout England and were, as Christopher Highley has shown, familiar enough to English audiences at the end of the 16th century for the preacher Thomas Holland in a sermon at Paul's Cross to describe them as being among the most reprehensible books of the day.¹⁰⁶

The figure of the English Catholic martyr was an infinitely malleable one that continued to define and serve the needs of the Catholic community long after the last execution of a Catholic under the treason laws: that of Oliver Plunkett, Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of all Ireland (noted above) executed at Tyburn in July 1681, in the aftermath of the Popish Plot.¹⁰⁷ It symbolized a persecuted community punished for its faith in its own country, it summarized their denial of all charges of treason, and it acted as a powerful appeal for

105 L.J. Sackville, *Heresy and Heretics in the Thirteenth Century: The Textual Representations* (York: 2011).

106 Highley, *Catholics Writing the Nation*, 72.

107 See the account in John Kenyon, *The Popish Plot*, new ed. (London: 2000).

financial aid and military intervention by the Continental Catholic powers. So potent was the image of the martyr as the Suffering Servant, oppressed, afflicted, and slaughtered by the forces of Calvinism,¹⁰⁸ that it was appropriated by Catholic groups in other countries, such as France, for their own political and religious ends. For the English Catholics in exile it was both a figure of justification and solace, and a potent didactic tool in the formation of missionary priests. Ultimately, it afforded the English Catholics the public forum they were denied in England.¹⁰⁹ But this figure of the English Catholic martyr was not the miracle-working superhero of its medieval forerunner but a Tridentine exemplar.¹¹⁰ It represented humanist men and women of virtue whose intellectual authority and reasoned arguments against false accusations of treason and plots to harm their sovereign confirmed their innocence and status as true martyrs who died for conscience. It was a symbol of suffering that embodied an embattled Catholic community persecuted by an heretical regime that imprisoned and fined its lay members for non-attendance at Protestant services and even physically forced such attendance; a regime that licensed the looting of family homes, used torture to coerce its priests, and, when they refused to deny their faith, executed them as traitors. This was the figure that carried the argument of the scripts, texts, and images produced specifically for a group of powerful European Catholics educated and nurtured in rational, humanist scholarship. But how did the martyr serve the needs of the embattled English Catholic laity?

108 Isaiah 52:4, 53:7 and 11–12.

109 There is insufficient space in this chapter to discuss the full range of important studies which examine the construction of Catholic martyrdom in Catholic literary culture. They include, among others, works by Nancy Pollard Brown, Sarah Covington, Alice Dailey, Peter Davidson, Frances Dolan, Brad Gregory, Donna Hamilton, Christopher Highley, Victor Houlston, Phebe Jensen, Gerard Kilroy, John R. Knott, Peter Lake, Jenna Lay, Arthur Marotti, Lisa McClain, Susannah Brietz Monta, Holly Crawford Pickett, Michael Questier, Jan Rhodes, Jennifer R. Rust, Alison Shell, Jane Stevenson, Anastasia Stylianou, Anne Sweeney, and Helen White. See, in particular, chaps. 9 and 15 in this volume.

110 See Peter Burke, "How to be a Counter-Reformation Saint," in *Religion and Society in Early Modern Europe 1500–1800*, ed. Kasper von Greyerz (London: 1984), 45–55. The Council of Trent ordered the removal of all superstition associated with pilgrimage, images, and relics, but reaffirmed the value of venerating and invoking the saints and their remains and representations. "Decretum de invocatione, veneratione, et reliquiis sanctorum et sacris imaginibus," Twenty-Fifth Session, December 1563, in *The Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent*, ed. H.J. Schroeder, 216.

7 “A martyrdom is always the design of God”

The miraculous, Robert Persons had insisted in the light of the recent teaching of the Council of Trent – although he was also anxious to avoid Protestant mockery and accusations of popish deceit – had no place in these official texts. Any hagiographic accretions that the gallows reports might have acquired in their journey across the Channel to the exiled Catholic leaders were to be removed before they were printed and published in Europe for their target audience.¹¹¹ Such an embellishment had been added to a manuscript account of Everard Haunse’s execution on 31 July 1581, dispatched to William Allen at Douai. It recorded that when Haunse’s heart was cut out of his body and thrown into the fire, it immediately leapt out of the flames, to everyone’s amazement, whereupon it was thrown back into the fire

... and covered with a faggot of wood. A second time it leaped up with such force as to lift the faggot out of its place and hold it for a time quivering in the smoke, as if God would manifest the victorious constancy of his martyr by the miraculous impetuous movement of his heart.¹¹²

This was the report that Allen used as his source when he entered Haunse’s death in the Douai diaries on 27 August 1581. But when Allen wrote up the account of the martyrdom for his *A brieve historie*, using this same manuscript report, he omitted the story of the leaping heart and instead referred to what he described as “a spectacle of great edification to the good, and a wonder to everyone that looked upon it.”¹¹³ Robert Persons too used this manuscript to show what was and what was not important – nor acceptable in the newly-revised light of Trent – in a formal, public account of English martyrdom intended for distribution among the European powers. Haunse’s leaping heart was, in this context, unacceptably excessive. Persons was adamant that “whether it wer natural or miraculous, no great matter; for we neede no miracles to trye Martyrs.”¹¹⁴

111 In this he followed to the letter the Council of Trent’s stipulation that any interpretation of what was believed to be an expression of the divine in the world should be carefully and exclusively controlled by the priesthood.

112 Douay College, *The First and Second Diaries of the English College, Douay and an Appendix of Unpublished Documents*, ed. T.F. Knox, Records of the English Catholics under the Penal Laws, vol. 1 (London: 1878), Second Diary, 31 July 1581, 181.

113 Allen, *A brieve historie*, “The Arraignment and Martyrdom of M. Everard Haunse Priest,” unpaginated.

114 Persons, *An epistle of the persecution of Catholickes in Englande*, 43.

However, fewer restrictions were in place in the matter of the relics and remains of these new martyrs. Relics are discussed elsewhere in this collection but *en passant* we might note that Europe at this time was full of martyrs' relics on the move. One of Campion's ribs traveled around Europe to be shared among the Catholic leaders. When William Allen wrote to his friend George Gilbert at the English College at Rome, in May 1582, he told him in conclusion, in a matter-of-fact way: "I have no more els now to say to you but that I send you here inclosed a little peece of father Campians holy ribbe. ... Take half to yourselfe and give tother halfe to father Rector."¹¹⁵ Luisa de Carvajal (1566–1614), a Spanish noblewoman who came to England from Spain in 1605 to fulfil what she believed was her vocation to minister to Catholics in London, regularly organized midnight sorties to Tyburn, after Catholics had been executed there, to collect their remains – or what she supposed were their remains.¹¹⁶ She organized their removal and transfer to her home, where she received them with great ceremony and reverence before she preserved them and ensured their safe passage to appropriate places of safety where they were then venerated. However, it was usual practice, specifically to deter relic hunters, to execute both Catholics found guilty of treason and non-Catholics convicted of other felonies all together on the same day and then to bury all the bodies and body parts together in the same common pit. But the formidable Doña Luisa was not easily intimidated, and it is more than likely that in the process of retrieval of Catholic body parts, fragments of the bodies of Protestant felons also found their way into her home and from there onto the Catholic relic circuit.

8 Signs, Wonders, and Miraculous Incidents

The canon of martyr stories that the Jesuits composed for the English Catholic community at home using these same gallows accounts showed no such restraint in retaining and even extending the miraculous elements that had crept into them. The intended audience was an entirely different one from that of the powerful, educated, Continental Catholic elite. It was one that lived under the daily threat of the penal laws. Deprived of priests, Mass, and the sacraments, it needed reassurance and encouragement to maintain its Catholic stance in the

¹¹⁵ William Allen, *Letters and Memorials*, 135.

¹¹⁶ *The Life and Writings of Luisa de Carvajal y Mendoza*, trans. and ed. Anne J. Cruz (Toronto: 2014); *The Letters of Luisa de Carvajal y Mendoza*, trans. David McGrath and Glyn Redworth, ed. Glyn Redworth, 2 vols (Brookfield, VT: 2012); Redworth, *The She-Apostle: The Extraordinary Life and Death of Luisa de Carvajal* (Oxford: 2008).

face of deprivation and hardship.¹¹⁷ The Jesuits, recognizing that the traditional forms and modes of expression of belief through hagiography could not be so easily wiped out of community memory and expression, did not fight them but deliberately fostered them. Wherever the Jesuits went on mission, they made use of local religious practices, particularly those under Protestant attack. They were given increased prominence and some Tridentine updating, and created afresh as symbols of Catholic loyalty. This gave the Jesuits considerable scope in England, where there had been a drastic reduction or proscription of popular practices of piety. Almost all the martyr narratives created for the community at home were based on the same scaffold reports that had been drastically censored for a Continental audience. Now edited for a Catholic audience in England, they were shot through with traditional community beliefs in relics, healing powers, diabolical possession and exorcism, and other familiar motifs of hagiography.

There was a further compelling reason for the adoption of this missionary policy: the sheer lack of episcopal infrastructure and clerical manpower in England.¹¹⁸ Missionary priests, secular and regular, were always in short supply, and the Catholic community was geographically scattered. Although the number of priests in the country increased after 1600, there were never enough to serve the needs of the mission. The laity had, wherever possible, to be trained and organized to minister to themselves in the absence of regular priestly ministry, as in Japan and other Jesuit missionary fields in this period, and to work with and through the available resources they had.¹¹⁹ This canon of martyr stories created by the Jesuits for the Catholic community at home served such a catechetical purpose. They were full of signs, wonders, and miraculous incidents that owed as much to the community's own interpretation of the events of the scaffold as to that of the Jesuit compilers. This was a family of believers who actively sought and recognized the divine in every aspect of life. So these stories were essentially the Catholic community and its priests' own creations: a synthesis of commonly held beliefs and mutual understanding of the lived experience, where God showed himself in his creation and the

117 A typical example is Thomas Hide, *A consolatory epistle to the afflicted catholikes, set forth by Thomas Hide, priest* (Louvain [East Ham]: 1579), *ARCR* 2:86, nos. 430 and 431.

118 See John Bossy, *The English Catholic Community, 1570–1850* (London: 1975), chap. 10.

119 They were often organized into local, estate, and neighborhood confraternities. These led by a layman, trained by a Jesuit or secular missionary, could meet for community prayer, the rosary, and the performance of charitable works. There is evidence that many of these confraternities, especially rosary confraternities, became associated with devotion to the recent martyrs.

Antichrist was ever active.¹²⁰ Many of these stories marked the first stage in the construction of complex didactic narratives that were used to sustain fundamental Catholic beliefs and practices in danger of extinction. The laity, therefore, not only helped to create these stories but created them afresh at every telling or inscription. A story heard creates a singular, personal image that persists to be transmitted orally again and again, without the need for literacy. A manuscript too is a fluid, transitional record that is constantly vulnerable to mutation, if only because of the change in scribal hand at each copy; each change represents the addition of another voice in the discourse. Poetry too was important; the spectacle of the scaffold inspired memorable elegiac narratives. Henry Walpole's poem on Campion's trial and execution "Why doe I use my paper, ynke and pen," became, as Gerard Kilroy has shown, "a treasured even dangerous sacred relic."¹²¹

Stories of martyrdom serve as both comfort literature and celebration of a community. The ideals identified in them reflect and affirm the beliefs and doctrines held in common by all its members. These martyr stories, images, poems, hymns, and letters from prison became the identifying texts of English Catholic recusancy, and from within this discourse, the English Catholic martyr was constructed by its own community of laity and priests to affirm that recusancy and encourage it. They taught the essential truths of Tridentine belief to Catholics under increasing Protestant pressure and coercion to conform. With their stress on the Eucharistic elements of martyrdom and the privileged status of the Counter-Reformation priesthood, they encouraged the community to maintain its priests and in doing so ensure its own survival. Perhaps the most outstanding example of this genre of martyr manuscripts that emphasize the Eucharistic nature of martyrdom and the key importance of the community's own care and provision for its priests is John Mush's *Vita* of Margaret Clitherow.¹²²

120 Dillon, *Construction of Martyrdom*, chaps. 2 and 6. See also Philip Soergel's and Trevor Johnson's work on the ways in which missionaries elsewhere in Europe took popular local practices and created them afresh as symbols of Catholic loyalty; for example, Soergel, *Wondrous in His Saints: Counter-Reformation Propaganda in Bavaria* (Studies on the History of Society and Culture) 17 (Berkeley: 1993); Johnson, *Magistrates, Madonnas and Miracles: The Counter Reformation in the Upper Palatinate* (Aldershot: 2009); and Johnson, "Holy Fabrications: The Catacomb Saints and the Counter-Reformation in Bavaria," *JEH* 47 (1996), 274–97.

121 Gerard Kilroy, *Edmund Campion: Memory and Transcription* (Aldershot: 2005), 4; see chap. 3 for discussion of the poem and its transmission.

122 John Mush, "A True Report of the Life and Martyrdom of Mrs. Margaret Clitherow," ed. John Morris, in *The Troubles of our Catholic Forefathers Related by Themselves*, 3 vols (London: 1877), 1:331–440. For discussion of, and commentary on, this manuscript, see

The unifying symbol of the martyr encoded this complex internal discourse among the Catholics, their priests, and the Protestant authorities, using the prevailing culture and belief of the community to express and make sense of what they witnessed and experienced. While functioning, therefore, as both conduct books and Tridentine catechisms, they also provide a unique insight into everyday life in the Catholic community. These martyr stories are subtle accounts that encourage the reader, or the hearer – because they are designed to be read aloud – to recognize in them their own fight against the Antichrist in the person of the Protestant churchman and government officials; and to see their own unwavering faith in the face of such intimidation as an act of bloodless or “white” martyrdom.¹²³

These are the accounts of martyrdom that have survived long after the official texts in Latin, discussed above, were forgotten. Often passed down by word of mouth, they became the history of the Catholic remnant. In the hands of the Jesuits, who had compiled most of them in the first instance, they became the heroic stories of a cosmic battle. Martyrdom is portrayed in them as a privilege, a divine gift, and they use traditional signs to suggest this divine selection. The most common is the presence of a bright light associated with the martyr such as that said to have surrounded Cuthbert Mayne as he prayed the night before his death.¹²⁴ Another is a sweet scent, a traditional sign of sanctity, such as that associated with Stephen Rowsome, executed in 1588.¹²⁵ One of the most important and dramatic themes of the narratives is the confrontation at the scaffold between Christ and Satan, voiced in the exchanges between the martyr and the presiding Protestant official or minister. The vivid exchanges between the Christ in the martyrs and Satan in the Protestant heretic in these accounts are presented not as caprices of the Antichrist but as

Dillon, *Construction of Martyrdom*, chap. 6; M. Claridge [Katherine Longley], *Margaret Clitherow (1556–1586)* (Wheathampstead: 1966); Longley, *Saint Margaret Clitherow* (Wheathampstead: 1986); “The ‘Trial’ of Margaret Clitherow,” *Ampleforth Journal* 75 (1970), 334–64; Claire Cross, “An Elizabethan Martyrologist and his Martyr: John Mush and Margaret Clitherow,” in *Martyrs and Martyrologies*, ed. Diana Wood (Studies in Church History) 30 (Oxford: 1993), 271–81.

123 Clare Stancliffe, “Red, White and Blue Martyrdom,” in *Ireland in Early Medieval Europe: Studies in Memory of Kathleen Hughes*, ed. Dorothy Whitelocke, Rosemary McKitterick, and David Dumville (Cambridge: 1982), 21–46; Brendan Bradshaw, “The Wild and Woolly West: Early Irish Christianity and Latin Orthodoxy,” in *The Churches, Ireland and the Irish*, ed. W.J. Sheils and Diana Wood (Studies in Church History) 25 (Oxford: 1989), 1–23.

124 Allen, *A briefe historie*, “The Araigment and Martyrdom of M. Cuthbert Maine Priest,” diiir.

125 “An Ancient Editor’s Note Book,” in *The Troubles of Our Catholic Forefathers Related by Themselves*, 3:42.

part of God's eternal plan. Satan might seem to have triumphed at the scaffold because the martyr, apparently powerless, had submitted to humiliating and savage execution; but this is not the end of the story. The denouement comes shortly afterwards when God punishes those who had tortured and executed the martyr. Typically, they or their families are dramatically afflicted, or they die suddenly. For example, Sir John Glanville, the judge who presided at the trials of the priests Thomas Sprott and Thomas Hunt and directed the jury to find them guilty, died 16 days later in odd circumstances. In fact, he fell off his horse in a fit, "his braines straingely coming forth both at his nose and his mouth," and his right shoulder was "sore scorched, like burn'd leather, as blacke as pitch."¹²⁶ The family of Thomas Norton, the rackmaster who had cruelly tortured Edmund Campion and many other priests, were all singled out for divine retribution: his wife went mad soon after Campion's execution; then, in quick succession, Norton's father and uncle were struck by paralysis, and his mother dropped dead.¹²⁷ Sometimes, in the story of an execution it is an animal – believed to be present with the martyr in his passion and death – that recognizes Christ and responds with reverence. The horse harnessed to pull the hurdle on which Edward Waterstone was to be dragged to the gallows in Newcastle in 1594 refused point blank to do so, and no amount of beating would move it. So another was put in its place, but he would only pull the hurdle part of the way, after which he dug in his hooves and refused to budge. The martyr, now clearly identified by both horses as one with Christ, was forced to finish his *via crucis* on foot.

Although the accounts deploy familiar and traditional motifs to identify the martyrs, they do not attribute any personal power to the martyrs themselves before their death. Instead, they present them as having been specially selected as conduits through which God has access to his creation in order to confront the Antichrist. Each story is a witness to this: the parameters of the battle have been predetermined by God, and the confrontation is permitted for a specific purpose. Satan is only allowed to challenge or appear to win the battle because God permits it. The Catholic community could therefore be reassured that, while the executions appeared to represent submission to the Antichrist in the persons of the heretical regime, they were, in fact, part of a wider narrative in which God incorporated martyrdom into a larger plan. The death of a Catholic under such circumstances was therefore to be seen as a triumph and evidence that the community was a "chosen" people. This explains

126 Worthington, *A relation of sixtene martyrs*, 86–90.

127 (CRS) 58: 96–97.

in part the paradoxical symbolism of the martyr, an apparent failure, around which the community of chosen ones could rally because, like Calvary, it represented triumph. It also provides some explanation of the ability of many Catholics to maintain their religious stance in increasingly stringent legal, financial, and social situations. Finally, it points to the intentions of the Jesuits in this canon of martyr stories. They presented the Catholic community with an image of itself as specially chosen and deliberately tested, like Job, by God who permitted Satan to work through the agency of the heretics. By presenting divine approbation as privilege, these accounts encouraged and consoled the Catholic community and provided reasons why, in God's plan for them, they should maintain their recusancy.

These stories became the cherished texts of Catholic households, copied by itinerant Catholic scribes, such as Peter Mowle, at the request of Catholic families for their own use, passed around the community and treasured as relics, as sacramentals.¹²⁸ We have a glimpse of the use of such material in a recusant family. Mary Ward (1585–1645), the founder of the Institute of the Blessed Virgin Mary, grew up in Yorkshire in the recusant Babthorpe and Wright families, whose households were closely associated with the Jesuits Richard Holtby and John Gerard. Winefred Wigmore's portrait of Mary's upbringing in the Babthorpe household is somewhat hagiographic, but within it we can see a child enthralled by stories of the martyrs. We are told that Mary spent "much time in reading the Lives of Saints, particularly martyrs, which so enflamed her well-prepared heart, as nothing could satisfy her but living or dying martyrdom."¹²⁹ Such families may well have preserved and used the surviving copies of old devotional manuscripts and continued to practice devotional rituals that had survived from pre-Reformation times. However, in these new community stories of heroic suffering and martyrdom for the faith of those they knew – in many cases, their own family members – they had an imaginative canon of Tridentine texts available to serve as devotional texts and images, and as effective catechisms of Tridentine doctrine and spiritual practice. Transmitted orally, in manuscript and text, and serving as comfort literature and conduct books, the martyr stories provided exempla that the Catholics should aspire to emulate, if not literally, then figuratively.

¹²⁸ Nancy Pollard Brown, "Paperchase: The Dissemination of Catholic Texts in Elizabethan England," in *English Manuscript Studies 1100–1700*, ed. Peter Beal and Jeremy Griffiths, 2 vols (Oxford: 1989), 1:120–43; Dillon, *Construction of Martyrdom*, 282.

¹²⁹ "A brief relation of the Holy Life and the Happy Death of Our Dearest Mother, of Blessed Memory, Mrs Mary Ward," attributed to Winefred Wigmore, Congregation of Jesus Archives, Bar Convent, York, 3.

Some of these narratives, including those that contain accounts of the relics of the martyrs being used in exorcisms, were gathered and set into print by John Gerard, Henry Garnet, and other Jesuit missionaries between 1587 and 1594. They had the effect, Robert Southwell reported to his Jesuit superior general, “of converting many to the faith and greatly rallying the wavering.”¹³⁰ In the 1670s and 1680s, the Jesuit Christopher Grene began the process of collecting and editing these manuscript records of the Elizabethan and early Stuart mission and martyrs.¹³¹ Then, in 1741, recognizing the need for a record of the history of the Catholic community, Richard Challoner, vicar apostolic of the London District in the years 1740–81, began to collate the original texts, letters, and manuscripts available at Douai, which he then assembled and published in two volumes in his *Memoirs of Missionary Priests*.¹³² In doing so, he provided the English Catholic community with a record of its own identity, history, and genealogy: a persecuted Catholic community in exile at home and abroad. Through the figure of the martyr, he articulated the community’s origins, its doctrinal differences from its Protestant neighbors, and the reasons for its continued separation from them in matters of religion.

Nineteenth-century editions of some of these dispersed documents, complete with accretions, were assembled and published by the Jesuit editors John Hungerford Pollen, John Morris, and Henry Foley.¹³³ They all recognized, with Robert Persons, that “we neede no miracles to trye Martyrs,” and were

130 “The Life of Father William Weston,” in Morris, *The Troubles of our Catholic Forefathers*, 2100.

131 Christopher Grene’s manuscript “Collectanea” can be found at the Jesuit Archives, Farm Street, London, and St. Mary’s College, Oscott. There are copies at Stonyhurst College, Lancashire. For an account of Grene’s manuscript collection, see Morris, *The Troubles of Our Catholic Forefathers*, 3:3–7; Henry Foley, *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus*, 7 vols in 8 (London, 1877–1883), 3:214–57.

132 Richard Challoner, *Memoirs of Missionary Priests as well Secular as Regular; and of other Catholics of both sexes that have suffered death in England on Religious Accounts from the year of Our Lord 1577 to 1684*, 2 vols ([London]:1741–42).

133 See, for example, Morris, *The Troubles of Our Catholic Forefathers*, 3 vols (London:1872–77); Foley, *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus*, 7 vols in 8 (London, 1877–1883); Pollen, *Unpublished Documents Relating to the English Martyrs: 1584–1603* (CRS) 5 (1908); Challoner, *Memoirs of Missionary Priests as Well Secular as Regular and of Other Catholics of Both Sexes, That Have Suffered Death in England on Religious Accounts from the Year of Our Lord, 1577 to 1684*, a new ed., rev. and corr. by Pollen (London: 1924). See recent discussions on Catholic archives including Alexandra Walsham, “The Social History of the Archive: Record-Keeping in Early Modern Europe,” *P&P* 230 (2016), 9–48; Liesbeth Corens, “Dislocation and Record-Keeping: The Counter Archive of the Catholic Diaspora,” *P&P* 230 (2016), 269–287; *Archives and Information in the Early Modern World*, ed. Kate Peters, Alexandra Walsham, and Liesbeth Corens (Oxford: 2018).

uneasy about the highly confessionalized, somewhat mythical material they were gathering and preparing for publication. And we are greatly in their debt because, while recognizing that these do appear, on the surface, to be wonder stories of martyrdom that would have sat very comfortably in an edition of the *Golden Legend*, what we do have in these community-created narratives is a rare and wonderfully clear window onto the everyday lived experience of the Catholic community in England in the early modern period. We see the sources that they had at their disposal and the ways in which they used them in order to survive, while remaining faithful to their beliefs when such beliefs were proscribed by law.

9 Conclusion

The Catholic community that constructed and celebrated these deaths as martyrdom was one whose members were as likely to be found in France, the Low Countries, Spain, and Italy as in the Yorkshire Dales, Lancashire, or London. The image of the English Catholic martyr should be seen therefore not only within the reconfiguration of the English religious, social, and political landscapes during, and in the aftermath of, the Reformations, but also within the context of the international influences in which it was constructed and to which it continued to be subjected. Its unique status in Catholic Europe had resulted in the English martyr serving the religious and political purposes of those powers that sheltered, supported, and financed the English Catholic exiles and their seminaries. Set firmly within a debate with the Calvinists, the English martyr was as much a construction of international political rhetoric as it was of English religious and political debate. It became a symbol of unswerving Catholic resistance to the Protestant regime in England and, at the same time, a symbol of French Catholicism and political faction. As a result of Richard Verstegan's persuasive rhetorical images, it also served as an international Catholic banner around which the Catholic European powers were urged to rally as a united force against the threat of international Calvinism and, more specifically, to support the planned attempts to invade England in the guise of crusade and to overthrow Elizabeth and her government. In successive reigns, it symbolized ongoing refusal in the face of trenchant legal and fiscal depredations to repudiate their Catholic beliefs and embrace Protestantism.

For the Catholic community at home, the transformation of the executed traitor into the martyr was an act of self-identification, one in which martyrdom and the act of recusancy became reflections of the same image. The Catholic martyrs individually and collectively were a powerful ideological tool

with which to encourage the community to maintain its own separate existence, identity, and beliefs, and to support its priests. Recusancy created martyrdom, and martyrdom in turn helped to maintain and consolidate recusancy. The martyr was thus a self-reflecting and regenerating symbol of the community that sustained and encouraged the recusancy that created it.



FIGURE 14.1 Richard Verstegan, *Praesentis Ecclesiae Anglicanae typus* (Rome: 1582), in Robert Persons, *De persecutione Anglicana libellus*. Quo explicantur afflictiones, calamitate, cruciatus, & acerbissima martyria, quae Angli Catholici nunc ob fidem patiuntur. Quae omnia in hac postrema editione aenis typis ad viuum expressa sunt (English College, Rome: 1582), detail. ARCR 1, no. 876. The script reads: "Those captured while celebrating Mass, clad in their sacred vestments, are taken by the magistrate's officer through the main streets as the people mock. Others, captured in the countryside, bound by their hands and feet, are placed on horses and carried to the principal cities."



FIGURE 14.2 Richard Verstegan, "Nocturnæ per domos inquisitiones" (Night-time raids on houses), in *Descriptiones quaedam illius inhumanae et multiplicis persecutionis, quam in Anglia propter fidem sustinent Catholice Christiani* (Rome: 1584), plate 2, engraved by G.B. Cavalieri and issued bound in with Giovanni Battista de Cavalieri after Niccolò Circignani, *Ecclesiae Anglicanae Trophæa, siue sanctor, martyrum, qui pro Christo Catholicaeq. fidei veritate asserenda antiquo recentiori, persecutionum tempore, mortem in Anglia subierunt, passionem Romae in Collegio Anglicano per Nicolaum Circinianum depictae; nuper autem per Io. Bap. de Caualleriis aeneis typis repraesentatae* (Rome: 1584), detail. ARCR I, no. 944
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FIGURE 14.3 Giovanni Battista de Cavalieri after Niccolò Circignani, *Ecclesiae Anglicanae Trophaea, siue sanctor. martyrum, qui pro Christo Catholicaeq. fidei veritate asserenda antiquo recentioriq. persecutionum tempore, mortem in Anglia subierunt, passiones Romae in Collegio Anglico per Nicolaum Circinianum depictae; nuper autem per Io. Bap. de Caualleriis aeneis typis repraesentate* (Rome: n.d. [1584]), plate 31. ARCR I, no. 944

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FIGURE 14.4 Giovanni Battista de Cavalieri after Niccolò Circignani, *Ecclesiae Anglicanae Trophæa, siue sanctor. martyrum, qui pro Christo Catholicaeq. fidei veritate asserenda, antiquo recentiori. persecutionum tempore, mortem in Anglia subierunt, passiones Romae in Collegio Anglico per Nicolaum Circinianum depictae; nuper autem per Io. Bap. de Caualleriis aeneis typis repraesentate* (Rome: n.d. [1584]), plate 32. ARCR I, no. 944

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FIGURE 14.5 Giovanni Battista de Cavalieri after Niccolò Circignani, *Ecclesiae Anglicanae Trophaea, siue sanctor. martyrum, qui pro Christo Catholicaeq. fidei veritate asserenda antiquo recentiorq. persecutionum tempore, mortem in Anglia subierunt, passiones Romae in Collegio Anglico per Nicolaum Circinianum depictae; nuper autem per Io. Bap. de Cavalleriis aeneis typis repraesentate* [Rome: n.d. [1584]], plate 33. ARCR I, no. 944

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FIGURE 14.6 Giovanni Battista de Cavalieri after Niccolò Circignani, *Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ Trophæa, siue sanctor. martyrum, qui pro Christo Catholicaeq. fidei veritate asserenda, antiquo recentioriq. persecutionum tempore, mortem in Anglia subierunt, passiones, Romæ in Collegio Anglico per Nicolaum Circinianum depictæ; nuper autem per Io. Bap. de Caualleriis aeneis typis repræsentate* [Rome: n.d. [1584]], plate 35. ARCR I, no. 944

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FIGURE 14.7 W.P. Kilian, P. Guilielmus Good Sc. Jesus, "Nobili sanguine Anglus Laboribus Apostolicis per Angliam Hyberniam Moschouiam exantlatis ...", engraving on paper in Matthew Tanner, *Societas Jesu apostolorum imitatrix, sive Gesta praeclara et virtutes eorum, qui e Societate Jesu in procuranda salute animarum, per apostolicas missiones, conciones, sacramentorum ministeria, evangelij inter fideles & infideles propagationem ... per totum orbem terrarum speciali zelo desudarent* (Prague: 1694), p. 211. Cambridge University Library, Acton.a.6.40
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FIGURE 14.8 Richard Verstegan, *Theatrum crudelitatum haereticorum nostri temporis* (Antwerp: 1588), pp. 80–81. ARCR I, no. 1298

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FIGURE 14.9 Richard Verstegan, *Theatrum crudelitatum haereticorum nostri temporis* (Antwerp: 1592), p. 85. ARCR I, no. 1299

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Recusant Literary Culture in England and Wales

Victor Houliston

Catholic authors do not loom large in the canon of English Renaissance literature. Only Thomas More, Robert Southwell, Richard Crashaw, and Elizabeth Cary would be instantly recognizable as major figures of the period. Ben Jonson kept changing his mind, and William Shakespeare was at best a sympathizer. One could cite numerous minor Catholic authors without greatly altering the picture.¹ Yet a significant proportion of the population of early modern England and Wales had an attachment to books, manuscripts, devotional objects, letters, and dramatic performances that bore Catholic insignia. Interest in these texts has expanded rapidly in the past few decades. From the labors of bibliographers and archivists,² and from sustained dialogue between historians and literary scholars, a richly diverse picture emerges: of social networks and patronage, devotional practices, missionary initiatives, the revival of the religious life, the symbolism of artifacts and architecture, experiences of exile and return, controversy, persecution, conversion, and apostasy.³ There is

1 The term "Catholic author" is here applied not only to those who were cited for recusancy but all who proved their attachment to Rome. On Shakespeare, see Joseph Loewenstein and Michael Whitmore (eds), *Shakespeare and Early Modern Religion* (Cambridge: 2015).

2 Notably A.C. Southern, *Elizabethan Recusant Prose, 1559–1582: A Historical and Critical Account of the Books of the Catholic Refugees Printed and Published Abroad and at Secret Presses in England, Together with an Annotated Bibliography of the Same* (London: 1950); Thomas H. Clancy, *Papist Pamphleteers: The Allen-Persons Party and the Political Thought of the Counter-Reformation in England, 1572–1615* (Chicago: 1964); Clancy, *English Catholic Books 1641–1700: A Bibliography* (Chicago: 1974); and Clancy, *A Literary History of the English Jesuits: A Century of Books, 1615–1714* (San Francisco: 1996). Also, Peter Milward, *Religious Controversies of the Elizabethan Age: A Survey of Printed Sources* (London: 1977); Milward, *Religious Controversies of the Jacobean Age: A Survey of Printed Sources* (London: 1978); and *ARCR*.

3 General studies that seek to integrate historical and literary analysis of early modern English Catholic writers include Ceri Sullivan, *Dismembered Rhetoric: English Recusant Writing, 1580–1603* (Madison, N.J.: 1995); Alison Shell, *Catholicism, Controversy and the English Literary Imagination, 1558–1660* (Cambridge, Eng.: 1999); Shell, *Oral Culture and Catholicism in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, Eng.: 2007); Peter Lake with Michael Questier, *The Antichrist's Lewd Hat: Protestants, Papists and Players in Post-Reformation England* (New Haven: 2002); Arthur F. Marotti, *Religious Ideology and Cultural Fantasy: Catholic and Anti-Catholic Discourses in Early Modern England* (Notre Dame, Ind.: 2005); Ronald Corthell et al. (eds), *Catholic Culture in Early Modern England* (Notre Dame, Ind.: 2007); and Lowell Gallagher (ed.), *Redrawing the Map of Early Modern Catholicism* (Toronto: 2012). See also the editorial

a growing awareness of the range of Catholic and anti-Catholic attitudes in the population, the substance of the Catholic presence and threat, and the role of women in preserving and promoting the old religion.

The special quality of recusant literary culture was secrecy. In the *Life* of Elizabeth Cary (1585/6–1639), Catholic convert and author of *The Tragedy of Mariam*, we learn that as a child she was only able to read at night by secretly buying candles from the servants at an exorbitant hire.⁴ This might be the exigency of any precocious book lover of the time, but it provides a compelling metaphor of the price early modern Catholics had to pay for their literary culture. Texts were secreted in cloak bags,⁵ printed on hidden presses, and read in clandestine gatherings where those present, when they heard an insistent ring at the door, lifted their heads like deer at the sound of the huntsman.⁶ Many were produced by the exile community for readers who felt in exile in their own land, and it was in the prisons, paradoxically, that the outlawed religion could be practiced most freely. There were also the places of refuge: the court of Charles I's queen, Henrietta Maria (1609–69),⁷ the houses of the ambassadors of France and Spain, and the great recusant households – Rushton Hall, Montacute House, Mapledurham, Cowdray, Deene, Grace Dieu, Harrowden, Hoxton – operating as fortresses of the faith.⁸ The Inns of Court also appear to have been a fairly safe zone for Catholics, probably because of the eminence

material in Robert S. Miola (ed.), *Early Modern Catholicism: An Anthology of Primary Sources* (New York: 2007).

- 4 Elizabeth Cary, "The Tragedy of Mariam, the Fair Queen of Jewry" with "The Lady Falkland: Her Life, by One of Her Daughters," ed. Barry Weller and Margaret W. Ferguson (Berkeley: 1994), 187–88.
- 5 A good example is quoted by Gerard Kilroy, *Edmund Campion: Memory and Transcription* (Aldershot: 2005), 63–64: "the lytell paper booke found in his clooke bagg containyng about a dosen leaves of paper on [the] matter of Campion," cited by Peter Davidson, "The Text of This Edition," in Robert Southwell, *Collected Poems*, ed. Davidson and Anne Sweeney (Manchester: 2007), 145–46.
- 6 Robert Persons to Alfonso Agazzari, London/Rouen, August 1581, in *Correspondence and Unpublished Papers of Robert Persons, SJ*, vol. 1: 1574–1588, ed. Victor Houlston, Ginevra Crosignani, and Thomas M. McCoog (Toronto: 2017), 171–89.
- 7 See Caroline Hibbard, "A Cosmopolitan Court in a Confessional Age: Henrietta Maria Revisited," in Corthell et al., *Catholic Culture*, 117–34; and Karen Britland, "Recent Studies of the Life and Cultural Influence of Queen Henrietta Maria," *English Literary Renaissance* 45 (2015), 303–21.
- 8 Many of these households are described by Godfrey Anstruther, *Vaux of Harrowden: A Recusant Family* (Newport, Monmouthshire: 1953); J.C.H. Aveling, *The Handle and the Axe: The Catholic Recusants in England from Reformation to Emancipation* (London: 1976); and Michael C. Questier, *Catholicism and Community in Early Modern England: Politics, Aristocratic Patronage and Religion, c.1550–1640* (Cambridge, Eng.: 2006).

of the recusant lawyer Edmund Plowden (ca.1518–85).⁹ These sanctuaries from persecution complemented the prisons, torture chambers, and places of execution. Not only were the prisons, in the words of Peter Lake and Michael Questier, the lungs of the community, breathing life into all the organs,¹⁰ but they afforded a special potency as the liminal space between sentence and execution.¹¹ They added weight to what was said, read, or written, and if we extend this notion to recusant literary culture more widely, we could say that the state's actions lent an indefinable surplus to every text. Such was the dilemma facing the authorities, whose every attempt to ensure the death of the old religion could renew its life and empower its words.

Encryption, then, is the master theme. It is a feature particularly highly developed in recusant material culture, in architecture, needlework, and religious objects of every kind, especially in miniature.¹² Emblems, codes, and puzzles can be detected everywhere: elements of disguise, translation, or displacement. Typically, recusant readers were oriented to another place or time. The past provided authentication and continuity; the Continent gave solidarity (*securus iudicat orbis terrarum*), and devotion made a claim on eternity. And since books and manuscripts stood in for absent sacraments and preachers,¹³ the reader was invited to perform a work of reconstruction, to supply what was missing.

The role of women as translators, authors, and patrons testifies to the special, somewhat oblique position of recusant texts within the literary system of England and Wales. Women were the patrons and guardians of recusant texts, and one of the reasons for the increased interest in this material is the recovery of women's writing more largely. The learned laywomen Elizabeth Grymeston (ca. 1563–1604) and Elizabeth Cary, Viscountess Falkland, illustrate two aspects of Catholic women's education and role, domestic and courtly. Grymeston's

9 Geoffrey de C. Parmiter, *Elizabethan Popish Recusancy in the Inns of Court* (London: 1976).

10 Lake with Questier, *Antichrist's Lewd Hat*, 205. See the description given by Robert Persons in his letter to Alfonso Agazzari, 24 August 1583, in Houliston, Crosignani, and McCoog, *Correspondence and Unpublished Papers*, 358–68.

11 Shell, *Oral Culture and Catholicism*, 117; see also her "The Writing on the Wall? John Ingram's Verse and the Dissemination of Catholic Prison Writing," *BCH* 33 (2016), 58–70; and Ruth Ahnert, *The Rise of Prison Literature in the Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge, Eng.: 2013).

12 For a discussion of Catholic material culture, see esp. chaps. 8, 10, and 17 in this volume.

13 Alexandra Walsham, "Preaching without Speaking: Script, Print and Religious Dissent," in *The Uses of Script and Print, 1300–1700*, ed. Julie Crick and Walsham (Cambridge, Eng.: 2004), 211–34; see also Walsham's collection of essays, *Catholic Reformation in Protestant Britain* (London: 2014).

father was a relative of Robert Southwell and encouraged his daughter's intellectual formation. Her maternal advice book, *Miscelanea, Meditations, Memoratives* (1604), included much material for household devotion. Elizabeth Cary, daughter of a prominent lawyer, married the future Viscount Falkland at the age of 15 and converted to Catholicism through her own reading and the influence of Catholic writers and associates in Dublin during her husband's tenure as lord deputy of Ireland. She became a preeminent woman of letters, poet, dramatist, historian, and translator, who championed Catholicism at the court of Charles I.¹⁴

This survey of the literary culture of Catholics in England and Wales – what they read, how they read, and the circumstances under which they read – begins at the center with devotional texts, radiating outward to include catechetical texts and formative accounts of hagiography and martyrology, and finally the genres of history, controversy, poetry, and the theater, which reached a wider audience – moving, that is, from the secret core of observance to public debate and witness. As we consider the subgenres, we find that the further we move from the private center, the more conflicted the scene. It is not a unified picture with every part contributing to a single project of Catholic renewal, for there were radical divisions among Catholics and significant overlap between what Protestants and Catholics were reading. It is, rather, a story of survival, with fissures opening at every level: strains within the local or regional community, breaches in families, tensions between Jesuits and seculars, loyalists and plotters, conversion and reconversion.

The history of division among the Catholic communities in England, Wales, and in exile is important because it inflects the approach both of writers and readers. The initial division was between recusants and church papists, exacerbated by the decision in 1580, on the Jesuit English mission, to insist that adherents to the Roman religion should refuse to attend the queen's church. Variations on conformity, occasional conformity, and full recusancy blurred the lines of distinction between Protestant and Catholic. During the 1580s and 1590s, several plans for the “enterprise of England” sponsored by the Catholic League

14 See Jane Stevenson, “Women Catholics and Latin Culture,” in Corthell, *Catholic Culture in Early Modern England*, 52–72; and Susannah Brietz Monta, “Anne Dacre Howard, Countess of Arundel, and Catholic Patronage,” in *English Women, Religion, and Textual Production 1500–1625*, ed. Micheline White (Farnham: 2011), 59–83. On Grymeston, see Edith Snook, *Women, Reading, and the Cultural Politics of Early Modern England* (Aldershot: 2005). On Cary, see Heather Wolfe (ed.), *The Literary Career and Legacy of Elizabeth Cary, 1613–1680* (New York: 2007); Karen Raber (ed.), *Ashgate Critical Essays on Women Writers in England, 1550–1700*, vol. 6: *Elizabeth Cary* (Aldershot: 2009); and Christina Luckyj and Rose Sneyd, “Recent Studies in Elizabeth Cary,” *ELR* (2016), 456–73.

in France, the papacy, and the Spanish Crown provoked diverse responses of loyalism and subversiveness. The question of the succession also divided Catholics between those who were prepared to take their chances with James VI of Scotland and those who wished to cast the net wider. At the same time, hostility and jealousy towards the Jesuits came to a head with the Archpriest Controversy (1598–1603), when secular priests sent representatives as appellants to the Holy See to challenge the decision to appoint an archpriest rather than a bishop. In the aftermath of the Gunpowder Plot, James's new Oath of Allegiance (1606) divided Catholics over the question of the papal deposing power. This controversy rumbled on for several years, and Catholics continued to quarrel among themselves until Richard Smith (1567–1655) was appointed bishop of Chalcedon as vicar apostolic (1624), and a measure of practical toleration developed at the time when James was trying to achieve a balance of religious forces by marrying Charles to a Catholic princess.¹⁵

1 Manuscript and Print

The physical witnesses to recusant writing reflect the complex conditions of both readers and writers. Much survives only in manuscript, for scribal production remained the preferred form of literary circulation until well into the 17th century.¹⁶ Household piety depended on the compilation of devotional materials, copied from borrowed or concealed books and manuscripts or excerpted from their own libraries. An intriguing instance of such a compilation, though it

15 Questier, *Catholicism and Community*, gives a fine-grained account of these divisions while tracing the history of a particular Catholic family network, supplementing the work of John Bossy, Christopher Haigh, and Eamon Duffy. Alexandra Walsham, *Church Papists: Catholicism, Conformity and Confessional Polemic in Early Modern England* (Woodbridge: 1993) is foundational in the rehabilitation of conformity; see also Ginevra Crosignani, Thomas M. McCoog, and Michael Questier (eds), *Recusancy and Conformity in Early Modern England: Manuscript and Printed Sources in Translation* (Toronto: 2010). Clancy, *Papist Pamphleteers*; Peter Holmes, *Resistance and Compromise: The Political Thought of the Elizabethan Catholics* (Cambridge, Eng.: 1982); and Arnold Pritchard, *Catholic Loyalism in Elizabethan England* (London: 1979) are the standard introductions to the diversity of political attitudes among Catholics in the earlier period.

16 Nancy Pollard Brown, "Paperchase: The Dissemination of Catholic Texts in Elizabethan England," in *English Manuscript Studies, 1100–1700* 1 (1989): 120–44; Gerard Kilroy, "Paper, Inke and Penne: The Literary *Memoria* of the Recusant Community," *Downside Review* 119 (2001), 95–124; and Earle Havens, "Notes from a Literary Underground: Recusant Catholics, Jesuit Priests, and Scribal Publication in Elizabethan England," *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 99 (2005), 505–38.

is not primarily devotional, is the “Jollet Miscellany,” produced probably in the first two decades of the 17th century.¹⁷ This is an elaborate, decorated compendium of Catholic themes, arranged alphabetically. It is an index of doctrine, an arsenal of apologetics, and a record of persecution and resistance, an honoring of the English mission, its missionaries, and its controversialists. On matters of controversy – say, the Eucharist – it notably follows a scheme set out in the prefatory epistle to the reader: materials are marshaled in “squadrons,” beginning with scripture, then the church fathers, then the doctors of the church, and, finally, contemporary authors. It is a manuscript still in the making, with details of confessors and martyrs and other contemporary developments to be added in the course of time. It testifies to the community’s determination to be able to give an account of its faith, suggesting a countryhouse culture of literary and religious conversation.

Literary manuscript circulation extends this picture of interaction between Catholic and Protestant. Catholics were involved in the copying of some Sidney manuscripts,¹⁸ and this pattern must have been widely repeated. Virtually every family network contained Catholics, and Catholic poems and devotional texts appear in miscellanies and commonplace books across the early modern religious spectrum. *A Short Rule for a Good Life* by the Jesuit Robert Southwell (1561–95) offers an intriguing example of scribal copying and editing, with some manuscript versions applying the work even more specifically to Catholic laywomen, and others adapting it to Protestant piety.¹⁹ Southwell’s poems, again, illustrate the crossing of the boundary from manuscript to print and back again. After arriving on the English mission from Rome in 1586, he composed and revised a substantial body of devotional poems – mainly lyrics but some more extended meditations, notably *Saint Peters Complaynt* – under the protection of Anne Dacre Howard (1557–1630), wife of the imprisoned Earl of Arundel, Philip Howard (1557–95). The drafts of some of these poems survive in a collection of holograph manuscripts at Stonyhurst College,

17 Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodl. MS Eng. th. b. 1–2, sometimes known as the Brudenell MS. See Gerard Kilroy, *Edmund Campion: Memory and Transcription* (Aldershot: 2005), chaps. 1 and 5. A full analysis has been undertaken by Katie McKeogh, “Sir Thomas Tresham (1543–1605) and Early Modern Catholic Culture and Identity, 1580–1610” (DPhil diss., University of Oxford, 2017). Grateful thanks to Dr McKeogh for discussions and comments.

18 H.R. Woudhuysen, *Sir Philip Sidney and the Circulation of Manuscripts, 1558–1640* (Oxford: 1996); Robert E. Stillman, “Philip Sidney and the Catholics: The Turn from Confessionalism in Early Modern Studies,” *Modern Philology* 112 (2014), 97–129.

19 Susannah Monta, “Uncommon Prayer? Robert Southwell’s *Short Rule for a Good Life* and Catholic Domestic Devotion in Post-Reformation England,” in Gallagher, *Redrawing the Map*, 245–71.

which we might call his “foul papers.” It appears that he then put the lyrics into an ordered sequence, of which a near-contemporary manuscript copy survives, the “Waldegrave” manuscript now in the Jesuit Archives in London.²⁰ This represents the state of the poems as they might have been circulated in manuscript.

After Southwell's execution in 1595, his poems moved into print, some as the second part of the volume entitled *St Peters Complaynt. With other Poems*, printed by James Roberts for Gabriel Cawood (London: 1595), and the remainder printed by Valentine Sims for John Busbie as *Mæoniæ. Or, Certaine excellent Poems and spirituall Hymnes: Omitted in the last Impression of Peters Complaint* (London: 1595). The print publication suppressed some Catholic content, despite the IHS device on the title page of the Cawood edition of *St Peters Complaynt*,²¹ and ordered the poems rather haphazardly. Later, it seems, another scribe corrected the printed version by binding a printed copy of *Saint Peters Complaynt* into a manuscript book, followed by the lyrics in the Waldegrave sequence.²² We have, then, multiple interests in the poems, represented by the variation of scribal and printed versions: the secret devotional circulation, the opportunism of printers and booksellers, the curiosity of the poetry-reading public, and the desire of Southwell's friends and followers to preserve his poetic remains in an authentic form.

Perhaps the most industrious scribal endeavor took place in the convents in exile, especially the convent of Our Lady of Sorrows at Cambrai, where in the 1630s Augustine Baker (1575–1641) supervised the copying and translation of vast tracts of devotional, patristic, and theological material.²³ The purpose was partly to preserve these works and partly to nourish the spiritual life of the nuns. More than this, it was a consolidation of the Catholic legacy. Recent

20 Clitheroe, Lancashire, Stonyhurst College Archives, MS A v.4, “R.P. Roberti Southwelli Mart. E Soc. Jesu, Scripta Autographa,” and London, ABSI [Stonyhurst], MS A.v.17. Grateful thanks to Jan Graffius at Stonyhurst and Rebecca Somerset in London for assistance in viewing these manuscripts. For a description, see Davidson, “The Text of this Edition.”

21 The device does not appear, however, on the title page of the edition published in the same year by John Wolfe.

22 Bodleian, MS Poet. e.113. Grateful thanks to the staff of the Rare Books and Manuscripts Reading Room for assistance in viewing this manuscript. The printed section is from the Wolfe edition, and the manuscript book is almost identical, physically, to the Waldegrave ms.

23 Caroline Bowden and James E. Kelly (eds.), *The English Convents in Exile, 1600–1800* (Farnham: 2013); Dorothy L. Latz, “Glow-Worm Light”: *Writings of 17th Century English Recusant Women: From Original Manuscripts* (Salzburg: 1989). See also Caroline Bowden, “Building Libraries in Exile: The English Convents and Their Book Collections in the Seventeenth Century,” *BCH* 32 (2015), 343–82.

scholarship, gathering momentum, has brought into view the richness of this intellectual life, the erudition of the nuns, and the role they played in sustaining the community even in England and Wales through their family ties. In Wales, a similar work of preservation was undertaken by William Dafydd Llywelyn (1525/6–ca. 1606), who copied several recusant texts from the 1580s onward, most notably *Y Lanter Gristnogawl* by Robert Gwyn (fl. 1580).

Print publication of Catholic books was precarious and adventurous. Another book by Gwyn, *Y drych Kristnogawl* (*The Christian Mirror*), an exposition of the Four Last Things, was printed secretly in 1587 in a cave on the Welsh coast.²⁴ The clandestine printing of books was central to the English mission undertaken by the Jesuits Robert Persons (1546–1610) and Edmund Campion (1540–81).²⁵ A secret press, operated by Stephen Brinkley (ca. 1550–85) at a succession of hidden venues, brought out books in defense of “Campion’s Brag” and the new insistence on recusancy, that is, the refusal to attend services in the queen’s church. Campion’s *Rationes decem* was boldly and provocatively distributed at the commencement exercises at the university church in Oxford in June 1581.²⁶ An informal fraternity of young Catholic gentlemen, led by George Gilbert (d. 1583), insinuated books into churches and bookstalls in London. Following Campion’s arrest, Persons escaped to Rouen and almost immediately established a press to pursue the controversies aroused by the mission and to print English translations of works of Counter-Reformation devotion. Richard Rowlands Verstegan (ca. 1550–1640) continued this work in Antwerp, using the presses of Arnout Coninx, and finally the operation was transferred to the press of the English College at Saint-Omer.

The licensed English book trade was naturally wary of printing and distributing explicitly Catholic books, with the notable exception of anti-Jesuit books by secular priests, sponsored by Richard Bancroft, bishop of London (ca. 1544–1610), during the Archpriest Controversy.²⁷ Catholic books were smuggled into England and frequently seized by the authorities, which increased the demand: Persons relished the fact that readers were offering 20 gold

24 Geraint Bowen, *Welsh Recusant Writings* (Cardiff: 1999), 35–39; Bowen edited *Lanter Gristnogawl* as *Gwssanaeth y gwyr newydd* (Cardiff: 1970) and also *Y drych Kristnogawl* (Cardiff: 1996). See James January-McCann, “Robert Gwyn and Robert Persons: Welsh and English Perspectives on Attendance at Anglican Service,” *BCH* 32 (2014), 159–71.

25 On Campion, see Gerard Kilroy, *Edmund Campion: A Scholarly Life* (Farnham, Surrey: 2015); on Persons’s career as controversialist, see Victor Houlston, *Catholic Resistance in Elizabethan England: Robert Persons’s Jesuit Polemic, 1580–1610* (Aldershot: 2007).

26 *Rationes decem quibus fretus, certamen aduersariis obtulit in causa fidei* (Stonor Park: 1581).

27 Gladys Jenkins, “The Archpriest Controversy and the Printers, 1601–1603,” *The Library*, 5th series, 2 (1947), 180–86.

pieces to borrow *Leicester's Commonwealth* for three or four hours.²⁸ Several routes were discovered by the Jesuit lay brother Ralph Emerson (1551–1604) and managed by Persons. But there was also a Latin printing project, targeting the Catholic powers of Europe and the world of learning, to advertise the persecution and drum up support for various kinds of intervention on behalf of the beleaguered community. There was occasion for (perhaps fabricated) alarm over the scale of the infiltration of the English book trade: in June 1595, the heads of Cambridge colleges reported to Archbishop John Whitgift (ca. 1530–1604): “In these times instead of godly and sound writers, and among our stationers ... there are not books more ordinarily bought and sold than popish writers; Jesuits, friars, postill writers, Stapleton, and such like.”²⁹ Catholic books, mainly printed on the Continent with distinctive devices on the title pages, made their way, not only into recusant households, but also into the universities and cathedral closes, awakening the interest of Protestant scholars and divines as well as crypto-Catholics in the academy. Apart from the stimulation of controversy, these books may also be seen as an investment in the restoration of the faith in England under a Catholic or tolerant prince. When Sir Thomas Tresham (1543–1605) made large donations of books to Saint John's College, Oxford, between 1598 and 1603, he may well have done so in the hope that education, especially in such a conservative environment, would bear fruit in Catholic revival.³⁰

2 Works of Devotion

At the center of recusant literary culture was the Bible, an all-pervasive source and presence testifying to the profound scripturalism of recusancy. There was some debate about the advisability of English translation for laypeople, but the Reims-Douai project focused and recentered Bible reading for English Catholics, while William Rainolds's defense challenged Protestant assumptions

28 Persons to Agazzari, 13 December 1584, in Houlston, Crosignani, and McCoog, *Correspondence and Unpublished Papers*, 548–56.

29 Brian Cummings, *The Literary Culture of the Reformation: Grammar and Grace* (2002; repr., Oxford: 2007), 328, quoting from Cambridge, Trinity College, Special Collections, MS B.14.9, fols 17–20.

30 Grateful thanks to Dr Katie McKeogh for ideas and information; see Nicholas Barker and David Quentin, *The Library of Thomas Tresham and Thomas Brudenell* (London: 2006), 119–26 and 469–82.

about the biblical foundations of the Reformed faith.³¹ In the home, the experience of the Bible was auditory and communal rather than individual and silent, and this too gave it greater prominence. But it is the visual appearance of scripture that is so striking in recusant books. The prominence of biblical texts and references can be sampled in the margins of the work by Richard Bristow (1538–81) commonly known as Bristow's "Motives," a popular and much sought after catechetical defense of Catholic doctrine.³²

Devotional texts were conspicuously visual, both in the illustrations on the page and as physical objects. Emblem books, notably the *Partheneia sacra* of Henry Hawkins (ca. 1577–1646), connected the written and spoken word with artifacts.³³ Prayers, hymns, acrostics, and the like functioned virtually as hieroglyphs, and it has been argued that Southwell's lyrics substituted for contraband devotional pictures.³⁴ His verbal pictorialism helped to mitigate the stripping of the altars but also reflected the prevalence of Ignatian modes of prayer, with the emphasis on composition of place and concrete imaginative realization. The Paris publication of *Carmen Deo nostro*, by Richard Crashaw (1612–49), contained pious pictures of a kind that Southwell invoked.³⁵ Again, poetry and music collaborated as staples of recusant piety. Thus Elizabeth Grymeston skillfully interposed stanzas from *Saint Peter's Complaint* between prayers forming a morning meditation and was said to have sung them in household devotions.³⁶

31 William Rainolds, *A Refutation of Sundry Reprehensions, Cauils, and False Sleightes, by which M. Whitaker Laboureth to Deface the Late English Translation, and Catholike Annotations of the New Testament, and the Booke of Discouery of Heretical Corruptions* (Paris: 1583); on the impact of this book, see below.

32 Richard Bristow, *A Briefe Treatise of Diuerse Plaine and Sure Wayes to Finde Out the Truthe in This ... Time of Heresie: Conteyning Sundry Worthy Motiues vnto the Catholike Faith* (Antwerp: 1574).

33 Henry Hawkins, *Partheneia Sacra. Or, The Mysterious and Delicious Garden of the Sacred Parthenes: Symbolically Set Forth and Enriched with Pious Deuises and Emblemes for the Entertainment of Deuout Soules* (Rouen: 1633); Sophie Holroyd, "'Rich Embroidered Churchstufte': The Vestments of Helena Wintour," in Corthell, *Catholic Culture in Early Modern England*, 73–116. See also Jan Graffius (ed.), *Plots and Spangles: The Embroidered Vestments of Helena Wintour: A Catalogue of an Exhibition from the Collections and Archives of the British Jesuit Province, Stonyhurst College, Ushaw College, the Ashmolean Museum and Auckland Castle Trust, Held at Auckland Castle 16th October 2015–11th April 2016* (Stonyhurst, Lancashire: 2015), 50–53.

34 Southwell, *Collected Poems*, 152.

35 *Carmen Deo nostro, Te decet hymnus* [,] *Sacred Poems* (Paris: 1652). On Crashaw, see below "Poetry and Drama."

36 Elizabeth Grymeston, *Miscelanea. Meditations. Memoratiues* (London: 1604), D4v–E4r; Snook, *Women, Reading, and Cultural Politics*, 104.

Within this synesthetic culture there was an insistent demand for private devotional reading matter. It was met by translation, adaptation, and appropriation of Continental spiritual writing, the outpouring of the Catholic Reformation. In Rouen, Robert Persons supervised the translation of works by Luis de Granada (1505–88), a Spanish Dominican: Richard Hopkins (ca. 1546–96) translated two of his works,³⁷ and Persons himself adapted *Guia de Pecadores* (1567) to produce the phenomenally successful *First Booke of the Christian Exercise, appertayning to Resolution* (1582), later renamed *The Christian Directory*. These works invited the faithful to enter on a deeper and more committed Christian life, beginning with “consideration,” which Persons memorably characterized as “the key whiche openethe the doore to the closet of our harte, where all our bookes of accompte doe lye. It is the lookinge glasse, or rather the very eye of our soule.”³⁸ The *Book of Resolution* enabled the reader to experience a version of the first week of the *Spiritual Exercises* of Saint Ignatius of Loyola (1491–1556); later, Persons added a regimen of prayer throughout the week. Southwell’s *Short Rule* proceeded along similar lines, guiding the reader to a settled discipline of religious practice.³⁹ The boldest example of this formation of lay spirituality was George Gilbert’s Catholic Association of young men who supported the English mission practically with horses, clothes, provender, and escorts. They lived together, somewhat riskily, in a house in London, loosely following a rule of life derived from a book by the Jesuit Gaspar Loarte (1498–1578), translated by one of their number, Stephen Brinkley.⁴⁰

Calls to the devout life proliferated. A Protestant version of Persons’s *Book of Resolution*, “perused” by Edmund Bunny (1540–1618) under the title *A Booke of Christian Exercise appertaining to Resolution* (London: 1584), went through countless reprintings, reminding us how fluid were the boundaries between

37 *Of Prayer, and Meditation*, trans. Richard Hopkins (Rouen: 1582) and *A Memoriall of a Christian Life*, trans. Hopkins (Rouen: 1586).

38 Robert Persons, *The Christian Directory* (1582): *The First Booke of the Christian Exercise, appertayning to Resolution*, ed. Victor Houlston (Leiden: 1998), 17 and 393–94 (derivations from Granada).

39 *A Short Rule of a Good Life* (London: Garnet’s secret press, 1602). On the development of a form of lay domestic monasticism, and Protestant reformulations in response, see Monta, “Uncommon Prayer.”

40 *The Exercise of a Christian Life: Written in Italian by the Reuerend Father Gaspar Loarte D. of Diuinitie, of the Societie of Iesus; and Newly Translated into Englishe, by [Stephen Brinkley]* (London: 1579); see Jessie Childs, *God’s Traitors: Terror and Faith in Elizabethan England* (London: 2014), 48–53.

adherents of the Catholic and the Reformed traditions.⁴¹ Most Protestants were at most a generation from Catholic practice, so that Catholic writers wrote in the confidence that any sincere follower of the path of faith would eventually find a way to Rome.⁴²

The predominantly Ignatian character of Elizabethan devotional texts, which promoted a life of active piety and particularly suited a people under hostile pressure, gradually came to be replaced in the 17th century by Salesian and Benedictine writings.⁴³ Saint Francis de Sales (1567–1622) was an attractive alternative to Saint Ignatius in the view of secular priests who were locked in rivalry with the Jesuits. His *Introduction to a Devout Life* (1609) was first translated into English by John Yaxley in 1613 and published in Douai.⁴⁴ The revival of the Benedictine order was also partially a reaction against the Jesuits, with disaffected seminarians at Jesuit colleges defiantly choosing the Benedictine way. The prime mover in the production of recusant texts in a more contemplative mode was Augustine Baker, who after a career as a country lawyer experienced a dramatic conversion, crafted the reinstitution of the English Benedictines, and became spiritual director of the nuns at Cambrai. There he inspired a program of making the classics of late-medieval mysticism accessible to the nuns, and, through them, to a wider network of Catholic readers. Baker's own writings were repetitive and diffuse, but he was fortunate in his editor, Serenus Cressy (ca. 1605–74), who constructed *Sancta Sophia* after Baker's death. This eloquent digest became the most influential English spiritual handbook of the day and has continued to be reprinted and actively applied up to the present in the cultivation of the inner life.⁴⁵

41 Brad S. Gregory, "The 'True and Zealouse Service of God': Robert Parsons, Edmund Bunny, and *The First Book of the Christian Exercise*," *JEH* 45 (1994), 238–68.

42 Persons, *The Christian Directory*, ed. Houliston, 5–7; Augustine Baker, *Sancta Sophia; or, Directions for the Prayer of Contemplation* (Douai: 1657), 156.

43 Aidan Bellenger, "Augustine Baker in His Recusant and Benedictine Context," in Michael Woodward (ed.), *That Mysterious Man: Essays on Augustine Baker, O.S.B., 1575–1641* (Abergavenny: 2001), 42–56, at 48.

44 Mary Hardy, "The Seventeenth-Century English and Scottish Reception of Francis de Sales' *An Introduction to a Devout Life*," *BCH* 33 (2016), 228–58.

45 *Sancta Sophia, or, Directions for the Prayer of Contemplation*, ed. Serenus Cressy (Douai: 1657). Cf. James E. Kelly, "Political Mysticism: Augustine Baker, the Spiritual Formation of Missionaries and the Catholic Reformation in England," *JEH* (2020), 1–23, doi:10.1017/S0022046920000019, who discusses the polemical aspect of Baker's late manuscript "Treatise of the English Mission" (1635–36), in the context of the Approbation Controversy. See also Liam P. Temple, "The Mysticism of Augustine Baker, OSB: A Reconsideration," *Reformation and Renaissance Review* 19 (2017), 213–30, who argues that Baker was a disruptive influence in the convents.

Translation features strongly in English Catholic devotional writing. It meant a great deal more than importing foreign texts. Thomas More died on the Feast of the Translation of Saint Thomas of Canterbury: he rejoiced in it, and his link with Becket and the apostle Saint Thomas of India became a commonplace, celebrated by Thomas Stapleton (1535–98) in his *Tres Thomae* (Douai: 1588). Translation was analogous to the preservation of relics: it enriched the devotion of the faithful as a sign of continuity with the past and with the Continent.⁴⁶ The Reims-Douai translation of the Bible enabled recusants to immerse themselves in scripture yet keep their distance from Protestant culture. Translations of Loarte, Granada, and Francis de Sales reinforced the sense of belonging to the Catholic Reformation. Baker and his nuns revived the late medieval mystical tradition. Nuns such as Barbara Constable (1617–84) put a great deal of energy into translation.⁴⁷ Under the extreme pressure of persecution, suspicion, and exile, translation fortified authors and readers with the intellectual life of the church militant.

3 Of Saints and Martyrs

The native tradition of life writing and martyrology was infused by the legend of Thomas More and his household. *The Workes of Sir Thomas More Knyght, sometyme Lord Chauncellour of England*, published in black letter in 1557, was a staple of pious reading;⁴⁸ indeed, the prayer he composed after being condemned to death in 1535 was frequently appended to other devotional works.⁴⁹ His family's literary output was extraordinary, threading through the imaginative world of early modern Catholicism: his daughter Margaret Roper (1505–44) translated a treatise of Desiderius Erasmus (1466–1536), *A Devoute Treatise upon the Paternoster* (1525), and her husband William Roper (ca. 1495–1578) wrote the best-known biography, *The Mirrour of Vertue in Worldly Greatnes, or,*

46 Marotti, *Religious Ideology and Cultural Fantasy*, 27–31.

47 Heather Wolfe, "Dame Barbara Constable: Catholic Antiquarian, Advisor, and Closet Missionary," in Corthell, *Catholic Culture in Early Modern England*, 158–88; Jaime Goodrich, "Translating Mary Percy: Authorship and Authority among the Brussels Benedictines," in Bowden and Kelly, *English Convents in Exile*, 109–22. See also Goodrich, *Faithful Translators: Authorship, Gender, and Religion in Early Modern England* (Evanston, Ill.: 2014); and Elizabeth Ferguson, "Veneration, Translation and Reform: The *Lives* of Saints and the English Catholic Community, c. 1600–1642," *BCH* 32 (2014), 37–65.

48 Katherine Forsyth, "'Worthy to be hadde and redde of euerye Englishe man': The Private, Public and Political Contexts of Thomas More's English *Workes*," *BCH* 34 (2018), 247–72.

49 Bowen, *Welsh Recusant Writings*, 38–39.

The Lyfe of Syr Thomas More Knyght, Sometime Lo. Chancellour of England, first printed in Saint-Omer in 1626. More's brother-in-law John Rastell (ca. 1475–1536) and his son William (1508–65) were influential printers. The epigrammatist and playwright John Heywood (ca. 1497–1578) was married to More's niece; in turn, his son Jasper Heywood (1535–98), later superior of the Jesuits in England, translated the plays of Seneca. Prioress Margaret Clement (d. 1612), daughter of More's adopted daughter Margaret Giggs Clement, flourished in Louvain, and his great-granddaughter Gertrude More (1606–33) in Cambrai.

Recusant biography developed as a genre through conflict and controversy. Building on the ever-popular lives of the saints and more recent material such as the autobiography of Saint Teresa of Ávila (1515–82), many contemporary biographies were of notable Catholic women: Margaret Clitherow (1552/3–86), Lady Magdalen Dacre, Viscountess Montagu (1538–1608), Abbess Lucy Knatchbull of Ghent (1584–1629), Margaret Clement, Gertrude More, and Elizabeth Cary, among many.⁵⁰ Most of these were written by men and conformed to some extent to the conventions of hagiography; the convert courtier Sir Tobie Matthew (1577–1655), retiring to Ghent, translated Saint Teresa's autobiography, *The Flaming Hart* (Antwerp: 1642), which resounded through his account of the life of the local abbess, Lucy Knatchbull. Other biographies point to a refashioning and rebuilding of the faith. In its recognition of faults, quirks, and limitations, *The Lady Falkland, Her Life*, written by one of Elizabeth Cary's daughters, chimed with Gertrude More's apology for the willingness of her spiritual director, Augustine Baker, to accommodate personality rather than rely on inflexible rules of spiritual direction. More's "Apology for herself and her spiritual Guide," warding off a potentially punitive investigation, is a striking example of women affirming their independence.⁵¹ Again, the story of

50 John Mush, *Trewe Reporte of the Lyfe and Marterdome of Mrs Margaret Clitherowe* (unpublished, ca. 1586), abridged as *An Abstracte of the Life and Martirdome of Mistres Margaret Clitherow* (Mechelen: 1619); Richard Smith, *The Life of the Honourable and Vertuous Lady Magdalen Viscountesse Montague* (Saint-Omer: 1627); Elizabeth Shirley, *Life of Margaret Clement* (unpublished, after 1612); *The Lady Falkland, Her Life*, attributed to Lucy Magdalena Cary (unpublished, ca. 1645); Tobie Matthew, *Life of Lady Lucy Knatchbull* (unpublished, 1651); Augustine Baker, *The Inner Life of Dame Gertrude More* (unpublished, ca. 1657). See also Frances E. Dolan, "Reading, Work, and Catholic Women's Biographies," *ELR* 33 (2003), 328–57; Nicky Hallett, introduction to *Life Writing I*, vol. 3: *English Convents in Exile, 1600–1800*, ed. Caroline Bowden (London: 2012).

51 "This Devout Souls Advertisement to the Reader," in *The Spiritual Exercises of the most Vertuous and Religious Dame Gertrude More*, ed. Augustine Baker (Paris: 1658), 7–112; see Arthur F. Marotti, "Saintry Idiocy and Contemplative Empowerment: The Example of Dame Gertrude More," in Sara S. Poor and Nigel Smith (eds), *Mysticism and Reform, 1400–1750* (Notre Dame, Ind.: 2015), 151–76.

Mary Ward – widely circulated in letters and reports of her “galloping girls” – is one of attachment to tradition combined with a creative yearning for new kinds of heroic sacrifice.⁵²

Contemporary hagiography participated in the internal conflicts in English Catholicism: John Mush (1552–1612) wrote his *Trewe Reporte of the Lyfe and Marterdome of Mrs Margaret Clitherowe* to shame conformists by commending her recusant rule of life.⁵³ Richard Smith's description of Lady Magdalen's life of extraordinary piety appears to have been associated with the seculars' promotion of the cause of replacing the archpriest hierarchy with true episcopal oversight.⁵⁴

Martyrology had a controversial use, reinforcing the Roman church's claim to be the true descendant of the apostolic church and condemning the persecution in England. A popular broadsheet from midcentury depicted the martyrdom of the Carthusians under Henry VIII and linked them iconographically with the early martyrs.⁵⁵ The accounts of life in the catacombs in Rome, newly and sensationally discovered in July 1578, cemented the connection.⁵⁶ But chiefly martyrology inspired emulation. The seminaries in Rome and Douai-Reims, and later in Saint-Omer, Valladolid, and Seville, became the center of an intense cult of martyrdom. George Gilbert sponsored a sensational series of murals at the English College, Rome, which were publicized by Richard Verstegan's engravings, *Theatrum crudelitatum haereticorum nostri temporis* (Antwerp: 1587).⁵⁷ William (later Cardinal) Allen (1532–94), founder and first president of Douai, compiled the English narratives of the martyrdom of Campion and his fellows while Robert Southwell collected reports in the annual letters of the English College in Rome.⁵⁸

52 Latz, *Glow-Worm Light*, 150–71.

53 Peter Lake and Michael Questier, *The Trials of Margaret Clitherow: Persecution, Martyrdom and the Politics of Sanctity in Elizabethan England* (London: 2011).

54 Questier, *Catholicism and Community*, 344–45.

55 See Anne Dillon, *Michelangelo and the English Martyrs* (Farnham: 2012).

56 Childs, *God's Traitors*, 50–51, citing an appendix on the catacomb of Saint Priscilla, in Stephen Brinkley's translation of Loarte, *The Exercise of a Christian Life*, fols. 222–24.

57 See Anne Dillon, *The Construction of Martyrdom in the English Catholic Community, 1535–1603* (Aldershot: 2003).

58 William Allen, *A Briefe Historie of the Glorious Martyrdom of xij Reverend Priests* (Reims: 1582); Robert Persons, *De persecutione Anglicana, epistola* (Rouen: 1581), English translation *An Epistle of the Persecution of Catholicikes in England* (Rouen: 1582); *Annuae litterae Societatis Iesu anni MDLXXXIII* (Rome: 1585), 16–23; *Annuae litterae Societatis Iesu anni MDLXIV* (Rome: 1586), 14–19. The annual letters were reports from various provinces of the Society of Jesus, published in Latin for the information and edification of Jesuits throughout the world. Reports on the English mission were very sporadic until after 1600, but there were regular annual reports from the English College, Rome.

Martyrology was variously oriented to three discrete readerships - seminar-ians, the Society of Jesus at large, and the general reading public – but there was a continuity of purpose: the firming of resolution.⁵⁹ Gradually, contemporary English Catholic martyrology developed into a canon represented by John Gibbons's compendium, the *Concertatio ecclesiae Catholicae in Anglia aduersus Caluinopapistas et Puritanos sub Elizabetha Regina* (Trier: 1583, and many times reprinted and expanded). It was further publicized with a Spanish compilation by Diego de Yepes, *Historia particular de la persecución de Inglaterra* (Madrid: 1599). The contemporary English martyrs became a pattern for European admiration while forging a recusant cult of heroic suffering.

The intense and uplifting traditions of martyrology and hagiography were corroborated by stories of homecoming: greatly consoling to the community at large, whether in Britain or in exile. There was, for instance, the negative way of Elizabeth Cary, whose path to Rome began with resistance to John Calvin and then dissatisfaction with Richard Hooker, whom she found tantalizing.⁶⁰ Two celebrated conversions were those of William Alabaster (1567–1640) and Tobie Matthew, both of whom wrote personal accounts of their journey.⁶¹ Matthew was converted by reading the preface to an *apologia* for the Reims-Douai translation of the New Testament by William Rainolds (ca. 1544–94), one of two brothers who were said to have converted each other in argument and exchanged faiths. Rainolds's calm, measured conspectus of the Reformation debates, setting out the strength of the Roman position, was echoed during the next reign by Humphrey Leech, who commended Catholic truth to James I, confident that the king, too, would come home to the faith, supported by a great cloud of witnesses, from scripture to the medieval doctors.⁶²

59 For a recent treatment of the martyr cult and memory, see Alexandra Walsham, "Relics, Writing, and Memory in the English Counter-Reformation: Thomas Maxfield and His Afterlives," *BCH* 34 (2018): 77–105.

60 Dolan, "Reading, Work, and Catholic Women's Biographies," 346–55.

61 "Alabaster's Conversion" (unpublished, 1598); Dana Sutton, introduction to *Unpublished Works by William Alabaster (1568–1640)* (Salzburg: 1997), xv–xxx; Tobie Matthew, *A True Historicall Relation of the Conversion of Sir Tobie Matthew to the Catholic Faith* (1655), now lost; remnants ed. A.H. Matthew (London: 1904). On these conversions, see Marotti, *Religious Ideology and Cultural Fantasy*, 98–119.

62 For Rainolds's *Refutation of Sundry Reprehensions*, see above "Works of Devotion." Humphrey Leech, *Dutifull and Respective Considerations ... in Matters of Religion* (Saint-Omer: 1609); see also Francis Walsingham, *A Search Made into Matters of Religion* (Saint-Omer: 1609).

4 History

The standard Catholic demand of the Protestants, "Where was your church before Luther?,"⁶³ was writ large in historiography such as the monumental translation of Bede by Thomas Stapleton, *The History of the Church of Englande* (Antwerp: 1565). But the Roman church's historical credentials inevitably got tangled up in the pseudomartyr debate because of the prominence of John Foxe's *Actes and Monuments*, revised and reprinted in 1563, 1570, 1576, and 1583,⁶⁴ which sought both to trace the origins of the English Protestant church and to celebrate its martyrs. Nicholas Harpsfield (1519–75) developed a highly effective and provocative critique of the claims of Foxe's martyrs,⁶⁵ and Robert Persons devoted the first part of *A Treatise of Three Conversions of England* (1603–04) to a historical account of England's debt to the papacy. The second part demolished the mock calendar of saints and martyrs attached to some editions of Foxe. The work was widely read, appearing eventually in Edward Gibbon's library.⁶⁶

A second strand of historiography was the writing of the English schism.⁶⁷ For Catholics, this was the history of their own times, the story of their own experience and that of their immediate ancestors. It was not primarily designed to comfort or console them, however, but to call Catholic Europe to arms. Nicholas Sander (ca. 1530–81) was advising the papacy on English affairs when he wrote *De origine ac progressu schismatis Anglicani*. Soon he was to set off on an ill-advised and disastrous invasion of Ireland, but he left the manuscript behind, and it was taken up by William Allen and Persons at the height of expectations of a Guise enterprise to liberate English Catholics. First

63 S.J. Barnett, "Where Was Your Church before Luther? Claims for the Antiquity of Protestantism Examined," *CH* 68 (1999), 14–41.

64 Elizabeth Evenden and Thomas S. Freeman, *Religion and the Book in Early Modern England: The Making of John Foxe's "Book of Martyrs"* (Cambridge, Eng.: 2011); see also Susannah Brietz Monta, *Martyrdom and Literature in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, Eng.: 2005).

65 Nicholas Harpsfield, "Dialogue 6," in *Dialogi sex contra summi pontificatus, monasticae vitae, sanctorum, sacrarum imaginum oppugnatores, et pseudomartyres* (Antwerp: 1566); Robert Persons, *An Examen of the Calendar or Catalogue of Protestant Saints, Martyrs and Confessors, Divided by John Fox*, in vols 2 and 3 of Persons, *A Treatise of Three Conversions of England from Paganisme to Christian Religion*, 3 vols (Saint-Omer: 1603–04).

66 Geoffrey Keynes (ed.), *The Library of Edward Gibbon: A Catalogue*, 2nd ed. (London: 1980), 214. On the controversy, see Milward, *Religious Controversies of the Elizabethan Age*, 138–45.

67 See Christopher Highley, *Catholics Writing the Nation in Early Modern Britain and Ireland* (Oxford: 2008).

they prevailed upon Edward Rishton (1550–85), newly arrived in France from imprisonment in the Tower, to edit and complete it; then, arriving in Rome in late 1585, they set to work to flesh it out themselves. Successive editions and adaptations, in the original Latin and then in French, German, Spanish, and Italian, reinforced the demand for intervention.⁶⁸ After the failure of the Armada, and the further republication of Foxe in 1596, Persons prepared his Catholic version of the history of the church in England, which he provocatively entitled *Certamen ecclesiae Anglicanae*: the Struggle. This was intended, among other things, to lay the foundation for national self-understanding after the death of Elizabeth and the restoration of the faith.⁶⁹

English secular history, too, gained a polemical edge. Notoriously, Sir Francis Englefield, Allen, and Persons collaborated in the writing of *A Conference about the Next Succession to the Crowne of England*, under the pseudonym of R. Doleman. Its publication in Antwerp was delayed until early 1595, when it caused a sensation, and acute embarrassment to Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex, to whom it was dedicated. Apart from canvassing the various claims to the succession, the work offered a history of the monarchy to show the fortunes of kings who broke their contract with the English church and people. Similarly, in his equally notorious *Philopater* (1592),⁷⁰ Persons dwelt on the evil counsellors of Edward II in his attack on the lord treasurer, William Cecil. Elizabeth Cary took up the theme immediately after her conversion 30 years later, in *The History of the Life, Reign, and Death of Edward II, King of England and Lord of Ireland: With the Rise and Fall of his Great Favourites, Gaveston*

68 Nicholas Sander, *De origine ac progressu schismatis Anglicani*, ed. Edward Rishton (Cologne, vere Reims: 1585), ... *Libri tres, nunc iterum locupletius & castigatius editi*, ed. William Allen and Robert Persons (Rome: 1586); French translation 1587; German translation 1594; Spanish adaptation by Pedro de Ribadeneyra, *Historia ecclesiastica del scisma del reyno de Inglaterra* (Antwerp, Madrid, Barcelona, Valencia, and Zaragoza: 1588); Italian adaptation by Girolamo Pollini, *L'istoria ecclesiastica della rivoluzion d'Inghilterra* (Rome: 1594). The English translation by David Lewis, *The Rise and Growth of the English Schism* (London: 1877), relates to the first edition by Rishton. For Ribadeneyra's adaptation, see Spencer J. Weinreich (ed. and trans.), *Pedro de Ribadeneyra's "Ecclesiastical History of the Schism of the Kingdom of England": A Spanish Jesuit's History of the English Reformation* (Leiden: 2017).

69 Stonyhurst College Archives, MS A.11.12–15. See Joseph Simons, *Certamen ecclesiae Anglicanae: A Study of an Unpublished Manuscript* (Assen: 1965). Grateful thanks to Jan Graffius, curator, for assistance in viewing this manuscript.

70 Robert Persons [Andreas Philopater, pseud.], *Elizabethae Angliae Reginae haeresim Caluinianum propugnantis, saeuissimum in Catholicos sui regni edictum [...]* cum responsione (Antwerp: 1592).

and the Spencers, eventually published in 1680.⁷¹ William Habington's *Historie of Edward IV* (1640) also invited readers to apply history to present political decisions. In all this, the Catholic historians were following the French lead in applying the history of kings to political resistance theory.⁷² But if historiography was appropriated here for political education, it could also play a part in moral formation. Thomas Lodge's translation of *The Famous and Memorable Workes of Josephus* (1602), for instance, waved no flags, but it encouraged readers to examine their consciences by the exercise of the historical imagination.⁷³

5 Religious Controversy

If More was the guiding spirit of recusant history, John Fisher's ghost presided over theology.⁷⁴ Catholic apologists continued to quarry his works for a century, producing an impressive corpus of controversy, especially after the first exodus of recusant scholars in the 1560s and the creation of a "new Oxford" in Louvain. John Jewel (1522–71), bishop of Salisbury, challenged his opponents to find any support for Roman teaching, especially on the Mass, from the apostolic church, the church fathers, or the general councils. Three former fellows of New College, Oxford, Thomas Harding (1516–72), Thomas Stapleton, and Nicholas Sander, responded with a formidable series both of English and Latin works. These latter drew the debate into the international arena where English Protestant doctrine and defense were at a distinct disadvantage.⁷⁵ Indeed, Latin controversy remained the staple of academic discourse for all shades of confessional attachment among English readers, overshadowed by the figure

71 A shorter version, *The History of the Most Unfortunate Prince King Edward II*, was published in the same year. On the connection with the contemporary royal favorite Buckingham, see Curtis Perry, "Royal Fever" and "The Giddy Commons": Cary's *History of the Life, Reign, and Death of Edward II* and the Buckingham Phenomenon," in Wolfe, *The Literary Career and Legacy of Elizabeth Cary*, 73–88.

72 Lisa Ferraro Parmelee, *Good Newes from Fraunce: French Anti-League Propaganda in Late Elizabethan England* (Woodbridge: 1996).

73 Erin E. Kelly, "Jewish History, Catholic Argument: Thomas Lodge's *Workes of Josephus* as a Catholic Text," *SCJ* 34 (2003), 993–1010; Alison Shell, "Elizabeth Cary's Historical Conscience: *The Tragedy of Mariam* and Thomas Lodge's *Josephus*," in Wolfe, *Literary Career and Legacy of Elizabeth Cary*, 52–67.

74 Eamon Duffy, *Saints, Sacrilege and Sedition: Religion and Conflict in the Tudor Reformations* (2012; repr., London: 2014), 133–37.

75 Southern, *Elizabethan Recusant Prose*, 59–118; Milward, *Religious Controversies of the Elizabethan Age*, 1–24. See also Marvin R. O'Connell, *Thomas Stapleton and the Counter Reformation* (New Haven: 1964).

of the Jesuit Cardinal Robert Bellarmine, who taught many of the English seminarians at the Roman College, and whose predominance was established by his two volumes of *Disputationes* [...] *De controuersiis Christianae fidei, aduersus huius temporis hæreticos* (Ingolstadt: 1586–88), several times augmented and reprinted.

English Catholic polemic gained a sharper political edge in a barrage of works emerging from the Persons/Allen circle after the launch of the Jesuit mission to England in 1580. The defense of the English mission and the seminaries turned into an assault on the English government, to “fight wth paper & pennes.”⁷⁶ “Campion’s Brag” laid down the gauntlet with its ringing challenge, “never to despair your recovery, while we have a man left to enjoy your Tyburn, or to be racked with your torments, or to be consumed with your prisons.”⁷⁷ Persons reinforced the indictment with *De persecutione Anglicana* (1581/2), widely published throughout Europe and brought to graphic life by Verstegan’s *Theatrum*, mentioned above. The debate over the rights and wrongs of the persecution began with William Cecil’s *Execution of Justice in England for Maintenance of Publique and Christian Peace* (London: 1583), countered by William Allen’s *True, Modest and Sincere Defence of English Catholiques that Suffer for their Faith* (Rouen: 1584).⁷⁸ Publication both in English and Latin kept the English authorities on the defensive and appealed to the Catholic princes and potentates to come to the rescue.

Satire was a major weapon of Catholic polemic, especially prominent in the writings of Robert Persons. He was credited with the infamous *Leicester’s Commonwealth* (1584), which gained legendary popularity by depicting Robert Dudley, 1st Earl of Leicester as the focus of Machiavellian intrigue.⁷⁹ Lord Treasurer William Cecil was his target in the *Philopater* (1592) as the presumed author of the post-Armada Proclamation against Jesuits and Seminary Priests (1591); Richard Verstegan reinforced Persons’s Latin assault with two English tracts published in Antwerp in 1592, shifting the blame for England’s troubles onto the ruling clique: *A Declaration of the True Causes of the Great Troubles, Presupposed to be Intended Against the Realm of England* and *An Advertisement*

76 Sir Francis Englefield to unknown addressee, 27 February 1585, London, PRO/TNA, SP 53/15 fol. 42.

77 Edmund Campion, “A Letter to the Privy Council (1580),” in Miola, *Early Modern Catholicism*, 64–66, at 66.

78 See Stephen Alford, *The Watchers: A Secret History of the Reign of Elizabeth I* (2012; repr., London: 2013), 180–84.

79 *The Copie of a Leter, Wryten by a Master of Arte of Cambrige to his Friend in London* (Rouen: 1584), known as *Parsons Greencoat*; modern edition by D.C. Peck (Athens, Ohio: 1985).

Written to a Secretarie of my L. Treasurers of Ingland, by an Inglishe Intelligencer as he Passed through Germanie towards Italie. Towards the turn of the century, Persons aimed a vicious sustained attack, first at Sir Francis Hastings and then Matthew Sutcliffe, for warning Englishmen against the treacherous papists.⁸⁰

These lively works comforted and alarmed domestic Catholics in almost equal measure. After the death of Allen in 1594, the fault lines between secular clergy and Jesuits, and their supporters, began to widen. This was largely connected with the question of loyalism and the succession. The Archpriest Controversy generated a spate of government-sponsored vilification of Persons and the Jesuits. This did not, it seems, diminish Persons's influence as a writer, for his works from 1603 to 1610 remained a dominant presence on the polemical scene. But the anti-Jesuit party did present a new vision of Catholic survival in a Protestant country. Its influence extended through a network of Catholic families and their priests,⁸¹ and it anticipated the Salesian turn in recusant spirituality. It could be argued, indeed, that the character of domestic Catholic writing under the Stuarts was chiefly inflected by the seculars' reorientation of recusant political culture.

The debate about the new Oath of Allegiance, following the Gunpowder Plot, went international in the early 17th century because it trenched on papal rights.⁸² It also raised, in a particularly acute way, the question of accommodating two religions in one country. The French cardinal Jacques Davy du Perron (1556–1618) debated the topic with the Huguenot champion Philippe de Mornay (1549–1623) at Fontainebleau in 1600,⁸³ and later challenged James I on the oath. In the 1630s, Elizabeth Cary made her own translation of Perron, *The Reply of the Most Illustrious Cardinall of Perron, to the Answere of the Most Excellent King of Great Britaine* (1630), in an attempt to consolidate the Catholic claim to recognition and comprehension within the realm. It was rumored that the books were burnt on arrival from Douai.⁸⁴

80 Robert Persons, *A Temperate Ward-word, to the Turbulent and Seditious Wach-word of Sir Francis Hastings Knight* (Antwerp: 1599); *The Warn-word to Sir Francis Hastings Wast-word* (Antwerp: 1602).

81 Questier, *Catholicism and Community*.

82 See Anthony Milton, *Catholic and Reformed: The Roman and Protestant Churches in English Protestant Thought, 1600–1640* (Cambridge, Eng.: 1995), 255–63; Milward, *Religious Controversies of the Jacobean Age*, 89–94.

83 Robert Persons, *A Defence of a Certaine Triall, Made Before the King of France [...] Betweene Monsieur Peron [...] and Monsieur Plessis Mornay* (1601), appended to vol. 2 of *A Treatise of Three Conversions* (1603).

84 See Karen L. Nelson, "‘To Informe Thee Aright’: Translating Du Perron for English Religious Debates," in Wolfe, *Literary Career and Legacy of Elizabeth Cary*, 147–63.

6 Poetry and Drama

To analyze what in a narrower sense might be called the literary output of English Catholicism requires reflection on its role in community building, involving a particularly intimate compact between writer and reader. The loss of the sacraments in the English schism energized the written word, giving devotional and liturgical texts and artifacts a layered richness of meaning that we normally associate with literary texts and conferring on literary texts a special urgency and formational character. Under these circumstances we cannot isolate literary texts *per se*, and it would be more natural to distribute the verse and drama among the categories already discussed. Nonetheless, literary form enhances the presentation of early modern sensibilities in a particularly concentrated way.

An important consequence of the recent explosion of early modern Catholic studies is a reevaluation of Catholic authors within the literary arena. More immediately than their Protestant contemporaries, they were linked with the baroque authors and artists of Europe. The scale of exilic experience and the power of the Jesuit mission ensured that the Catholic literary imagination in England and Wales was nourished in a particularly fruitful way. Hence, Catholic authors need not be read as a minority interest group, suppressed and censored, so much as a bridge between Europe and the belated English literary Renaissance. Once we recognize that their works faced three ways – addressed in divers measures to the English Catholic community, European Christian culture, and the English book trade – we can review the question that has tended to dominate the literary appreciation of the canon of Catholic poets from Southwell to Crashaw: the interplay of native and Continental elements.⁸⁵

Ben Jonson's role as a Catholic poet – he professed Roman Catholicism from 1598 to 1610⁸⁶ – is hard to define. As the English Horace, he forged the plain style (supposedly native) that is often contrasted with the so-called metaphysical (supposedly Continental). He also absorbed common speech into his plays.

85 The anthology by Louise Imogen Guiney, *Recusant Poets: With a Selection from Their Work*, vol. 1: *Saint Thomas More to Ben Jonson* (London: 1938), is still essential reading; vol. 2 survives in manuscript at Holy Cross College, Worcester, Mass. See R.V. Young, *Doctrine and Devotion in 17th-Century Poetry* (Woodbridge: 2000), responding to Louis L. Martz, *The Poetry of Meditation* (New Haven: 1954) and Barbara Kiefer Lewalski, *Protestant Poetics and the Seventeenth-Century Religious Lyric* (Princeton: 1979).

86 Robert S. Miola, "Ben Jonson, Catholic Poet," *Renaissance and Reformation* 25 (2001), 101–16.

Yet if we accept Peter Davidson's definition of the baroque as a common Latin culture manifesting itself in various ways throughout Europe,⁸⁷ we may regard Jonson's meticulously honed classicism as part of that tradition. The connection was reinforced by James I's instructing him to translate the Scotsman John Barclay's romance *Argenis*, one of the most popular and influential works on the literary scene in Jacobean England.⁸⁸ This was an intervention that should loom as large in literary history as James's request that John Donne should be ordained, because it underlines the importance and commonality of Latin culture. Latin verse is commonly relegated to appendices or special sections of modern editions of English Renaissance authors, yet this was the corpus in which the young John Milton, for instance, was most invested. It was a system in which all the major poets of Europe participated and was largely influenced by Jesuit poetics,⁸⁹ whatever the religion of the individual poet. Thus, the more conspicuously baroque features of Southwell and Crashaw are not entirely alien to the Jonsonian manner.

The great achievement of English Catholic poets of the Reformation era was the restoration of devotional verse to the public sphere. Without Southwell, Constable, Alabaster, and Jonson, there could have been no Donne or George Herbert. They kept open and clean the lines of communication with the devotional energy of the Catholic Reformation in Europe. But there was a contradiction. Contemporary Spanish and Italian spirituality was exuberant, flamboyant, uninhibited in its quest for *meraviglia*. English Catholic poetry was secretive, furtive, or disguised. Anne Sweeney has described Southwell's poems as moving through channels secretly like a tench keeping clear of the pike.⁹⁰ When they surfaced in print, they were camouflaged. The Catholicism in Jonson's lyrics was subdued. Henry Constable's sonnet sequence *Diana* was published in 1592 with a printer's device on the title page bearing Mary Tudor's *impresa*, "Truth is the daughter of time," as if to signal his conversion covertly.⁹¹

87 Peter Davidson, *The Universal Baroque* (Manchester: 2007).

88 Ian Donaldson, *Ben Jonson: A Life* (Oxford: 2011), 369–70; John Barclay, *Argenis* (Paris: 1621); *Barclay his Argenis: Or, The Loves of Poliarchus and Argenis*, trans. Kingsmill Long (London: 1625); see also Paul Turner (trans.), *Euphormio's Satyricon: Euphormionis Satyricon by John Barclay* (London: 1954).

89 See Anthony D. Cousins, *The Catholic Religious Poets from Southwell to Crashaw: A Critical Study* (London: 1991).

90 Anne Sweeney, introduction to Southwell, *Collected Poems*, xiii, referring to "Scorne not the Least."

91 "Tempore patet occulta veritas," Henry Constable, *Diana: The Praises of his Mistres, in Certaine Sweete Sonnets* (London: 1592, 1594); see William Camden, *Remains* (1605), 164. Constable (1562–1613) became openly Catholic on arrival in France in 1591, and his

The prolific author Thomas Lodge (1558–1625) kept his allegiance quiet until he left for Avignon in 1596 to study medicine. In that year he published a prose piece, *Prosopopeia [...] the Teares of Marie*, as a literary declaration of faith.⁹² In the same year, Anthony Copley's reinvention of Spenser's epic mode in *A Fig for Fortune* signals its Catholicism quietly with its dedication to Montague.⁹³ The full expression of Richard Crashaw's art depended on foreign publication: a comparison between the 1648 London edition of *Steps to the Temple, Sacred Poems. With the Delights of the Muses* and the 1652 Paris edition of *Carmen Deo Nostro, Te Decet Hymnus. Sacred Poems, Collected, Corrected, Augmented* shows the relative restraint of the one, where he is presented as a second Herbert, and the flamboyant pictorialism of the other.⁹⁴ The baroque is not to be sought, then, only in the style, in the paradoxical and conceited, the strain of idea against form. It can be detected in secret, in the function of the poems within an embattled community. The manuscripts of the poems circulated like objects of devotion, even as relics. The poems were emblematic or hieroglyphic or allegorical in several different ways: as physical objects, as cryptic signs of faith, and as embodiments and vessels of specific emblematic formulations.

The covert Catholicism of many of these poems points to their role in mediating the relationship between Catholic and Protestant. Protestants could read and admire and be moved by them. Inclusiveness helped to create and sustain that middle ground that Catholics believed to belong to Rome – to reclaim the common reader for the old faith. Perhaps the best example of this is Southwell's hugely popular *Saint Peters Complaynt*. Protestants, recusants, and church papists could all identify with the searing theme of betrayal, whatever they might think of Saint Peter as the first pope.

Recusant poems communicate the life of faith, partly by recreating devotions lost or impaired in the schism, but conspicuously reinvented in Christendom at large. They have a kind of impersonality, representing experiences available

"Spiritual Sonnets," composed about 1593, remained in manuscript. See Joan Grundy, introduction to *The Poems of Henry Constable* (Liverpool: 1960).

92 See Eliane Cuvelier, *Thomas Lodge: Témoin de son temps (c.1558–1625)* (Paris: 1984) and Arthur F. Kinney, "'O Vita! Misero Longa, Foelici Brevis': Thomas Lodge's Struggle for Felicity," in his *Humanist Poetics: Thought, Rhetoric, and Fiction in Sixteenth-Century England* (Amherst, Mass.: 1986), 363–423 for contrasting views on Lodge's Catholicism.

93 *A Fig for Fortune by Anthony Copley: A Catholic Response to The Faerie Queene*, ed. Susannah Brietz Monta (Manchester, 2016).

94 The London publication is purposefully linked to Herbert, both in the simplicity of the engraved title page and the claim, in the publisher's preface to the reader, "Here's Herbert's second, but equal!" (sig. Azv).

to all, as hymns do, but they are marked by a personal tone of “affective piety.”⁹⁵ The latter can be attributed to the prevalence of Ignatian spirituality with its interest in tracking consolation and desolation. The patterns of Jesuit devotion, literary fashion, and the sense of loss peculiar to English Catholicism made a powerful emotional formula. It is notable how the first clutch of Catholic poets, in the 1590s, was preoccupied with tears: Saint Peter and Saint Mary Magdalen inspired Southwell and in turn Lodge and Alabaster.⁹⁶ Alabaster’s refashioning of the holy sonnet was inflected by Petrarchan modes of lament. Jonson’s elegies for his daughter and son echoed Southwell in a more muted tone.

Many Jacobean and Caroline recusant poets were courtiers, less acutely pressured but just as aware of their Catholic identity. The high church movement of Archbishop William Laud threatened and relieved them in almost equal measure, for the new ritualism affirmed Catholic values and practices while perpetuating the breach with Rome. There was, then, a certain freedom to explore the Catholic tradition in verse within a royalist context. John Beaumont (1584–1627) composed an epic, *Crown of Thorns* (written 1620–25), which, although it did not find its way into print, was arguably the most ambitious poetic project of this entire period. William Habington (1605–54) chastened the fashionable amatory love lyric with his *Castara* (1634),⁹⁷ and at his chapels in Peterhouse, Cambridge, Crashaw pushed Laudian practice to the limit and beyond. The Caroline Catholic poets were writing not only for their coreligionists but for a court environment where conversion was increasingly anticipated: Crashaw’s *Carmen Deo Nostro*, for example, was dedicated to Susan Villiers Feilding, Countess of Denbigh, with the aspiration that she would remain firm in her resolution to convert to Rome. In the convents, on the other hand, nuns composed poems as a matter of course to register the movements of the inner life: Gertrude More’s poems, now justly celebrated, testify to a renaissance of late-medieval mysticism.⁹⁸

95 See, for instance, Gary Kuchar, “Henry Constable and the Question of Catholic Poetics: Affective Piety and Erotic Identification in the *Spiritual Sonnettes*,” *Philological Quarterly* 82 (2006), 69–90, and N.K. Sugimura, “‘Divine Annihilation’: Richard Crashaw’s Religious Politics and the Poetics of Ecstasy,” *Modern Philology* 112 (2015), 615–42, who stresses the importance, for Crashaw, of Laudian cultural politics in submitting personal ecstatic experience to institutional discipline.

96 Shell, *Catholicism, Controversy and the English Literary Imagination*, 77–92. On Alabaster, see above, “Of Saints and Martyrs.”

97 William Habington, *Castara*, 2 pts (London: 1634); *The Poems of William Habington*, ed. Kenneth Allott (Liverpool: 1948).

98 Her poems were contained in two prose pieces: *The Holy Practises of a Deuine Lover, or, The Sainctly Ideots Deuotions* (Paris: 1657) and *The Spiritual Exercises of the Most Vertuous and Religious D. Gertrude More* (Paris: 1658).

It was in the free spaces of seminaries and recusant households that forms of Catholic drama developed. Elizabeth Cary's closet drama *Mariam* was written and performed well before her conversion, but it has been argued that it broaches Catholic themes of equivocation, the independence of the female conscience, and the uses of silence.⁹⁹ Catholic piety was essentially performative, from the efficacious words of consecration to the actions of piety – kneeling, adoring, fasting, almsgiving, singing, making music, and vesting – and the ultimate, public performance of torture and martyrdom. Thus, the representations of Catholic practice on the Elizabethan stage offered some comfort or recognition to Catholics in the audience. Stage priests and friars could not be arraigned for treason, if they were imported with foreign plots and settings. Moreover, plays that dealt with dissent and political dilemmas could canvass recusant concerns indirectly.¹⁰⁰ Shakespeare could thus draw on the residual potency of Catholic rites and beliefs;¹⁰¹ in some cases, as in *Henry V*, he could explore both sides of the religious issue. Like a Protestant, Henry V treats “ceremony” as something artificial, with no inner reality, and in the very same scene (act 4, scene 1) takes comfort in the fact that he has founded chantries to pray for Richard's soul. Catholics could appropriate Shakespeare's plays, not only by responding imaginatively at the Globe Theatre, but by sponsoring illicit private performances, as in the case of *Pericles* at the house of Sir John Yorke in Yorkshire at Candlemas in 1609.¹⁰²

The development of the court masque, especially under Henrietta Maria, gave considerable scope for the expression of Catholic and crypto-Catholic sensibilities – Ben Jonson springs to mind again – and the Caroline theater gave occasion for Catholic authors to broaden their range. The most distinguished of these was Habington, whose romance *The Queene of Arragon* (1640) interrogated the questions of monarchical authority acutely raised by the coming clash with Parliament.¹⁰³ Cavalier culture was increasingly baroque, and

99 Margaret W. Ferguson, “Allegories of Imperial Subjection: Literacy as Equivocation in Elizabeth Cary's *Tragedy of Mariam*,” in Raber, *Ashgate Critical Essays*, 225–301; Susan B. Iwanisziw, “Conscience and the Disobedient Female Consort in the Closet Dramas of John Milton and Elizabeth Cary,” in Raber, *Ashgate Critical Essays*, 513–26.

100 Martin Butler, “Ben Jonson's Catholicism,” *Ben Jonson Journal* 19 (2012), 190–216; Peter Lake, “From *Leicester his Commonwealth* to *Sejanus his Fall*: Ben Jonson and the Politics of Roman (Catholic) Virtue,” in *Catholics and the “Protestant Nation”: Religious Politics and Identity in Early Modern England*, ed. Ethan H. Shagan (Manchester: 2005), 128–61.

101 See, for example, Stephen Greenblatt, *Hamlet in Purgatory* (2001; repr., Princeton: 2013), xv.

102 Graffius, *Plots and Spangles*, 17; see Ian N. Wood, “*Pericles* and the Simpsons,” *Leeds Studies in English*, new series 37 (2006), 441–50.

103 Martin Butler, *Theatre and Crisis, 1632–1642* (Cambridge, Eng.: 1984), 62–76.

the Civil Wars ultimately drove the court itself into Europe. This shifted the reference points for English Catholicism so distinctly that it can be seen as a *terminus ad quem* for Reformation-era recusant literary culture.

The true flowering of recusant drama was at the seminary founded by Robert Persons in Saint-Omer. Here schoolboys fresh from England encountered international Jesuit culture, which stressed the importance of academic drama as a way of combining rigorous linguistic instruction with faith formation.¹⁰⁴ At Valladolid, too, the English students produced emblems and poems in many languages for a royal visit in 1592.¹⁰⁵ In Prague, Campion as a professor of rhetoric composed his saint's play *Ambrosia*.¹⁰⁶ The output of Latin plays by schoolmasters at Saint-Omer was formidable, with a proliferation of martyr plays. Some of these were genuine enactments of the martyr's life and death, such as *Morus*.¹⁰⁷ Others were allegorical, like *Brevis dialogismus* (1599), which features Anglia as a woman-figure lamenting the treatment of Becket's bones and calling to the seminarians to emulate the recent martyrs.¹⁰⁸ The most accomplished of these academic playwrights was Emmanuel Lob (1594–1671), called Joseph Simons, who was active at Saint-Omer from 1621 to 1647.¹⁰⁹ Although he commemorated a specifically English Catholic heritage in his play on Saint Chad, *Mercia*, most of his tragedies centered on themes from Byzantine history, especially the clashes between iconoclasts and iconodules. The choice of theme was clearly relevant to schoolboys absent from their families but present with the images of Continental piety.

The plays were not merely for the schoolboys' edification. They were attended by the fashionable world, and they were spectacular. They incorporated music and ballet, recreating in little space some of the grandeur of Jesuit drama and architecture, associated with the Gesù in Rome. This was designed to bring the metaphysical into the here and now in so overwhelming a sensory

104 See William H. McCabe, *An Introduction to the Jesuit Theater* (Saint Louis: 1983). Many of these plays have been made available, with English translation, by Dana Sutton, at The Philological Museum, Shakespeare Institute, University of Birmingham, <http://www.philological.bham.ac.uk>.

105 Robert Persons, *A Relation of the King of Spaines Receiving in Valliodolid, and in the English College* (Antwerp: 1592).

106 Alison Shell, "We Are Made a Spectacle": Campion's Dramas," in *The Reckoned Expense: Edmund Campion and the Early English Jesuits. Essays in Celebration of the First Centenary of Campion Hall, Oxford (1896–1996)*, ed. Thomas M. McCoog (Woodbridge: 1996), 103–18.

107 Stonyhurst College Archives, MS A.VII.50 (1), fols. 85v–99v.

108 Victor Houlston, "Brevis Dialogismus," *ELR* 23 (1993), 382–427.

109 *Tragoediae quinque* (Lyons: 1656), translated as *Jesuit Theater Englished: Five Tragedies of Joseph Simons*, ed. Louis J. Oldani and Philip C. Fischer (Saint Louis: 1989).

experience that it would enforce ecstatic religious feeling. In the context of an English Catholic seminary in exile, with the vulnerable young saplings anticipating martyrdom, these plays have an affinity with the masked piety of Southwell's poems and the miniaturism of devotional objects. One further theatrical event poignantly encapsulates the themes of encryption, substitution, and translation that have governed this survey: the ceremony of the installation of the Madonna Vulnerata at the English College at Valladolid on 7 September 1600, the nativity of the Virgin Mary. This was a statue seized and desecrated during Essex's raid on Cádiz in 1596, but rescued and donated to the English students and teachers whose veneration might compensate for the behavior of the English soldiers. Alison Shell's analysis of the ideological significance of the event prompts us to see the statue as a symbol of the mutilation and silencing of the recusant presence in the English literary imagination.¹¹⁰ The necessary process of reverse iconoclasm, therefore, is not one of restoring limbs so much as recognizing the art of limitation, what more can be said better with less.

110 Shell, *Catholicism, Controversy and the English Literary Imagination*, 200–07.

Political and Theological Culture

Monarchies and Republics in Recusant Thought

Gary W. Jenkins

Monarchy had obtained an ambiguous place in the political thought of those earliest recusant writers (Thomas Harding, Thomas Stapleton, Thomas Dorman, John Rastell, *inter alios*) despite their claims to be her majesty's loyal subjects. But such boasts of loyalty should hardly surprise, for even though their view of history offered contrafactual precedents and illustrations against the Protestant-constructed Elizabethan settlement, allegiance to some form of historic monarchy served the English Catholics' rhetorical purposes. The struggle, as Louis Montrose puts it, has her majesty's subjects and polity "engaged in an unrelenting public struggle to define the relationship between the temporal and spiritual domains, between politics and religion, treason and conscience, the royal prerogative and the liberties of the subject."¹ Such stresses inevitably brought change, but changes, real or perceived, in Catholic political thought and theology, however, had almost nothing to do with cynical postures assumed to meet the hardening Protestant political realities of England and more to do with how circumstances revealed the uncertainty of English Catholics as regards their political commitments. Despite the several alterations in reality that both political fortune and the English Crown meted out, most notably in the years immediately around 1570, recusants both in action and print never confined themselves to one political form or another but used whatever rhetoric of principality or republic that lay at hand to bludgeon their Protestant interlocutors. Nonetheless, circumstances altered their rhetoric, and in the end, even their allegiances.²

1 Louis Montrose, *The Subject of Elizabeth: Authority, Gender, and Representation* (Chicago: 2006), 188.

2 Republicanism and monarchy were not mutually exclusive or competing categories of polity, something admitted even by Aristotle and Thomas Aquinas. What the English polity entailed has been plumbed by Patrick Collinson, among others. See his "The Monarchical Republic of Queen Elizabeth I," *The Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 69 (1987), 395–424, reprinted in *Elizabethan Essays* (London: 1994), 31–57. See also John F. McDiarmid (ed.), *The Monarchical Republic of Early Modern England: Essays in Response to Patrick Collinson* (New York: 2016), esp. McDiarmid's "Introduction," 1–19, and Collinson's "Afterword," 245–60. As will be noted,

In his synopsis of Elizabethan anti-Catholic legislation, Sir Geoffrey Elton noted that the Protestant establishment changed its approach to recusants following what he termed the crisis of 1568–71.³ This crisis began with the arrival of the queen's unwanted cousin, Mary of Scotland, in 1568; continued with the Northern Rebellion in 1569; and ended with the Ridolfi Plot, such as it was, in 1571.⁴ If these years changed how Elizabeth and her Privy Council treated recusants, they saw as well other and different problems for the Catholic apologists in the Low Countries, forming a watershed in the tenor and rhetoric of their writings. The one thing it most definitely ended was any illusion that they could still exist as Elizabeth's loyal and pacific subjects, for in the midst of these years, Pius V issued *Regnans in excelsis* (April 1570), excommunicating Elizabeth and all who obeyed her, and freeing her Catholic subjects from any obligation to the English Crown. The shift, however, should not be seen as one from monarchy to republicanism, but rather a change of emphasis from one that stressed the duties of the ruled and the proper index of their obligations to that of the ruler, the subjects or citizens, and the obligations expected of them.⁵

Prior to 1568, English Catholics concerned themselves with what various historians have termed "the great Controversy,"⁶ that is, the protracted debate sparked by Bishop John Jewel's "Challenge Sermon" and his *Apologia*, but carried on by nearly a score of other writers both Catholic and Protestant. The defenders of the Elizabethan royal supremacy, such as Jewel, Bishops Robert Horne of Winchester⁷ and Thomas Cooper of Lincoln, along with Alexander Nowell, dean of Saint Paul's in London, made persistent recourse to Christian antiquity and the Old Testament, finding precedents for the union of the temporal and spiritual powers. Whether to Moses and Hezekiah, or Constantine,

many Catholic polemicists, e.g. Thomas Dorman, saw no moral or natural necessity for any form of government.

3 G.R. Elton, *The Tudor Constitution* (Cambridge, Eng.: 1968), 410.

4 Such as it was, in that David Loades has suggested that Ridolfi himself may have been a double agent. William Cecil seemingly knew more details than the conspirators and had them at about the same time; see Loades, *Politics and the Nation: England, 1450–1660*, 5th ed. (Oxford: 1999), 237–38. The Ridolfi Plot also saw the Catholics deprived of their leader at court, Thomas Howard, 4th Duke of Norfolk.

5 For a chronological survey of recusant views on resistance, see Peter Holmes, *Resistance and Compromise: The Political Thought of the English Catholics* (Cambridge, Eng.: 1982).

6 See A.C. Southern, *Elizabethan Recusant Prose, 1559–1582* (London: 1950), 61–66.

7 Robert Horne sparked his own controversy by his attempt to gain the submission of John Feckenham, the last abbot of Westminster. Feckenham responded with a treatise that Horne answered, the bishop taking up many of the arguments Jewel used in defending the royal supremacy. Horne in turn was answered by Thomas Stapleton.

Justinian, and Charlemagne, Elizabeth's apologists appealed to emperors and kings wielding power and prerogative in the spiritual sphere. The Catholic responses delineated instead a past commensurate with their Catholic understanding of the church's relation to royal and imperial power.⁸ Initially, Catholic émigrés – the most prolific of the Catholic apologists – penned most of their polemical works in Antwerp, but in 1566 this arrangement ended when Calvinist rioters arrived in the city. For two years thereafter, the émigrés published from Louvain, but in 1568 Protestant pressure closed the presses, and the English Catholics began to drift away from English concerns. This drift was not absolute. William Allen, who even before 1568 had established the English seminary at Douai, and the Jesuit Robert Persons, one-time fellow of Balliol College, Oxford, and the rector of the English College in Rome by 1579, united in a new enterprise and the 1580s opened a new chapter in English Catholic writing, marking the end of almost a decade of silence from Catholic polemicists.⁹ In 1580 and 1581, Persons returned to England, establishing the contours of the clandestine recusant church. It is with this as a backdrop that he penned two pamphlets concerning the plight of English Catholics; he dedicated the first to Elizabeth, while the second was sent by the translator, G.T., to the Privy Council. Allen also penned several tracts from 1581 to 1587, in them displaying an array of political postures, from the suppliant to the revolutionary.

The temper of Allen and Persons's works differs markedly from those published from 1564 to 1568. Prior to 1568, recusants argued for the novelty of the English polity, indicting the English Protestants for investing their monarchs with hitherto unprecedented and unheard of prerogatives, for such unilateral and arbitrary authority turned Catholic unity on its head: any temporal sovereign having primacy over a regional church in defiance of the will of the Church Catholic was *de facto* schism. The imperial prerogative, Catholics asserted, had persistently deferred to the bishops of the Church. Yet, examples filled the Church's history with almost every conceivable way of thinking and imaging the prince's relationship to the Church: for each Theodosius penitent before Ambrose there was a Henry IV to chase Gregory VII from Rome. For the

8 Gary W. Jenkins, "Between the Sacraments and Treason: Aspects of the Political Thought of the English Recusants in the First Decade of Elizabeth I's Reign," in *Dutch Review of Church History* 85 (2005), 301–14.

9 Thomas Harding had died in 1572, Thomas Stapleton had turned to other concerns, Thomas Dorman had taken a living in Tournai, and John Rastell died in 1577. Nicholas Sander provides an unhappy exception to this group. Having persuaded Philip II to outfit an expedition to raise Ireland against Elizabeth, he died there under duress in 1581. It was Persons who oversaw the publication of Sander's *De schismate Anglicano*.

Catholics, maintaining that the defiance of such as Henry IV was exceptional and that the popes were no tyrants, formed but one aspect of the argument. Of greater importance was the protecting of their interpretation of the actions of Christendom's notable potentates, those whose status – Constantine, Justinian, Charlemagne, William the Conqueror – made them paradigms for any English monarch, especially a Tudor who aspired to *imperium*. Also, they used such to rejoin Protestant polemical use of them.

Thomas Dorman threw numerous examples at his Protestant interlocutors, citing Eusebius that Constantine did indeed sit with the bishops at the Council of Nicaea, yet nonetheless entered the council last and was seated at a chair lower than those of the bishops.¹⁰ Further, when certain bishops approached Constantine, seeking imperial arbitration on theological matters, the emperor cast their printed libels into the fire, stating that he was not a judge in such matters. When Valentinian sought to judge in theological affairs, Saint Ambrose condemned him for intruding into areas in which he had no authority.¹¹ Dorman pushed the whole matter to a sharp point, echoing sentiments tacitly adumbrated in *Unam Sanctam* when he asked: "Why should it not be as lafull for the cleargie (I will not onely say to admonishe and reprehend) to put kinges doing amisse at this tyme to death, as it was at that [time] for Samuel to cut in pieces with his owne handes, the body of Agag king of Amalech?"¹²

In response to Bishop Horne on the Oath of Supremacy, Thomas Stapleton presented a florilegia of kings and emperors, veritable monarchs and emperors that both acknowledged the papal supremacy and who would never have inflicted on their realms anything resembling the Elizabethan oath. Stapleton struck at the notion that kingdoms have a unilateral right to set in order their own church, attacking both Horne and Jewel for their use of the Council of Frankfurt (794) as an assembly that overruled the Seventh Ecumenical Council (though Stapleton is hardly spot on in his take on Frankfurt either).¹³ Stapleton dispatched Horne's interpretation of Charlemagne's defense of the hapless Leo III and the events surrounding Christmas 800. Horne cast Charlemagne as the arbiter between Leo and the Roman people (who had accused the pontiff of adultery and perjury), asserting that Charlemagne contrived Leo's exoneration in exchange for the imperial dignity. Horne's Charlemagne emerged sovereign

10 Thomas Dorman, *A Provyf of Certeyne Articles in Religion, Denied by M. Ivell* [...] (Antwerp: 1564), fol. 42r.

11 Dorman, *Provyf of Certeyne Articles*, fols 21v–22v.

12 Dorman, *Provyf of Certeyne Articles*, fols 37r–37v.

13 Thomas Stapleton, *A Counterblast to M. Hornes Vayne Blaste Against M. Fekenham* [...] (Louvain: 1567), fols 234v–35r.

in both kingdom and church. Stapleton, having none of it, noted that the Roman people, even as Horne had quoted them from Platina and Sabellico, confessed that the pope was judged by no one.¹⁴ As this is the case, asked Stapleton, why impute motives to Charlemagne in coming to Rome other than the ones he professed? Stapleton's Charlemagne, hardly a supreme governor over the church, becomes its defender and loyal son. Moreover, when Horne maintained that Charlemagne had penned constitutions for the maintenance of the faith, Stapleton pointed out that the constitutions were nothing other than reiterations of former conciliar canons dating back to the 4th and 5th centuries.¹⁵ Stapleton also noted that Charlemagne by legislation removed himself from the status of supreme governor in all matters spiritual and temporal in that he reissued the Theodosian decree that in all matters spiritual and temporal, when the judgment of a bishop is sought, there was no appeal from this decision.¹⁶ Stapleton's William the Conqueror governed in Rome's name, by its authority, and acted on the Church's behalf. Horne presented a William who had sat as an arbiter over the affairs of York and Canterbury, to which Stapleton replied that he sat rather as the pope's commissioner, suspending judgment until the papal legate should arrive. In fact, William deferred to Rome to such an extent, Stapleton asserted, that he would receive his coronation not from the archbishop of Canterbury, Stigand, whose metropolitanical status was in dispute before Rome, but from the archbishop of York.¹⁷ Henry II hardly comes off as so devout, but even so, Henry submitted to the penance Rome imposed for his part in the murder of Thomas Becket, showing both his fealty to Rome and his assent to the independence of the Church.¹⁸

This interpretation, found throughout the writings of the recusants prior to 1568, should be seen both as a strategy to strip Elizabeth's apologists of any recourse to past monarchs or political situations, and as an immediate means

14 Stapleton, *Counterblast*, fols 239r-42v. The *Liber pontificalis* puts these words in Alcuin's mouth, but Einhard records nothing of this.

15 Stapleton points out that Horne's source, which was undoubtedly Jewel, had both edited and mangled the canons, which when quoted in full, speak against the very things that Horne hoped to assert by them. *Counterblast*, fols 244r-44v.

16 Stapleton has an extended discussion of Theodosius, largely dealing with his confrontation with Ambrose and his dealings with the Second Ecumenical Council but does not mention Theodosius's ecclesiastical legislation. *Counterblast*, fols 114r-21v.

17 Stapleton, *Counterblast*, fols 293v-96r.

18 Stapleton, *Counterblast*, fols 305r-10v. Stapleton spends most of his apology as regards Henry II treating the question of whether martyrs are made merely for "free speech." John Foxe wrote that this was all Saint Thomas of Canterbury had died for. Stapleton countered that Saint John the Baptist lost his head for the same reason.

to induce Elizabeth to act as *imperium* had in the past. Several different recusants dedicated treatises to her; all of them claimed her as their sovereign. Further, they seemingly still held out hope of her repentance and presented their work as a mirror whereby she could reform her wayward thoughts.

When Catholic polemicists addressed the duty of subjects, they produced numerous allusions to the tumults Protestants created within Catholic countries: Protestants were seditious, and no monarch was safe when heresy flourished. For the English evangelicals, this dilemma was compounded by their association with their British coreligionists, namely Christopher Goodman, John Ponet, and Edward VI's former chaplain, John Knox. Thomas Harding brandished Knox under Jewel's nose, asking, "What meant ye when ye laid your heads together being at Geneva in queen Mary's days, the faithful brothers of England and Scotland, and devised a most seditious and traitorous book against the monstrous regiment of women?"¹⁹ Moreover, English Protestants would have to contend also with their coreligionists in France, particularly after 1572, when such Huguenot polemicists as François Hotman, embraced regicide, and denounced monarchy.²⁰

In contrast to seditious Protestants, Catholics inveterately trumpeted themselves as the more subservient of Reformation-era subjects, but *Regnans in excelsis* changed all this, as it allowed Protestants to turn previous accusations onto the heads of the Catholics. On the legislative side, Parliament acted to ban its promulgation in England.²¹ On the polemical side, Jewel produced his *View of a Seditious Bull*.²² Jewel's tract damned Pius V not only for playing the foreign interloper but accused him as well for having fomented the Northern Rebellion. The sea-change from 1568 to 1571 demanded of the English Catholics an alteration of their polemics. While the bull did not explicitly call for Elizabeth to be overthrown, it nonetheless did forbid anyone from

19 Quoted in John Ayre (ed.), *The Works of John Jewel*, vol. 4 (Cambridge, Eng.: 1850), 664.

20 For François Hotman, see Donald R. Kelley, *François Hotman: A Revolutionary's Ordeal* (Princeton: 1973), and for the monarchomachs, Ralph Giesey, "The Monarchomach Triumvirs: Hotman, Beza and Mornay," *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 32/1 (1970), 41–56. On the English Protestant response, see Lisa Ferraro Parmalee, *Good Newes from Fraunce: French Anti-League Propaganda in Late Elizabethan England* (Rochester: 1996), esp. chap. 4, "Huguenot Resistance Theory, the Leaguers, and the English Response," 75–96.

21 "An Act against the Bringing in and Putting in Execution Bulls and Other Instruments of the See of Rome," 1571, 13 Eliz. 1, c. 2, in Elton, *Tudor Constitution*, 414–18.

22 *A View of a Seditious Bull Sent into England from Pius Quintus Bishop of Rome [...] Whereunto is added a short Treatise of the holy Scriptures [...]*, with a dedicatory epistle to the godly reader by John Garbrand, in *Works*, 4:1127–60. This same pair was again published, with some alterations, in 1611, by John Norton.

obeying her laws or recognizing her as sovereign.²³ Thus, recusants must either embrace, move, ignore, eviscerate, or reject this “rock of offense” that Pius had thrown in their path, one that called further into question a peaceful existence for English Catholics. Thus, the treatises of the 1580s set Catholic piety in an altered apologetical context.

In the introductory letter to Elizabeth's Privy Council, the translator of Persons's 1582 *Epistle of the Persecution of Catholics in England*,²⁴ G.T., delineates 12 causes or reasons, all drawn from standard Catholic piety and devotion, why Catholics are better and more peaceful subjects (even with Protestant heretics as their princes), than are heretic subjects of heretic princes, despite their shared creed. G.T. noted that for Catholics, the external nature of a command makes it no less licit and is as binding on a conscience as the commands against coveting, lust, and pride. Thus, Catholics must obey all the laws of men, even those that seem merely external, and even those of heretics, as long as they do not enjoin the breaching of the law of God, showing that Catholics by piety and devotion are far more suited to be subjects within a monarchy than Protestants. Most of G.T.'s arguments deal mainly with quietness and the leading of orderly lives. He notes that Catholics must take more account of their actions, since satisfaction for crimes is a prerequisite of absolution; that Catholics take far more seriously the keeping of vows; and that fasting makes for more thrifty subjects, creating surplus of foods for the wealpublic. In connection with fasting, G.T. draws an interesting distinction between Catholics and Protestants: certainly fasting was not instituted for the betterment of the state but for the mortifying of the flesh, yet Protestants saw in this only a mere external formalism, an external commandment, eating meat even during Lent despite having been enjoined not to, G.T. accused. He noted that it is the great and the gentry who take part in this, leaving the poor, as was their lot, to be pious merely out of circumstance, turning them into hypocrites as having made “of necessitie a virtue.” He notes how auricular confession serves as a

23 “We charge and command all and singular the nobles, subjects, peoples and others aforesaid that they do not dare obey her orders, mandates and laws.” Elton, *Tudor Constitution*, 418.

24 [Robert Persons], *An Epistle of the Persecution of Catholickes in Englande. Translated owt of Frenche into Englishe [...]* by G.T. To whiche there is added an epistle by the translator to the Lordes of her maiesties preeue councell [...] ([Rouen]: 1582). Who G.T. was is not clear. Alexander Briant, who actually wrote the epistle by the translator, had been one of Persons's pupils at Balliol but left having been converted by Persons. He took part in the English mission with Persons but was captured and imprisoned in London. From there he wrote, apparently to Persons, seeking admission into the Society of Jesus. This letter is reproduced at the end of Persons's *Epistle*.

bridle to the passions of the rich and a persuasion to the poor. G.T. declares that predestination destroys proper intentions and leads to despair of virtue and that the denial of purgatory and the idea of gradations of bliss and punishment deters from a sober life.²⁵ But he gives more than a *quod gratis asseritur gratis negatur* in this but moves his argument from the seeming defect of Catholic piety – its putative mere externalism – to show that because Catholics value the externality of religion, they are then given to the obedience of the external rules of the commonwealth. Further, he gave an extended disquisition on the Catholic distinction, denied by Protestants, between mortal and venial sins. He noted that the thought of sedition to a Catholic, though arising from evil, is not of itself a mortal sin. For a Protestant, however, the mere thought, let alone the conspiracy and the execution of sedition, being alike, would drive the traitor to despair and so more likely to act upon mere concupiscence.²⁶

Persons's *Epistle* makes graphic use of the torture inflicted on the English Catholics, in a way reminiscent of Foxe's polemic, to demonstrate the piety of Catholics in death. Despite the grisly nature of the *Epistle*, Elizabeth is shriven, for she is endowed by nature with clemency and a mild disposition. Then why does she act the way she does? Persons claims that it comes from Catholicism's adversaries, whisperers, and inciters of Elizabeth against Catholics as though they were threats to her throne:

But when I beholde & erneslie looke into that passing excellent, singular and in dede princelie noblenesse of hart, with the exceding great clemency and milde disposition whiche nature hathe planted in oure Quene: I am hardlie induced to beleeeve that her maiestie will permit such a straite and extreme law to be putt in execution, to the utter ruine of men afflicted with miserie, to the overthrow of her owne subiects, to the disturbance of her kingdome, and to drive all the whole worlde besides, in to a mase with the wonder thereof. Yet neverthesse, on the other syde, when I depelie consider how her grace is incensed against us with the contiual clamours of oure adversaries, and by how subtile means and cunning shifts, dailie incited and stirred up to oure persecution and destruction, whiles there is not one in the waye eyther to excuse or defend us, or yet in oure behalfe, by waye of humble sute, to procure some compassion for oure afflictions: then I see yt to be possible, that

25 Persons, *Epistle*, 12, 13, 15–16, and 22–27.

26 Persons, *Epistle*, 20–22.

not onely these extremities, but greater allso, and farre harder extremities may be permitted against us.²⁷

What remedy does Persons advise? Not sedition or rebellion, but simply prayer for the conversion of the persecutors, or at least a mollifying of their dispositions. If this does not occur, then the only recourse was to suffer persecution, resting in providence.

Still, even in 1581, William Allen declared his fealty for Elizabeth, maintaining as had Persons that the Catholics had been betrayed to Elizabeth by the church's enemies:

We may adventure with al hope, joy, and comfort, to speake in our defense, and discover without al disloyaltie to her Majestie or any her Highnes Ministers, the wrong informations that certaine enimies of the Catholike Church have given up against us and our brethern, as to our great greefe we perceive by some late proclamations published in Iulie and Ianuarie last, and otherwise.²⁸

Nonetheless, by 1587 Allen had thrown in his lot with those who now found themselves fighting against Elizabeth, defending the actions of the English captain, Sir William Stanley, who surrendered Deventer to forces of Philip II, renounced his allegiance to Elizabeth, and joined the Spanish forces.²⁹ By this point, Allen no longer saw Elizabeth as a legitimate ruler, for noting that authority rested on moral, and not merely legal grounds, he now advocated the violent overthrow of her regime, even by her own subjects. Elizabeth had no justification to act in support of the rebels of the Low Countries; her war was unjust by any standard, and she was in all things a brigand and a robber (*latrocinia*). Indeed, so far were any Catholics absolved from obeying Elizabeth, Allen enjoined them to resist her militarily.³⁰

This speaks, on one level, to all the rather nice pleasantries that obtained in the early 1580s when Allen, Persons, and G.T. accepted the status quo of

²⁷ Persons, *Epistle*, 163–64.

²⁸ William Allen, *An Apologie and True Declaration of the Institution and endeouours of the two English Colleges, the one in Rome, the other now resident in Rhemes: against certaine sinister informations giuen vp against the same* (Reims: 1581), 5r–5v.

²⁹ For Stanley, see Rory Rapple, "Stanley, Sir William (1548–1630)," in *ODNB*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/26283>.

³⁰ William Allen, *The Copie of a Letter [...] Concerning the Yeelding Up of the Citie of Daventrie [...]* (Antwerp: 1587), fol. B3r–B3v.

schism and wished for their coreligionists in England to enjoy a liberty of conscience. Had this been the reality, it may have kept Allen and Persons from other enterprises, namely the frustration of supporting Esmé Stuart, 1st Duke of Lennox, as the liberator of Mary, Queen of Scots. When the whole undertaking fell apart in 1582, Persons found himself at Philip II's court pleading its cause. Philip, lukewarm at best about the conspiracy, dragged his feet for the Guise champion. Following the defeat of the Armada, Persons, who by then expressed more interest in a war of liberation and not the subjection of England to France or Spain, produced his *Conference on the Next Succession*.³¹ Persons placed his hopes for Catholic England not on any new military solution but on the next monarch. The work denounces the whole Tudor notion of monarchy as an inherited commodity. Instead, Persons posited a model that saw the authority and sovereignty arising from the people and would seem at first reading to owe more to François Hotman's *Francogallia*³² than anything peculiar to English Catholic thought. For Persons,

[T]hes particuler formes of goverment (I say) are not determynd by God or nature ... (for then they should be al one in al nations ... seing God and nature are one to al as often hath bin said) but thes particuler formes are left unto every nation and countrey to chuse that forme of goverment, which they shal like best, and think most fit for the natures and conditions of their people, which Aristotle proveth through out al the second and fourth bookes of his politiques very largely laying downe divers kinds of goverments in his days, as namely in Greece that the Milesians ... and shewing the causes of their differences, which he attributeth to the diversity of mens natures, customes, educations and other such causes that made them make choise of such or such forme of goverment.³³

Yet Persons was not the first Catholic to embrace such sentiments, for even before 1568, John Rastell, Thomas Dorman, and Thomas Stapleton had already questioned anything necessary about monarchy.

Dorman in sparring with Alexander Nowell took up an argument the dean had borrowed from Jewel, that as God used different monarchs in different

31 It was once a commonplace that the work was the product of Richard Verstegan, and probably written in conjunction with Persons, but see Thomas M. McCoog, "And Touching Our Society": *Fashioning Jesuit Identity in Elizabethan England* (Toronto: 2013), 283–347.

32 Donald R. Kelly, *Francois Hotman: A Revolutionary's Ordeal* (Princeton: 1973).

33 Robert Persons [R. Doleman, pseud.], *A Conference about the Next Succession to the Crowne of England, Divided into Two Partes* [...] (Antwerp: [1595]), 9–10.

realms to govern the world, so too did he use discrete synods of bishops within realms to govern the Church. Dorman pushed the syllogism in a different direction, arguing that the multitude of monarchs was actually a sign of great disunity, so much so that it actually argued for the need of council and pontiff, and that earthly polities were beggarly and transient things. Further, citing Gregory Nazianzen, differences of polity throughout the world bore no analogy to the Church, which had but one government and one polity. In Dorman's mind, and this is boilerplate Saint Augustine from *De civitate Dei*, only the government of the Church stood above variation, for the government of a temporal realm bore no relation to an absolute order.³⁴ Stapleton, in commenting on England's inability by virtue of the Oath of Supremacy to be part of the Catholic Church, emphasized the ephemeral nature of earthly polity, that "al countries nede not to be gouerned in external maters after one sort, nor at al times a like, the state therof being changeable and mutable."³⁵ Yet for the Church this was not the case; since the Church existed independently and freely of any one place or time, it could not be constrained by any temporal polity.

Rastell was the most explicit of the three in rejecting any absolute prerogative held by any monarch, let alone Elizabeth:

[A]s the Temporal heades and Princes of the world, when they doe not their office, are worthie of losinge it ... who shall depose them? It must be done by Law, and not by Insurrection. And until lawful processe against them be ended, the Commonwealthes are bound to obey them. ... Princes are made by men, and receave Authoritie, not immediatly from God, but of the Commonwealth which doth choose them.³⁶

Ironically, and perhaps with some glee, the recusants called Calvin to their defense in condemning the English polity, particularly Stapleton and Dorman. Dorman pressed his audience:

Nowe choose good readers, whether ye had rather beleve Calvin main-
teining the auctoritie and iurisdiction of the churche, or our clawe-
backes and parasites which impugne the same. The one hath scripture
to defende it. The other hath nothing to assaulte it. The scriptures saieth
that in doutefull questions we should resort to the priestes, that at their
word should all matters be decided, that they should iudge, that at their

34 Thomas Dorman, *A Disprovyfe of M. Nowelles Reprove* (Antwerp: 1565), fols 59v-61r and 133r-34v.

35 Stapleton, *Counterblast*, fol. 426r.

36 John Rastell, *A Treatise Intitled, Beware of M. Iewel* (Antwerp: 1566), fol. 89v.

handes we should demaunde knowlege. ... Nowe cometh the heretike, the perverter of scripture, he telleth us that we must seke it at the princes handes.³⁷

Likewise, Stapleton, besides appealing to Ambrose and Athanasius, also cites that “idol of Geneva,” Calvin, as teaching that the Church stood the lone sovereign in matters of faith, doctrine, morals, and piety, and indeed that Calvin agreed with the church fathers that it was the characteristic of heretics to seek the solace of the monarch when they could not get their way in the Church.³⁸

Neither Stapleton nor Dorman embraced the quasi-republicanism championed by Persons, though they had already at least tacitly made room for it. Rastell certainly came closest. Nonetheless, prior to 1570, all the English Catholics had been explicit in their fealty to Elizabeth; Rastell and Stapleton, along with John Martial, dedicated works to her, but this change after 1570 only becomes explicit around 1588 and after. Cardinal William Allen stood in contrast to his fellow English Catholics in his embrace of princes, as his *Admonition to the Nobility and People of England and Ireland* of 1588 embraced the monarchy.³⁹ For Allen, however, the crown should belong to Philip II of Spain. Needless to say, Allen linked the hopes of his polemic on the prospects of Philip II’s failed war with England.⁴⁰ Stapleton, who moved from Douai to the university faculty at Louvain in 1590, came to repudiate Elizabeth and recognize Philip II as his liege. In 1592 he published *Apologia pro Rege Catholico Philippo II*, in which he denounced Elizabeth for her proclamation against the seminary priests.⁴¹ Even before his *Apologia*, Stapleton’s sympathies not only for Philip but also for the Guise can be seen in his *Oratio Academica*, wherein he speaks of the Protestants as deserving a crusade and that people of politique sympathies fell short of their Christian duties for opposing Philip’s

37 Thomas Dorman, *Provyfe of Certeyne Articles*, fol. 29r. See also Dorman, *Disprovyfe*, fol. 211r.

38 Thomas Stapleton, *A Fortresse of the Faith First planted amonge us englishmen, and continued hitherto in the universall Church of Christ [...]* (Antwerp: 1565), fol. 146r.

39 William Allen, *Admonition to the Nobility and People of England and Ireland concerninge the present vvarres made for the execution of his Holines sentence, by the highe and mightie Kinge Catholike of Spaine* ([Antwerp]: 1588).

40 See Paulina Kewes, “The Puritan, the Jesuit and the Jacobean Succession,” 47–70, in Susan Doran and Kewes (eds), *Doubtful and Dangerous: The Question of Succession in Late Elizabethan England* (Manchester: 2014), esp. 59–60.

41 Thomas Stapleton, *Apologia pro Rege catholico Philippo II [...]* (Coutances or Antwerp: 1592). Marvin Richard O’Connell’s biography of Thomas Stapleton, *Thomas Stapleton and the Counter Reformation* (New Haven: 1964), goes into detail about the pamphlet, as well as Stapleton’s lamentable interactions with Persons.

wars: "Sic hodie Politici, omnes sumptus in bello sacro ad Religionis Catholicae defensionem factos, Regisque nostri potentissimi & pientissimi Philippi II."⁴² His defense of Philip is an indictment of English polity, labeling the realm both *regnum* and *respublica Anglicae*, delineating what is necessary for the realm to prosper, and then attacking by name the leaders of England as disturbers of the realm from Elizabeth on down. Hardly a count, earl, or baron is spared, and William Cecil, 1st Baron Burghley, especially is damned. The accusations against the realm show why Philip acts justly in his war with Elizabeth on behalf of all "in universas reipublica Christianae partes."⁴³

Catholic polemicists had begun their lives under Elizabeth as her loyal subjects, at least in all things temporal.⁴⁴ When quills were sharpened, however, some concessions and provisions crept in. True enough, past monarchs and emperors had exercised themselves within and for the Church, and the Catholics did not contradict this but rather questioned the nature of this interference. Pius v's excommunication of Elizabeth changed the situation, and with it the overt rhetoric of the recusants. More importantly, the political situation in the Low Countries also altered the state of affairs, and the dynamics of the Counter-Reformation and Catholic Reformation swept away anything particularly English about that clique of writers active in the first decade of Elizabeth's reign. By 1592, Persons found himself embroiled in controversies that put him at odds with Stapleton (though Persons had also asked Gregory XIII to make Stapleton the cardinal of England),⁴⁵ and saw Persons acting more out of loyalty to the Jesuits, though still with very strong ties to the concerns of the English College in Rome, though arguably more so to the colleges founded in Valladolid and Seville⁴⁶ than to the future of the Catholics in England.⁴⁷ The intrigues of the English Catholic émigrés and the political fortunes that shaped their lives on the Continent only exacerbate making sense of their political thought. Pitting Constantine against Elizabeth performed the rhetorical task of diminishing Elizabeth's claims to prerogative within the church, at least

42 Thomas Stapleton, *Oratio Academica: An Politici Horum Temporum in Numero Christianorum sint habendi* (Munich: 1608), 17.

43 Stapleton, *Apologia*, 38.

44 This is how Stapleton had put it in his willingness to swear that part of the oath. Stapleton, *Counterblast*, fol. 424r.

45 Francis Edwards, *Robert Persons: The Biography of an Elizabethan Jesuit, 1546–1610* (St Louis: 1995), 206–07.

46 McCoog, "And Touching Our Society," 261–81.

47 O'Connell, *Thomas Stapleton*, 47–49; Edwards, *Robert Persons*, 210–12. Persons went so far as both to denounce Stapleton to the curia in regard to him becoming protonotary in Rome and impugning his loyalty to Philip II.

on paper; yet neither the pen nor the sword proved equal to Elizabeth and her allies. Reverting to the expediency of asking for toleration proved equally as ineffectual. Elizabeth's apologists argued that any polity such as England's could not tolerate those who had sworn fealty to the pope: by definition it was treasonous.

A sequel to the drama of Elizabethan recusant political thought that occurred almost a century after the original shows once again that politics indeed does make strange bedfellows. In 1682 the Stuart loyalist the Rev. Edward Pelling printed his *The Apostate Protestant*.⁴⁸ The occasion of this polemic was yet another appearance, in 1681, of Persons's *Conference*. Person's Elizabethan tract, however, had not reemerged in its original form via any Catholic press, but was being circulated by those inimical to the Stuarts, its arguments taken either whole cloth or reshaped. This, of course, was not the first time this had happened. The treatment of Persons's arguments by the Stuart royalist Pelling painted his fellow English Protestants with a brush soaked both in Jesuit black and regicidal guilt, noting "Doleman [Persons], that was Cromwell's and Bradshaw's gospel;" that is, republicanism, in its mid-17th-century English iteration, was nothing other than a return of English Catholic political views in Protestant guise. Certainly, Persons and Oliver Cromwell would seem to take "strange bedfellows" to another level of peculiarity, but as this essay has shown, the slighting of monarchy had not begun with Persons, and the political loyalties of English Catholics cannot be easily mapped onto any form of polity, save one that allowed them in all good conscience obedience to their faith. Presaged by Stapleton, Dorman, and Rastell, Persons maintained that no polity could enjoy divine sanction, and thus while never aiding his coreligionists in the short term, it certainly granted aid and comfort, much to Pelling's consternation, to those who later showed the Stuarts how little love they could exercise for monarchy.

48 [Edward Pelling], *The Apostate Protestant. A Letter to a Friend, Occasioned By the late Reprinting of a Jesuites Book [...]* (London: 1682). In 1685 Pelling reprinted the text and in the preface revealed himself as the author and gave more insight into his tract.

English Catholic Material Culture, 1558–1688

Janet Graffius

Thomas More's advice in *Utopia*, intended for those suffering adversity beyond their control, could have been written for his recusant compatriots in the century following its publication.¹ Early modern England was struggling with issues of sovereignty, self-determination, loyalty, and national identity, in addition to fiercely divisive cultural, religious, and theological arguments. The Elizabethan government defined Catholic material culture as subversive, falling under the statute of praemunire, or the acceptance of foreign sovereignty over the English state, just as it had redefined the priesthood as an act of treason against the state in 1571. During the long English Reformation period, Catholic images, vestments, relics, agni dei, crucifixes, rosaries, and printed and manuscript texts were banned, sought out, and destroyed.²

The recusant community looked increasingly to rescued medieval artifacts as tangible symbols of English Catholic continuity and validity.³ During the active years of iconoclasm under Henry VIII, Edward VI, and Elizabeth I, many Catholics made strenuous efforts to salvage and hide physical manifestations of their faith. The importance of material objects to the recusant community is evidenced by the Elizabethan government's determination to eradicate such items. Thus, the conflict between Anglicanism and Catholic recusancy was as much material as intellectual.

1 Thomas More, *Utopia* and *A Dialogue of Comfort* (London: 1910), 41–42: “that whyche you cannot turn to good [...] order it that it be not very badde.”

2 Danby Pickering, *The Statutes at Large, from the First Year of Q. Mary, to the Thirty fifth Year of Q. Elizabeth, Inclusive* (London: 1763), 260; (1571, 13 Eliz. 1, c. 2): “And be it further enacted by the authorities aforesaid, That if any person or persons shall at any time after the said first day of July bring into this realm of England, or any the dominions of the same, any token or tokens, thing or things, called or named by the name of agnus dei, or any crosses, pictures, beads or such like vain and superstitious things from the bishop or see of Rome or from any person authorised or claiming authority by or from the said bishop or see of Rome, to consecrate or hallow the same ... the dangers, penalties, pains and forfeitures ordained by the statute of praemunire and provision made in its sixteenth year of King Richard the Second.”

3 Victor Houlston, *Catholic Resistance in Elizabethan England: Robert Persons' Jesuit Polemic, 1580–1610* (Aldershot: 2007), 93–116.

The new wave of Catholic missionary priests arriving in England from the late 1570s onwards was fully aware of the significance of the material culture of their faith. Indeed, the focus of the Counter-Reformation English Catholic mission was very much centered on self-support groups such as sodalities and rosary confraternities, which could function as part of daily family and community life and sustain faith without the regular need for a priest.⁴ Such groups relied on everyday material objects to assist them in sustaining their faith in the absence of the priestly sacraments.

New European colleges and seminaries, such as Douai, Valladolid, and St Omer, founded from the 1560s onwards, specifically catered for the English and Welsh Catholic communities, training priests and educating youths in exile. The traffic of exiles and priests between England, Rome, and the Spanish Netherlands opened up channels of communication between English recusants and the Catholic community in Europe, disseminating Counter-Reformation spirituality into recusant homes and offering new ways of sustaining faith in exile. These channels also provided safe havens for rescued English artifacts traveling to the Continent.

Of particular importance in this respect was the English Jesuit College at St Omer near Calais, usually referred to as St Omer's College.⁵ Founded by Robert Persons in 1593 to educate English Catholic boys in exile, it played a significant role in the formation of generations of male recusants. From its foundation, it began to acquire items of material culture, both pre-Reformation and contemporary, which were regarded as "objects of memory," used in liturgy, spiritual exercises, and cultural activities such as plays and processions.

But by no means everything of Catholic significance that survived the reformers made its way across the Channel to safety. Pre-Reformation sacred artifacts were rescued, hidden, refashioned, and used in clandestine liturgical celebrations in England and Wales. These were augmented, as time went on, by newly made vestments and silver plate. For many recusants, their spiritual life was supported both by medieval items speaking of the continuity of English Catholic faith and by newly made items that represented the strength and continuity of Counter-Reformation Catholicism.

4 Henry Garnet, *The Societie of the Rosarie* (London: 1593–94); Anne Dillon, "Public Liturgy Made Private: The Rosary Confraternity in the Life of a Recusant Household," in *The Triumphs of the Defeated: Early Modern Festivals and Messages of Legitimacy*, ed. Peter Davidson and Jill Belper (Wiesbaden: 2007), 245–70.

5 Virginia C. Raguin (ed.), *Catholic Collecting, Catholic Reflection, 1538–1850: Objects as a Measure of Reflection on a Catholic Past and the Construction of Recusant Identity in England and America* (Worcester, Mass.: 2006), 4–5.

1 **English Recusant Worship: “Her chappell was neat and rich; the altar stood vested with various habiliments, according to the fashion in Catholick countrys”**

The absence of sacred Catholic buildings forced many recusants to domesticate their faith and literally bring the parish church under the family roof. Recusants had some other, limited, options: those shrines and sacred wells that had been left untouched by the Reformation were important gathering spaces, as were prisons and embassy chapels, but such public venues brought the risk of detection and could not easily form part of the daily practice of faith so essential for Catholics.⁶

The lady with the “neat and rich” chapel was Dorothy Lawson, eulogized in a manuscript *vita* by her Jesuit chaplain William Palmes, written shortly after her death in 1632.⁷ Lawson housed priests and supervised an extraordinary range of daily devotions, including rosary, litanies, and the Mass, which drew the wider Catholic community to her house. Anne Dillon points out that the introduction of the Dominican-inspired and Jesuit-promoted domestic rosary confraternities in recusant households was a direct response to the state suppression of Catholic places of worship and was a highly effective way of maintaining faith in the absence of the sacraments.⁸ Henry Garnet observed, “Beades must be to our afflicted brethren in steed of all maner of armour or weapons.”⁹ In many cases, such as Lawson’s, the family house itself was rededicated as “the sacred space within which the religious rites, rituals, and festivals were celebrated; it became church, confraternity chapel, and chantry.”¹⁰ Lisa McClain describes Lancashire Catholics who crept to the cross at Easter

6 Alexandra Walsham, *The Reformation of the Landscape: Religion, Identity and Memory in Early Modern Britain and Ireland* (Oxford: 2011), 166–89.

7 William Palmes, S.J., *The Life of Mrs. Dorothy Lawson, of St. Antony's, near Newcastle-upon-Tyne*, ed. G.B. Richardson (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: 1851), cited in Dillon, “Public Liturgy Made Private,” 254.

8 Dillon, “Public Liturgy Made Private,” 253–59.

9 Garnet, *Societie of the Rosarie*, 68–69.

10 “The Catholics by the late 1590s were a defeated minority group. Their faith was proscribed and their Church was an underground Church. The English Catholics had no parish structure. Mass was said whenever a priest was available and wherever people could gather together in safety, such as in the houses of the Catholic aristocracy and the gentry, in remote farmhouses or in secret Mass centres in towns. ... The English Catholic Church was composed of the people who gathered in these places.” Dillon, “Public Liturgy Made Private,” 254.

1604 across an “unconsecrated floor in a private home and included everyday household objects, such as the basin, in their celebrations.”¹¹

Elizabethan missionary priests, trained in Counter-Reformation seminaries in Europe, introduced new practices to help recusant families sustain their faith: dedicating rooms to saints, organizing family/community rosary, and regular devotions. McClain quotes Robert Southwell's *Short Rules of a Good Life*, in which he says: “I must in every room of the house where I dwell imagine (in some decent place) a throne or chair of estate and dedicate the whole room to some saint that ... I enter as if it were into a Chapel or a Church.” Where practicable, secret chapels were instituted, hidden within the house, and kitted out with all a priest would need for Mass.¹² Southwell's imagery of an army of saints living amid recusant families is in keeping with his Jesuit formation, wherein the *Spiritual Exercises* fosters the use of imagination and senses to place the individual in the midst of gospel narratives and holy events.¹³ It was a technique adopted by many English recusants, including the schoolboys attending St Omers, who were encouraged to mind their manners by remembering that their lunchtime trestles symbolized the table of the Last Supper and that their dormitories were like the shrines in the sodality chapel in which slept the bodies of the holy martyrs.¹⁴

In the 17th century, the words “family” and “household” were often interchangeable. Lawson's *vita* describes her drawing in servants, neighbors, and children, helping to establish firm bonds of trust and mutual support:

Her chappell was neat and rich; the altar stood vested with various habiliments according to the fashion in Catholick cuntries. Mass in the morning; even song in the afternoon about four of the clock, with the litanies of Loretto to recommend to the Sacred Virgin's custody the safety of her house and a ‘de profundis’ for the faithfull departed; between eight and nine att night, Litanies of Saints, att which all her servants were present. On festival days, they also heard mass and even song, and when there was not a sermon in the morning there was usually a catechisme in the

11 Lisa McClain, “Without Cathedral, Church, or Shrine: The Search for Religious Spaces among Catholics in England, 1559–1625,” *SCJ* 33 (2002), 381–89, at 381.

12 McClain, “Without Cathedral.”

13 Michael Ivens, *Understanding the Spiritual Exercises* (Leominster: 1998), xii.

14 Jan Graffius, “Bullworks against the Furie of Heresie: Identity, Education and Mission in the English Jesuit College of St Omers,” in *Forming Catholic Communities: Irish, Scots and English College Networks in Europe, 1568–1918*, ed. Liam Chambers and Thomas O'Connor (Leiden: 2018), 111–12.

afternoon, to which her neighbour's children were call'd with her own household, and herself never absent.¹⁵

These recusant domestic chapels varied from the humble to the lavish. The better endowed were to be found in large recusant houses, with numerous rooms and attics in which a chapel could be set up, and with the additional benefit that many eyes were keeping watch for pursuivants. Such private chapels were natural repositories for rescued medieval vestments, silver, candlesticks, relics, and holy books. Additionally, Palmes's remark that Lawson's chapel followed the fashion in Catholic countries is a reminder that many English recusants were aware of new liturgical practices in Counter-Reformation Europe, receiving such information from exiled family members, relatives in convents, and missionaries trained in the seminaries at Douai, Rome, and Valladolid.

In time, these medieval artifacts were augmented by new fittings. It was natural for much of this work to fall to the female heads of these households, involving, as it did, needlework, embroidery, and textile furnishings. Recusant women were particularly suited to the pious work of sacred embroidery. It gave them a spiritual creative outlet and, through engaging in an act of political/religious subversion in creating forbidden liturgical vestments, strengthened their faith and endorsed the notion of female "white martyrdom."¹⁶ The Jesuit missionary priest, John Gerard, described the difficulties he encountered at the start of his mission at Lawshall between 1588–91 and how his encouragement of women changed the situation:

the altar furnishings were old and worn and anything but helpful to devotion. But here I had to be careful. The chaplain had been with the family some time and he might easily take offence if I started to make a lot of changes. ... I brought out some fine vestments, which were a gift to me, and in this way encouraged the good widow to make others like them.¹⁷ [...] At first I used to take around my mass equipment. It was simple but fitting and specially made so that it could be carried easily, with the other things that I needed, by the man who acted as my servant. In this way I was able to say Mass in the morning wherever I happened to lodge. ... My hosts could seldom provide the essentials for Mass and I had therefore to bring them myself. But after a few years there was no need to do this. In

15 Dillon, "Public Liturgy Made Private," 254.

16 Dillon, "Public Liturgy Made Private," 255.

17 John Gerard, *The Autobiography of an Elizabethan*, trans. Philip Caraman (London: 1955), 24.

nearly every house I visited later I would find vestments and everything else laid out for me.¹⁸

2 Chapel Inventories: “Blew wrote with Gold, wanting a new ground”

Four recusant inventories, dating from the early 17th to the early 18th centuries, provide revealing information as to the wealth of fittings to be found in some domestic chapels. The inventories were written for women (Eliza Vaux, Helena Wintour, Catherine Shireburn, and Elizabeth Rookwood), who all came from well-to-do Catholic gentry families. Their inventories reflect their wealth and status, and an astonishing ability to acquire and preserve chapel furnishings of the very highest quality despite the prospect of severe penalties for so doing.¹⁹ The earliest, that of Eliza Vaux of Harrowden in Northamptonshire, is undated and incomplete. It is ascribed to 1606 by Godfrey Anstruther, who states that the hand was “very ancient ... evidently by an old man who had learned to write in Mary’s reign.”²⁰ Harrowden boasted a new-built wing constructed by Vaux in 1599 to house Gerard and other Jesuit missionaries.²¹ It contained a richly furnished chapel and a number of relics, both pre- and post-Reformation, that had been reset into new reliquaries, inventoried thus:

For Reliquaries. Two gold reliquaries of two of the thorns. Item a great reliquary of gold with leaves to open. Item Father Ignatius’ picture of gold. Item St Stephen’s jawbone in gold and crystal. Item a bone of St Modwen of Burton set in gold. Item a piece of a hairshirt of St Thomas of Canterbury set in gold. Item a thumb of Mr Robert Sutton set in gold. Item a gold cross full of relics that was Mrs Anne’s grandmother’s. Item a gold crucifix bigger than that full of relics. Item a cross of gold without a crucifix that hath little crystals. Item a reliquary of silver and gilt.

For churchstuff a vestment of cloth of silver and embroidered cross of gold upon it, stole and maniple of the same. Item a vestment of cloth

18 Gerard, *Autobiography*, 40.

19 Admittedly, it is likely that the Rookwood inventory (1737) and the Shireburn inventory (1713) list some items that were acquired during the brief hiatus of Catholic persecution in the reign of James II, but that is not true of the Vaux and Wintour inventories.

20 Godfrey Anstruther, *Vaux of Harrowden: A Recusant Family* (Newport: 1953), 386, based on London, PRO/TNA, SP 14/19 fol. 136. See also Jessie Childs, *God’s Traitors: Terror and Faith in Elizabethan England* (London: 2014), 171–72.

21 Childs, *God’s Traitors*, 258–59.

of gold, stole and maniple. Item a cope of the same. Item two tunicles of purple. Item a taffeta vestment with an embroidered Jesus. Item an altarcloth to that with letters about: these two things were Mr Page's the martyr. Item a great reliquary of silver and gilt with relics with Mr Blu[nt]. Item a great deal of brass and pewter that were Mrs Brookesby's and Mrs Anne's. Item there should be 12 feather beds with their furniture. Item a tawny rouge mantle that was Anne's Grandmother's which she must have. Item a great Brass pot to boil beef for a college.²²

Even as an incomplete description of chapel furnishings, it is revealing, due to the number and quality of items of gold, silver, and silver-gilt plate. It is worth noting the number of beds and the great pot for boiling beef “for a college” (the Jesuit term for a community house), suggesting that a sizeable group could be accommodated. Gerard's memoir describes further impressive pieces of plate at Harrowden:

Also we had there many fine vestments for the altar: two sets of every colour which the Church uses; one for ordinary use, the other for greater feasts; some of these with figures of exquisite workmanship were embroidered with gold and pearls. Six massive candlesticks stood on the altar, and two smaller ones at the side for the elevation.²³ The cruets, the lavabo bowl, the bell and the thurible were all of silverware; the lamps hung from silver chains and a silver crucifix stood on the altar. For the great feasts we had a golden crucifix a foot high. It had a pelican carved at the top, and on the right arm an eagle with outstretched wings, carrying on its back its little ones who were learning to fly; and on the left arm a phoenix expiring in flames so that it might leave an offspring; and at the foot was a hen gathering her chickens under her wings. The whole was worked in gold by a skilled artist.²⁴

Vaux's Jesuit residence and college therefore lacked nothing in the way of fittings, vestments, or priests. The mention of “tunics” is revealing. Such vestments were only worn by deacons and may be an indication that the

²² Anstruther, *Vaux of Harrowden*, 386.

²³ The use of six candlesticks “shows that she kept abreast of continental fashions since two had been the usual number in pre-Reformation England.” Charles Oman, *English Church Plate, 597–1830* (London: 1957), 258.

²⁴ Gerard, *Autobiography*, 195.

clandestine residents of Harrowden included men who were undergoing some degree of informal priestly formation within a settled Jesuit community.

The second inventory is that of Helena Wintour, daughter of Robert Wintour and niece of Thomas Wintour; both men, together with their half-brother, John, were executed in 1606, as participants in the 1605 Gunpowder Plot.²⁵ Wintour was a moderately wealthy unmarried woman, who maintained lavish charities while supporting her needy wider family. She was a staunch recusant, sheltering priests, supporting the Jesuits financially, and working for much of her adult life on a remarkable series of vestments. She left a brief note on the day of her death, 5 May 1671, bequeathing her moveable goods to the Jesuits. Shortly after her death, a succinct inventory was drawn up listing her “churchestuffe”:

One Old Albe
 Two Curtains of Looome worke black and white
 One old white vestment of Churchworke
 One old violet vestment of Churchworke
 One Red Antependium of Cloath of Gold, stole and maniple (erased words probably ‘of antependium’) Credenizas & vestment.
 One old Red embroderd Antependium with credenizas of cloth of gold and red satin
 Two red & white Curtaines with a lace edge
 One old Corporall Case
 One rich white vestment with flowerpots, with peasecots antependium, credenizas, vale a Cushion & Corporall case.
 An other rich white vestment, stole & maniple, et Antependium, Vale, Cushion, corporall case & Credenizas
 One rich crimson satin vestment, stole & maniple, antependium, vale, corporal case, cushion & credenizas
 The turkey-work carpet and footcloth for ye Alter
 The Hangings of cloath of silver
 2 Silver Candlesticks
 One Remonstrance²⁶

²⁵ For a full biography of Helena and her family, see Jan Graffius (ed.), *Plots and Spangles: The Embroidered Vestments of Helena Wintour. A Catalogue of an Exhibition from the Collections and Archives of the British Jesuit Province, Stonyhurst College, Ushaw College, the Ashmolean Museum and Auckland Castle Trust, Held at Auckland Castle 16th October 2015–11th April 2016* (Stonyhurst, Lancashire: 2015), 15–19.

²⁶ London, ABSI, MS A.22, “A Note of Mis Ell. Wint: Churchstuffle.” The list was made in response to a claim for the vestments made by Lady Wintour, Helena’s niece by marriage.

This inventory lists pre-Reformation vestments (violet and white) along with the rich red and white vestments of Wintour's own making. Unlike the fittings of the wealthier Vaux chapel, Wintour's chapel has only a single pair of silver candlesticks and one monstrance. There is no mention of chalices, relics, thuribles, or bells, although these may have been removed by her cousin, Mary Talbot, who gave many items to the Jesuit Anthony Turner immediately after Wintour's death.²⁷ Regardless of what was removed, it is clear that Wintour's chapel was lavishly furnished with at least six sets of vestments, five antependia, and other textiles. Wintour's own work, which has survived more or less intact, will be discussed later in this chapter.

The third inventory relates to the Shireburns, a notable Lancastrian recusant family. Their house, Stonyhurst Hall, though unfinished due to recusancy fines, was one of the most significant in the Northwest, and the family's 17th-century history is one of staunch adherence to their faith and the Royalist cause.²⁸ Sir Nicholas Shireburn inherited the estate in 1689. He and his wife, Catherine Charleton of Hesleyside, embarked on an ambitious building, landscaping, and furnishing program. Catherine's inventory of 1713 lists expensive and fashionable furnishings such as tapestries, silk hangings, paintings, japanned lacquerwork, Chinese porcelain, a billiard table, repeating clocks, sculpture, silver plate, and pier glasses.²⁹ The chapel inventory alone runs to four pages, including furnishings, linen, vestments, china, silver plate, paintings and prints, and a traveling Mass box for serving the more rural Catholic tenancies on the large estate. It includes stamped gilt leather chapel wall hangings, "one Large Tabernacle wth 4 steps Blew & Gilt with Gold, Lin'd wth a Rich Gold and Silver Brocard," 18 silver candlesticks, eight gilt flowerpots, a double-gilt ciborium, two chalices with silver pyxes, holy oils, crucifixes, and spoons. The sacristy includes, among numerous items, a japanned tabernacle, a christening shawl, china and marble holy water stoups, china candlesticks, blue and white "cheany" flowerpots with one dozen sprigs of artificial "fflowers for the alter," and "Sixteen Escutcheons of Armes of Friends & Relations."

Lady Wintour contested Helena's wish to leave them to the Jesuits. For fuller details of the unedifying story, see Graffius, *Plots and Spangles*, 19–22.

27 Graffius, *Plots and Spangles*, 21; also ABSI, MS A.22.

28 For full details of the Shireburn biography, and their links to St Omers College, see T.E. Muir, *Stonyhurst*, 2nd ed. (Cirencester: 2006), 55–68; also John Gerard, *Stonyhurst College: Its Life beyond the Seas, 1592–1794, and on English Soil, 1794–1894* (Belfast: 1894), 42–84.

29 Clitheroe, Lancashire, Stonyhurst College Archives, MS C.III, "My Lady Shireburn's Inventory Book of Household goods At Stonyhurst A Dni 1713, Tho Walmelsley script 4th of Aprill ano Dni 1713."

The Shireburns were well provided with vestments. There were ten full sets, eight with matching antependia, including white, green, scarlet, black, and purple, including:

One white Tabby vestmt wth a Crimson velvet Cross behind & before imbrodeard with Gold & Silver wth all things belonging to it, the Antependium & all lased wth Gold Orris ... 1

one Rich Scarlet Silk Sute Brockaded wth Gold & Silver, the Antependium and all Las'd with Silver Orris ... 1

One black Velvet Sute Imbroder'd wth Deaths heads and fyry Tongues the Antependium & all Las'd with Black & White Silk Lase ... 1.³⁰

A reference to a vestment with an embroidered Crucifixion probably indicates a pre-Reformation *opus anglicanum* piece, unpicked from its original backing and remounted. Additionally, the sacristy list mentions "Tew Alabaster Figures (v[idelice]t) Circumcision and Crusifixion." These, along with others that survived in the house until 1794, will be discussed later in this chapter.

The last inventory was made for Elizabeth Rookwood (1684–1759), another redoubtable Catholic matron of a later generation. Described as "masculine" and with "the air of an Empress," she inherited the Rookwood family estates at Coldham, in Suffolk, having lived for 16 out of her first 21 years in an English convent in Bruges.³¹ Her inventory, dated August 1737, includes chapel contents not dissimilar to those of Wintour. Like Wintour's, Rookwood's family history had been marked by involvement in the Gunpowder Plot, although by the time she was born in 1684 this was less of a disability.³² Coldham was ransacked in 1605, and it might be assumed that nothing relating to Catholic material culture prior to this date survived in the house, but amid the descriptions of 17th- and 18th-century red, black, white, and green chasubles, one medieval chasuble is listed: "Blew wrote with Gold, wanting a new ground."³³ Blue vestments are generally regarded as predating the Council of Trent. They were used under the pre-Reformation Sarum Rite in England as a substitute for purple or violet. In this instance, the reference to the worn-out ground fabric makes it doubly

30 Stonyhurst College Archives, MS C.III, p. 6.

31 Francis Young (ed.), *Rookwood Family Papers, 1606–1761* (Woodbridge: 2016), xlii–lviii.

32 Ambrose Rookwood of Coldham Hall was one of the last to join the Gunpowder Plot. He was executed on 31 January 1606.

33 Young, *Rookwood Family Papers*, 55.

likely that this chasuble predated 1500. There are a number of instances where medieval embroideries were transferred onto new Counter-Reformation-style chasubles, both in England and at St Omers in the 17th century.³⁴

One feature common to all four of these inventories is an evident desire to rededicate medieval relics and vestments and put them to use in recusant chapels. There is also surprising evidence of a rich body of new and lavish vestments and of modern silver plate, which ties in with what we know about the existence of Counter-Reformation reading material in English recusant houses. Similarly, it suggests highly effective networks distributing Catholic books and items.

3 Case Study 1. Vestments: “A Rich and Rare Memorial”

In 1609, Cardinal Guido Bentivoglio took part in a triumphant procession celebrating the newly formed Sodality of the English Jesuit College of St Omers. The sodality was dedicated to the reconversion of England to Catholicism, and Bentivoglio, as papal nuncio, represented the pope. In that procession, he was adorned with a sumptuous 15th-century cloth-of-gold and scarlet silk damask cope, which had been smuggled out of England. Bentivoglio wrote:

After Mass there was a procession of the scholars within the precincts of the college, and in it I wore a cope that once belonged to Henry VIII [Bentivoglio is inaccurate, as the cope originated with Henry VII], and which is preserved here as a rich and rare memorial. ... During the whole time of my visit I truly seemed to be in Paradise and among angels. I was greatly edified and moved even to sorrow, at seeing for the first and perhaps the last time so many choice plants in the Catholic Church destined to persecution, afflictions and martyrdom, as now I beheld springing up and growing before me.³⁵

This cope survives and is still the property of the British Jesuit Province [see Figure 17.1]. The design of the cope is emphatically English and dynastic, including the red roses of Lancaster and the portcullis of Henry VII's royal

34 Hubert Chadwick, *Stonyhurst Vestments* (Stonyhurst College: 1957). A few chasubles at Stonyhurst came full circle in the mid-19th century. The 17th-century fiddleback shapes were replaced with the newly fashionable Puginesque semicircular cut, with the medieval embroideries remounted on them.

35 Guido Bentivoglio to Cardinal Scipione Borghese, 18 October 1609, in Foley, 8:1152–55.

mother, Margaret Beaufort.³⁶ It is a survivor from what was originally a set of 29 copes, plus chasuble [see Figure 17.2] and dalmatics, which were possibly intended for the coronation of Prince Arthur, since there would have been a sufficient number to clothe the entire Catholic hierarchy of England and Wales. Henry VII made particular mention of the copes in his will, bequeathing them to

God and St Petre, and to th' Abbot, Priour and Convent of our Monastery at Westminster, that nowe bee and that hereafter shall bee, for a perpetuell memorie there to remaigne while the world shall endure, the hoole sute of vestiments and coopies of cloth of gold tissue wrought with our badges of rede roses and portcoleys, the which we of late at our propre costs and charges, caused to be made, bought and provided, at Florence in Italie, that is to saie, the hoole vestements for the priest, the deacon and subdeacon, and xxix copes of the same clothe and worke.³⁷

Henry VIII borrowed the set to take to the Field of Cloth of Gold in June 1520. The fate of the copes during the Reformation is not clearly documented. It is known that by 1608, only 11 remained in England, and by 1643, these too had been destroyed.³⁸ John Cotton deposed in 1618, "And further he knoweth that he had divers copes of great worth, which, as he had heard, did sometimes belong to Westminster Church, and those he would never lend unto the secular priests, but to the Jesuits, so that Father Garnett had two or three of them which were lost when he was taken. ... And two others he thinketh of these copes are now at St Omers being entreated thither by the Jesuits."³⁹

We are not sure exactly when one or more rescued copes arrived at St Omers, but evidently at least one had got there by 1609, the year it was worn by Bentivoglio. He wore it as a symbolic act, since in his letter, he identified it as a rescued object of memory. For Catholics, Christ's words at the Last Supper, "Do this in memory of me," represent a continuous act of sacrifice renewed every time that the Eucharist is celebrated. Thus, Bentivoglio's words, "a rich

36 Lisa Monnas, "New Documents for the Vestments of Henry VII at Stonyhurst College," *The Burlington Magazine* 131 (1989), 345–49.

37 Monnas, "New Documents," 345.

38 Chadwick, *Stonyhurst Vestments*, 1–3. Of the entire set, the following have survived: a chasuble and chalice veil kept at Stonyhurst and a single cope, the property of the British Jesuit Province.

39 Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, MSS of the Earl of Ancaster, 8ANC 5/1– 8ANC 9/52, "Examination of John Cotton June 14 1613 Lambeth."

and rare memorial,” indicate an act of continuous remembrance on the part of the person wearing the cope, which would have been understood by those witnessing it in the procession. Furthermore, the Beaufort iconography of the vestment held a particular significance for recusants. Catholic theologians in the late 16th century took the view that the true claimant to the English throne was the Habsburg Archduchess Isabella through her legitimate descent from John of Gaunt and then Margaret Beaufort. The cope’s royal provenance added a further symbolism, speaking of a previous era when all English kings and queens were Catholic.

A variety of surviving medieval Catholic textiles are decorated with *opus anglicanum*, a widely admired native style of embroidery that flourished in England from the 13th to the 15th centuries and was exported all over Christendom. It was notable for its underside couching of threads so as to produce a smooth gold surface, augmented by richly colored silks skillfully embroidered into lifelike renditions of saints, gospel scenes, and incidents from the life of the Virgin.⁴⁰ These images were worked onto a stout linen backing and then appliquéed onto the fabric of the vestment. The embroideries are easily removed, leaving the plain fabric behind. Another important composite work made up from pre-Reformation embroideries and now at Stonyhurst is the St Dunstan chasuble: its decoration originated from several different medieval copes and chasubles.⁴¹ It was pieced together in the 17th century from a number of high-quality 14th-century English and Flemish embroideries, made up with a few late 15th-century pieces of very indifferent quality [see Figure 17.3]. It is named after St Dunstan, although the saint appears in only one embroidered panel, where he is shown as a goldsmith pinching the Devil’s nose. The matching panels appear to have come from a cope associated with Canterbury Cathedral as they feature saints and martyrs who were archbishops of that see: Dunstan, Blaise, Elphege, Odo, and Thomas Becket. The front bears a strip of poorly executed later figures of Peter and Paul, and a beautiful, intricate Flemish panel showing Becket’s martyrdom, which has been patched together from a few panels from a cope hood [see Figure 17.4]. These embroideries made their way via unknown channels to St Omers in the 17th century, where they were pieced together to make the present chasuble, in the fiddleback style.⁴² The Dunstan chasuble medieval embroideries with their Becket imagery, remounted onto a 17th-century chasuble, symbolized, like the Henry VII

40 Lisa Monnas, “The Making of Medieval Embroidery,” in *English Medieval Embroidery: Opus Anglicanum*, ed. Clare Browne, Glyn Davies, and M.A. Michael (New Haven: 2016), 7–24.

41 It belongs to the British Jesuit Province, on loan to the Stonyhurst College collections.

42 Chadwick, *Stonyhurst Vestments*, 13–15.

vestments, Catholic resistance to present-day Protestant royal authority, and referenced England's pre-Reformation royal Catholic status.⁴³

The final vestment in this case study is a piece made in England specifically for use in a recusant domestic chapel. Helena Wintour designed and embroidered the chasuble she described as the "Spangled Stuffe Sute" in the mid-17th century [see Figure 17.5]. It was a significant piece for her, as she singled it out for mention in her will, leaving it to her goddaughter, Nell Attmore.⁴⁴ In style, it resembles vestments from the Low Countries and the Spanish Netherlands, which is hardly surprising given the cross pollination of styles, techniques, and patterns exchanged between Englishwomen in Flemish convents and their relatives at home.⁴⁵ It still has its original spangles and embroidered slips of birds, fruit, and flowers laid onto a cream ribbed-silk ground [see Figure 17.6]. The front of the chasuble features a high-relief embroidered pelican under an arch beside a stream. Wintour's other surviving vestments feature images of the pelican, phoenix, eagle, and hen, recalling the great gold crucifix that Vaux caused to be made for Gerard with those four birds depicted upon it.⁴⁶

The pelican and phoenix were common Christian symbols, but the eagle and hen less so. It could be argued that Wintour was citing spiritual works by two English Jesuits, Henry Hawkins and Robert Southwell, in her use of this imagery.⁴⁷ In her embroidery, she invokes the imagery of the phoenix for the Resurrection, the hen for the protective succor of the Virgin Mary, and the eagle for daring and for the Assumption.⁴⁸ Her fourth bird, the pelican, traditionally symbolizes the Eucharist, but her choice to depict it, unusually, by a

43 Seth Hindin, Virginia Chieffo Raguin, and Janet Graffius, "Liturgical Vestments," in Raguin, *Catholic Collecting*, 61–65.

44 ABSI, MS A.22.

45 Graffius, *Plots and Spangles*, 62–64.

46 Chadwick, *Stonyhurst Vestments*, 50–52.

47 Graffius, *Plots and Spangles*, 38–40 and 50–52. See also Sophia Jane Holroyd, "Embroidered Rhetoric: The Social, Religious and Political Functions of Elite Women's Needlework, c.1560–1630" (PhD diss., University of Warwick, 2002), <http://go.warwick.ac.uk/wrap/2356>, accessed 8 November 2017.

48 Alexander B. Grosart (ed.), *The Complete Poems of Robert Southwell, S.J.* (London: 1872), 144: "But eagles' eyes to brightest light aspire, And living lookes delite in lofty glades: Faynte winged foul by ground doth fayntly flye, Our princely eagle mountes unto the skye." The poem was written before the Gunpowder Plot of 1605 but arguably took on a different, perhaps coincidental, symbolism afterwards in John Vicars's 1617 poem and woodcut: "MOUNT happy EAGLE, And thy rich prey, to th' King convey," referring to the Catholic William Parker, 4th Baron Monteagle, delivering the warning letter of the plot. Monteagle was a friend of Helena's uncle, Thomas Wintour. John Vicars, *Mischiefes Myserie: or, Treasons Master-peace, The Powder Plot* (London: 1617).

running stream recalls another of Southwell's poems, *Christe's Bloudy Sweate*, which uses pelican and phoenix imagery to symbolize Christ's death, and that of Catholic priests who were hanged, drawn, and quartered, in whose execution both fire and water were employed:

He Pelicans, he Phenix fate doth prove,
 Whom flames consume, whom streames enforce to die, How burneth
 bloud, how bleedeth burning love?
 Can one in flame and streame both bathe and frie?
 How could he joine a Phenix fiery paines
 In fainting Pelicans still bleeding vaines?⁴⁹

She further anchored her work within the canon of Jesuit spirituality by embroidering monograms of the Jesuits Ignatius Loyola and Francis Xavier, amid IHS symbols and the letters AMDG (*Ad Maiorem Dei Gloriam*: the Jesuit motto). In addition, many of her other pieces bear her name, her initials, and her family crest [see Figures 17.7 and 17.8]. The fact that she made vestments for the proscribed Mass was in itself an act of defiance. Her use of specifically Jesuit symbolism along with her family name, with all its associations of treason and rebellion, was doubly so.

4 Case Study 2. Relics: "St Chad is present yonder on the upper part of the bed"

The saving of a portion of St Chad's relics from Lichfield Cathedral in 1538 was not an isolated event. There are countless examples of similar *furta sacra* enacted by local Catholics unwilling to countenance the destruction of relics that had been part of the landscape of their faith, literally and figuratively, for hundreds of years. The Chad relics in question have an unusually well-documented chain of provenance from the destruction of the shrine in the time of Henry VIII to the present day. The necessary secrecy of this illegal action precluded the official episcopal witnessing that is normally incumbent on the translation of holy bodies. During the 16th and 17th centuries in England, rescued bones were entrusted to faithful Catholics, who kept the secrets of their guardianship as a sacred trust, often not passing on knowledge of their existence until on their deathbed. Where a suitable recusant custodian could

49 Grosart, *Robert Southwell*, 137.

not be found, many relics were handed into the care of missionary priests, intended for the security of English seminaries and colleges on the Continent. On their arrival in Europe, it was necessary to provide as clear a provenance for the relics as possible for the local bishop to permit public veneration.

These rescued bones of Chad (some of which have survived to the present day) have an unusually meticulous paper trail, transcribed in 1875 by Henry Foley, the Jesuit archivist and historian. The story of their passing into the hands of the Jesuits in 1615 is worth relating in full:

A Relation how six of the greater bones of St Chad came into my hands. Written by Father Peter Turner and Father William Atkins, Missionary Priests of the Society of Jesus.

A.D. 1615, on September 8, the day of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin, Henry Hodsheeds of Woodsaton, near Sedgley, in the county of Stafford, being on his death-bed, sent for me to attend him. After having strengthened him with the rites of the Church, I knelt down and recited the Litany of the Saints, to which the sick man, who was not unacquainted with the Latin language, answered with great devotion. When we came to that part where the holy confessors are invoked, he drew his hands from beneath the coverlet, and joining them devoutly on his breast he broke forth into this exclamation: "Holy St Chad, pray for me". On his repeating this many times I interrupted the course of the Litany, and asked him why he thus so frequently invoked St Chad? He replied: "St Chad is present yonder on the upper part of the bed: this is a treasure which I wish to be guarded with great honour, and therefore I give it to you". Having said this, and the Litany being first finished, I expressed a desire to see these relics, which Henry's wife placed in my hands wrapped up in a piece of black buckram. Both Henry and myself thought that this was the same cover in which these relics had been wrapped at the time they were laid in a silver reliquary in the church of Lichfield. From the above-named cover I took out the sacred bones, and placed them in a wooden box, nineteen or twenty inches long, six deep and six broad, together with the cover separately folded, and I sealed the box with two small seals of wax. On my asking him how he had become possessed of these relics he answered: "When the Catholic faith was overturned, a certain Prebendary Dudley (related to the famous Dudley who formerly was Lord or Baron) took away these sacred relics from the church of Lichfield, for the sake of the honour and reverence due to them, which he intrusted to two noble women his relations (of the same name of Dudley), who lived at Russell Hall, a house near the country residence of Dudley. The Prebendary being dead, these

women being alarmed by the terrors of the laws, although Catholics, were anxious to avoid exposing themselves to danger, and therefore willingly gave them to me and my brother William (they being our neighbours and very friendly to us). In the division that was made of them, part of them was allotted to my brother and the rest to me. From that time to this hour I have faithfully preserved them.

He (Henry Hodsheeds) being dead, his wife delivered to me the relics, which I had placed, as I said before, with the cover, in a box. Neither have I any doubt that all these (things) are most true, since for nearly twenty years I have always been impressed with the prudence and faith of this man. In testimony whereof I herunto sign my name.

Signed PETER TURNER

FRANCIS COTTON THOMAS WILKINSON
WILLIAM ATKIN RICHARD VAVASOUR⁵⁰

The bones remained in England until they were divided in 1667. On 20 January 1667, Richard Barton, Jesuit rector of St Omers, recorded the arrival of a portion of the relics for the sodality of the college, which was dedicated to the conversion of England. Foley further notes that other pieces were sent to Jesuits in Ghent in 1670 and to Liège in 1671.⁵¹ The bones that remained in England passed from the Jesuits into the hands of Basil Fitzherbert of Swynnerton, thence to Aston Hall, and finally, on 21 June 1841, were translated to the Catholic Cathedral of St Chad in Birmingham. Turner's manuscript note, which was found in the box of bones at Aston in 1839, was instrumental in their approbation.⁵²

The relics, while they remained under cover in England, were secreted in discreet silk-lined wooden boxes. When the bone arrived at St Omers, it was rehoused in a splendid Flemish baroque statue reliquary designed for public veneration and processions.⁵³ Chad's relics were singled out by the English

50 Foley, 3:794–96.

51 Foley, 2:232. The Liège relic has also survived and is to be found at Stonyhurst along with the St Omers Sodality relic, both the property of the British Jesuit Province.

52 "The Relics of St Chad," St Chad's Birmingham, <http://www.stchadscathedral.org.uk/cathedral/relics-of-st-chad/>, accessed 3 August 2017.

53 Chad's relic (Stonyhurst Relic no. 8) is housed in a silver-gilt reliquary designed to look like a cope morse, engraved "S. Ceadda Episcopus Lichfield." This fits onto the front of a silver repoussé statue of the saint by Nicolas Flemalle of Liège, dated 1667, the year the relic arrived at St Omers.

Jesuits for lavish treatment [see Figure 17.9]. The only comparable reliquary housed a piece of Thomas Becket's skull, a far more celebrated saint and martyr, who was also the patron of the college⁵⁴ [see Figure 17.10]. But Chad had been celebrated at St Omers for many years prior to the arrival of the relic. He was venerated as a holy confessor, and his personal history made him of particular interest to recusants because, although he was initially ordained under the Celtic rite, he submitted to papal supremacy and was reordained under the Roman rite after the Synod of Whitby, and was thus seen as an English example of loyalty to the papacy.

The Jesuit playwright Joseph Simons wrote *Mercia* in 1624 for performance at St Omers. Its theme is Chad's life as bishop amid the 7th-century struggles between paganism and the Celtic and Roman strands of Christianity. This was followed by other plays on a similar theme in 1647, 1660, and 1661.⁵⁵ The silver statue and relic of Chad, along with those of Thomas Becket, were venerated in public and processed through the streets of St Omers on feast days.

Perhaps the most renowned of those Catholic relics associated with early modern England is the Holy Thorn, often called Mary, Queen of Scots' Thorn, which arrived at St Omers College around 1666⁵⁶ [see Figure 17.11]. It consists of a thorn supposedly taken from the Crown of Thorns originally kept in the Sainte-Chapelle in Paris.⁵⁷ The Crown, along with other Passion relics, was sold to Louis IX of France in 1238 following the 4th Crusade and the sack of Constantinople in 1204.⁵⁸

The main source for the English provenance of the thorn is Gerard's account of his life as a Jesuit missionary in England between 1588 and 1606, which he wrote around 1609. In it he describes how the thorn came into his hands in 1594:

54 This is housed in a silver repoussé statue and morse reliquary similar to that of Chad, also made by Nicolas Flemalle of Liege and dated 1666, both the property of the British Jesuit Province, on loan to Stonyhurst College.

55 William H. McCabe, *An Introduction to Jesuit Theater* (St Louis: 1983), esp. 81. For a further analysis of the significance of drama at St Omers and other Jesuit institutions, see Janet Graffius, "A Gift from Poetry: The First Folio and Jesuit Drama in St Omers," *Times Literary Supplement*, 6 February 2015, 14–15. For an English translation of *Mercia*, see R.F. Grady, *Jesuit Theater Englished*, ed. Louis J. Oldani and Philip C. Fischer (St Louis: 1989), 79–160.

56 Stonyhurst Relic no. 1. This remarkable relic is the property of the British Jesuit Province, cared for at Stonyhurst College.

57 John Cherry, *The Holy Thorn Reliquary* (London: 2010), 20. In fact, in keeping with many of the Sainte-Chapelle thorns, this was originally a double thorn, separated into two thorns at the time described by John Gerard, presumably for reasons of security, to prevent both thorns from falling into the wrong hands.

58 Charles Freeman, *Holy Bones, Holy Dust: How Relics Shaped the History of Medieval Europe* (New Haven: 2011), 122–30.

At this time I was given some very remarkable relics, and my friends had them finely set for me. They included a complete thorn of the holy crown of Our Lord which Mary, Queen of Scots, had brought with her from France (where the whole crown is kept) and had given to the Earl of Northumberland, who was later martyred. While he lived, the Earl used to carry it round his neck in a golden cross, and when he came to execution he gave it to his daughter, who gave it to me. It was enclosed in a case set with pearls.⁵⁹

On the base of the Elizabethan reliquary is the inscription:

Haec spina de Corona Domini sancta, fuit primo Mariae Reginae Scotiae Martyris, et ab ea data Comiti Northumbriae martyri, qui in morte misit illam filae suae Elizabethae, quae dedit Societati; hancque J. Wis ornavit auro. [This thorn from the sacred Crown of the Lord was first [owned by] Mary Queen of Scots, the martyr, and given by her to the Earl of Northumberland, the martyr, who at his death gave it to his daughter Elizabeth, who gave it to the Society. And this J. Wis. has adorned with gold.]

Thomas Percy's daughter, Elizabeth, married Richard Woodroff of Wooley in Yorkshire. She must have received the thorn in 1572 when her father was executed for his part in the Rising of the Northern Earls. She was closely associated with Gerard in the period 1591 to 1594.⁶⁰

The "J. Wis" of the inscription is Jane Wiseman, wife of William Wiseman of Braddocks, another staunch protector of the Jesuits and of Gerard, whom she housed between 1591 and 1594. Gerard's memoir states that Percy kept the complete thorn in a golden cross and that Jane Wiseman had a gold case set with pearls made for it. In keeping with many of the Sainte-Chapelle thorns, the complete thorn was, in fact, a double thorn, separated into two thorns at the time described by John Gerard, presumably for reasons of security, to safeguard both thorns from falling into the wrong hands. Curiously, Gerard only mentioned one thorn and one reliquary, which is now the property of the British Jesuit Province.

Jane Wiseman had two cases made for the newly separated thorns; another very similar reliquary containing a thorn, with an identical inscription, is to

59 Gerard, *Autobiography*, 49.

60 Gerard, *Autobiography*, 39.

be found in St Michael's Church in Ghent.⁶¹ The pearls described by Gerard are only to be found in the Jesuit Province reliquary, which is more elaborate in decoration than the Ghent reliquary. There are no maker's marks on either reliquary, but the design indicates a French or Flemish maker of around 1590. It would have been a dangerous commission for an English goldsmith, given the thorns' significance not only as Catholic relics but also their association with two executed traitors, Mary Stuart and Thomas Percy.

John Morris, the 19th-century Jesuit historian, refers to an authentication found with the Ghent thorn, which states that it was kept in the provincial's room in London, and that Fr Clerk, provincial of the English Jesuits, brought it to Watten in France in January 1666 to allow greater veneration for the relic than was possible in England.⁶² The Province thorn has no surviving authentication, but presumably it was also cared for by the Jesuits in London, perhaps in a separate location, to prevent both being captured if one house was raided. It reached St Omers College around the same time as the Ghent thorn reached Watten, and both were approved by the bishop of St Omer for public veneration on 8 January 1666 and 5 February 1666, respectively. The public veneration of a relic of the Passion, associated with a martyred queen and Catholic earl, in the St Omer sodality chapel, dedicated to the restoration of Catholicism in England, was a significant statement of Catholic continuity and defiance on the part of the college.⁶³

It will be noted that both thorn relics referred to here were also present in Vaux's chapel inventory around 1606 discussed earlier ("Two gold reliquaries of two of the thorns") and were associated with Gerard the missionary. The Gerard-Vaux partnership was also responsible for saving another significant group of four relics, setting them in silver-gilt reliquaries very similar in design and decoration to the thorn reliquaries. Like the thorn reliquaries, they are thought to be of Flemish design, possibly manufactured in England by foreign craftsmen. It seems unlikely that such precious relics were despatched to the Low Countries to be encased in the reliquaries, and the intricate design of the spiralling pearls holding the Province thorn makes it highly unlikely that the thorn was placed in the reliquary afterwards. Vaux evidently had access to skilled silver- and goldsmiths, whom she trusted to have the discretion

61 The Ghent reliquary was confiscated when the Jesuit order was suppressed in 1773 and presented first to the bishop of Ghent, then in 1808 to the Confraternity of the Holy Cross in St Michael's, Ghent. John Morris, "Queen Mary's Holy Thorn," *The Month* 44 (1882), 555.

62 Morris, "Queen Mary's Holy Thorn," 554.

63 Jan Graffius, "The Stuart Relics in the Stonyhurst Collection," *RH* 31 (2012), 147–69.

necessary to make Catholic reliquaries related to highly contentious figures: Mary Stuart, Thomas Percy, and English martyrs such as Robert Sutton.

Two of the four Gerard-Vaux reliquaries relate to early saints, Stephen the Protomartyr and the allegedly 7th-century Modwenna of Burton-on-Trent, rescued from the abbey of that name, founded somewhere between the 7th and 9th centuries, and suppressed in 1539.⁶⁴ The third now contains later Jesuit relics, including one of John Francis Regis, but must originally have held a different relic, as Gerard died three years before Regis, who was not canonized until 1737. The fourth contains a relic of the English martyr, Robert Sutton. They, and the two thorn containers, are all small in size, a feature of 16th- and 17th-century English reliquaries, which were designed for concealment.⁶⁵

Robert Sutton, an Anglican priest in Lutterworth, Leicestershire who converted to Catholicism, was executed in Stafford on 27 July 1587. Gerard describes the relic in detail:

By a wonderful providence of God [a] finger, together with the thumb, was preserved from decay, although the whole arm had been pinned up to be eaten by birds. When some Catholics came to remove it secretly (it had been exposed for a whole year) they found nothing but bones. The only parts still covered with flesh and skin were the thumb and finger which had been anointed with sacred oil at ordination and had been sanctified by the touch of the Blessed Sacrament. His brother, another good priest, kept the thumb in his possession and presented me with the forefinger.⁶⁶

Enclosed with the thumb is a paper in Gerard's hand giving the same account of the relic according to a list of martyrs that he drew up in 1594.⁶⁷ Christopher Grene also referred to the relic, summarizing Gerard's manuscript record: "both fingers, thus marvellously preserved, were shown me by his brother Abraham Sutton, whom he left behind him at Douay, who has also now been made a

64 Gerard, *Autobiography*, xx: "[T]wo of these relics are old ones and were rescued from the pillage of a monastery. They came to me through a trustworthy source."

65 The Gerard-Vaux reliquaries and the Holy Thorn reliquaries all measure less than 15 cm. in height.

66 Gerard, *Autobiography*, 49–50.

67 The inscription is translated in Chadwick, *Stonyhurst Relics*, 21: "the thumb of Mr Robert Sutton, priest, who when in prison at Stafford, the night before his passion, was seen to pray, surrounded by a great light. After the parts of his body had been exposed to the birds of the air for a year, they were carried away by Catholics. The thumb and forefinger were untouched though the rest was consumed to the bones."

priest. He gave me the forefinger and I kept it with due veneration in a silver case with glass and together with a paper in which its history is briefly written.”⁶⁸ Gerard died in 1637, and at the time of writing up his notes in Rome, quoted by Grene, he had no idea of the location of the reliquary: “Our Fathers in England still have this reliquary with its sacred treasure, unless perhaps in these unhappy times it has been taken by the heretics.”⁶⁹ That all four Gerard-Vaux reliquaries survived into the present day is remarkable. It is a tribute to the sacred trust of stewardship undertaken by 17th-century priests and recusants such as Gerard and Vaux.

5 Case Study 3. Alabasters and Paintings: “most lyvelie colours all like the burni’ge gold”

In pre-Reformation English churches, one of the most prominent art forms was the great altarpiece or retable. These large pieces of carved and painted liturgical furniture were raised high above the altar, communicating the essential points of the Mass, the liturgy, the Gospels, and the communion of saints to the gathered congregation in the body of the church, huddled on the other side of the rood screen.⁷⁰ The altarpiece changed with the feasts and seasons through a multiplicity of hinged panels.

Alabaster-carved panels were an English specialty. Alabaster is a crystalline form of gypsum (hydrous calcium sulfate) that occurs plentifully in seams in the Nottingham area. It was prized for its milky, translucent luster, reminiscent of the far costlier marble and ivory, and was easier to carve than wood with its awkward grain and more brittle nature. Alabaster was easily colored with bright pigments and gold leaf and was set into altarpieces in countless thousands of churches in England and Europe as far afield as the Baltic and Iceland.⁷¹ Workshops turned out copious numbers of images based on standard patterns that varied little over the 13th, 14th, and 15th centuries. The great weakness of alabaster is its solubility in water and its lack of strength and durability compared with stone. Such frailty made the altarpieces easy targets of Reformation iconoclasm.

68 ABSI, Grene Collectanea, MS A.M., fol. 48.

69 ABSI, Grene Collectanea, MS A.M., fol. 48.

70 R.W. Pfaff, *New Liturgical Feasts in Later Medieval England* (Oxford: 1970), 78–79 (Rites of Durham, 1593).

71 Francis Cheetham, *Alabaster Images of Medieval England* (Woodbridge: 2003), 11–12.

In common with most of their wealthy contemporaries, between the early 14th and late 15th centuries, the Shireburns of Stonyhurst in Lancashire commissioned a number of alabaster panels, presumably for their chantry chapel, their parish church, and the family chapel within Stonyhurst Hall itself. In the previously mentioned family inventory of 1713, the contents of the chapel and sacristy list two alabaster panels, a Circumcision, which dates from the late 13th century, and a 15th-century Crucifixion. These medieval items were displayed in the 17th-century Shireburn family chapel. They sat side by side with 21 17th-century Flemish copper devotional paintings and a startling array of lavish contemporary silver and vestments. The alabasters, along with a further dozen unmentioned in the inventory, survived in the Stonyhurst chapel throughout the 18th century, when it was in use by the local community, and were found in the house in 1794 on the arrival of the Jesuit College of St Omers. They, and the copper paintings described here, are now in the Stonyhurst College collections.⁷²

The Flemish paintings are from a high-quality mid-17th-century workshop [see Figure 17.12]. Painted on copper panels and pierced with a hanging hole, they depict the Sorrows of the Virgin, in which Mary observes scenes from the life of her son while swords pierce her heart, as described in Luke 2:34–35, predicted by the prophet Simeon.⁷³ They are moderate in size and thus easy to transport and hide. The Shireburns sent at least two generations of their sons to St Omers from the 1630s to the 1650s, and it is very likely that these paintings were acquired during this time and shipped back to Lancashire. They decorated the family chapel from the late 17th century, then remained in situ when it became a community parish chapel between 1750 and 1835, when the large college church of St Peter's was consecrated. After that date, they were removed to hang in the long corridors of the college along with numerous other examples of spiritually uplifting religious art, intended to edify generations of Stonyhurst pupils.

6 Case Study 4. Silver Chapel Plate: “Restore me to Layland in Lankeshire”

Early recusant chapels must have managed to make do with a few pre-Reformation chalices and attendant plate to allow them to function. Existing

⁷² Raguin, *Catholic Collecting*, 36–37.

⁷³ Raguin, *Catholic Collecting*, 40–41 and 122.

examples survive with engraved messages such as “Restore me to Layland in Lankeshire” or “Restore me to Caton,” while still others have family arms or mottos engraved, with the hope that these would eventually make their way back to their rightful parish or family.⁷⁴ Such items of plate grew scarce, however, as the royal and episcopal commissioners carried out raids targeting silver and gold artifacts to fill their masters’ coffers.⁷⁵

Chalices, since the 8th century at least, have been made from precious metals, although the church has not defined precisely what this meant. Porous or breakable materials, such as wood, horn, glass, or ceramic were banned, and by common consensus, chalices were made from silver, gold, or silver gilt, with pewter allowed in cases of parish poverty.⁷⁶ Given these longstanding rules, it was not particularly difficult for recusants to find replacements for their medieval chalices, as gentry families could donate cups from their domestic store, and silversmiths could be commissioned to make chalices that did not look too different from the better sort of tableware. Itinerant priests, based in a rural house that served lesser houses and farmhouses in what could be a wide radius, often resorted to pewter chalices. These items, with a plain circular foot, bell-shaped cup, and a simple knop halfway up the stem, were also used as domestic drinking vessels and, if found among belongings, would not immediately identify the owner as a priest. One such chalice, dated ca. 1600–30, known as the Arrowsmith Chalice, was found along with a much-faded late-15th-century green chasuble during building work about 1840 on an internal wall of “a cottage at Wood End in the Mission of Brindle near Preston ... Brindle belonged to the Society [of Jesus] until 1640 when it passed to the Benedictines. Fr [Edmund] Arrowsmith once served it and probably wore this chasuble.”⁷⁷ It was presented to Stonyhurst College in 1881 by Dom Ildefonsus Brown, O.S.B.

One distinguishing feature of English recusant chalices, in which they differ from those dating from before the Reformation, is that they unscrewed into three parts.⁷⁸ This is generally accepted to have been intentional, to aid concealment either for traveling priests or to enable families to hide the chalices

74 Oman, *English Church Plate*, 258.

75 Oman, *English Church Plate*, 259.

76 Thurston Herbert, “Chalice,” in *The Catholic Encyclopedia: An International Work of Reference on the Constitution, Doctrine, Discipline, and History of the Catholic Church*, ed. Charles G. Herbermann et al., vol. 3: *Brow-Clancy* (New York: 1907–58; online ed., 1995–97), <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/03561a.htm>, accessed 12 August 2017.

77 Stonyhurst College Archives, MS note, Stonyhurst Chalices, vol. 2 and 56. Edmund Arrowsmith, a Lancastrian Jesuit from Haydock, was executed in Lancaster on 23 August 1628, having served several years as a missionary in and around Brindle, Lancashire.

78 Oman, *English Church Plate*, 265.

in several places in their houses in case of a raid. A typical traveling example exists at Stonyhurst. It is some 11 cm. in height and made of silver. The bowl unscrews, as does the plain stem and the scalloped base, which is designed like a four-spoked wheel. Each piece could be secreted in a different place, and a further advantage is that the base, with its four arms, serves also as a cross. It dates from ca. 1620–40.

English recusant chalices, unlike vestments, seem not to have been affected by fashions set in Continental Europe and tended to emulate medieval styles with a geometric knop and splayed octagonal feet or an idiosyncratic recusant pattern commonly known as the “Petre” chalice. This last typically had a six- or eight-lobed foot engraved with a crucifix, a baluster stem with three cast cherub heads, and a simple flared cup, all in silver. The earliest known example is hallmarked 1637 and was made for the Jesuit missionary community in South Tottenham. The style was popular and persisted into the 1690s.⁷⁹ A persisting problem with identifying English recusant silver is the lack of maker’s marks and official hallmarks. This is hardly surprising, given the illegal nature of such vessels, although occasionally pieces are marked at least with a maker’s name. Occasionally, a maker can be identified as having worked for both Anglican and Catholic customers, such as Christopher Hunton of York in the 1570s, but these examples are rare.⁸⁰

Apart from chalices and patens, very few examples of English recusant silverware survive. Most of the surviving pieces in recusant chapels such as those owned by the Welds, Jerninghams, Arundells, and Stonors date from the 18th century and are Continental in origin. Recalling the fabulous gold- and silverwork described by John Gerard at Harrowden, and examining the exquisite detail on the Gerard-Vaux reliquaries, it is hard to come to any other conclusion than that Eliza Vaux had access to a first-rate Flemish goldsmith working in London, or to an English smith, familiar with European styles and techniques who was willing to take the (presumably well-rewarded) risk of producing highly contentious pieces of plate.

A final piece for consideration illuminates how some pieces of precious metalwork were preserved even when their original purpose has been rendered redundant. A silver-gilt and rock crystal reliquary of intricate design with strapwork, scroll brackets, gems, rock crystal pendant spheres, and a domed, engraved cover, made in England in 1577, with a maker’s mark for John Robinson, registered in the parish of St Mary Woolnoth, was found to

79 Oman, *English Church Plate*, 265.

80 Oman, *English Church Plate*, 259.

be at Stonyhurst College in the early years of the 20th century [see Figure 17.13]. It had been acquired by the Jesuits at some unknown date in the 18th century, described in an undated dealer's letter as having come from the Knights Templar at Harwood. In 1914 it was condemned by unknown sources as a secular Elizabethan salt cellar and sent for sale. In 1957 it surfaced at auction, causing a flurry of regretful letters from Stonyhurst as it was identified once more as a reliquary. It was bought for the nation in 1958 and is now to be seen in the British Museum, where it is known as the Stonyhurst Salt.⁸¹

From the shape, the use of precious metals, and the inclusion of stones such as garnets and rubies, which were traditional symbols of martyrdom, it seems clear that this reliquary was originally designed as a Catholic reliquary for martyrs' relics. Recent scholarship has identified the design as originating in Hans Holbein's London workshop at some time before 1540. During the reign of Elizabeth I, the reliquary passed into the hands of a Protestant who wished to refashion the object, or possibly of a Catholic who wished to disguise its true purpose, and it was sent in 1577–78 to a London goldsmith, thought to be John Robinson, to be redesigned as a standing salt cellar.⁸² It has had a complicated history: a short-lived reliquary fashioned on the very eve of the Reformation, transformed into an indicator of Elizabethan social status, cast into obscurity as an antiquarian curiosity, to the final irony of its sale by a Catholic order that had not recognized its disguised sacred origins, which were finally revealed by a secular museum. And in this story we can perhaps see the difficulties faced by scholars of material culture in the 16th and 17th centuries. The early modern era was one of smoke and mirrors during which the open display of English Catholic culture was perforce concealed, and such origins have often remained hidden into the present. Searching for a thin thread of buried memory is a slow and painstaking task, which, when successful, allows objects to be seen as they were originally intended, and interpreted anew in the context of centuries of additional, often contradictory, cultural narratives.

81 Stonyhurst College Archives, Manuscript reliquaries book, no catalog number.

82 Jonathan Bate and Dora Thornton, *Shakespeare: Staging the World* (London: 2012), 26. Standing salt cellars were formal pieces of tableware designed to designate the status of those seated above (higher) and below (lower) the salt. Much Catholic material culture made its way into the homes of Protestant families, refashioned and cleansed of association with papistry. "[T]he Reformation came to be, quite literally, part of the furniture." Eamon Duffy, *The Voices of Morebath: Reformation and Rebellion in an English Village* (New Haven: 2001), 177.

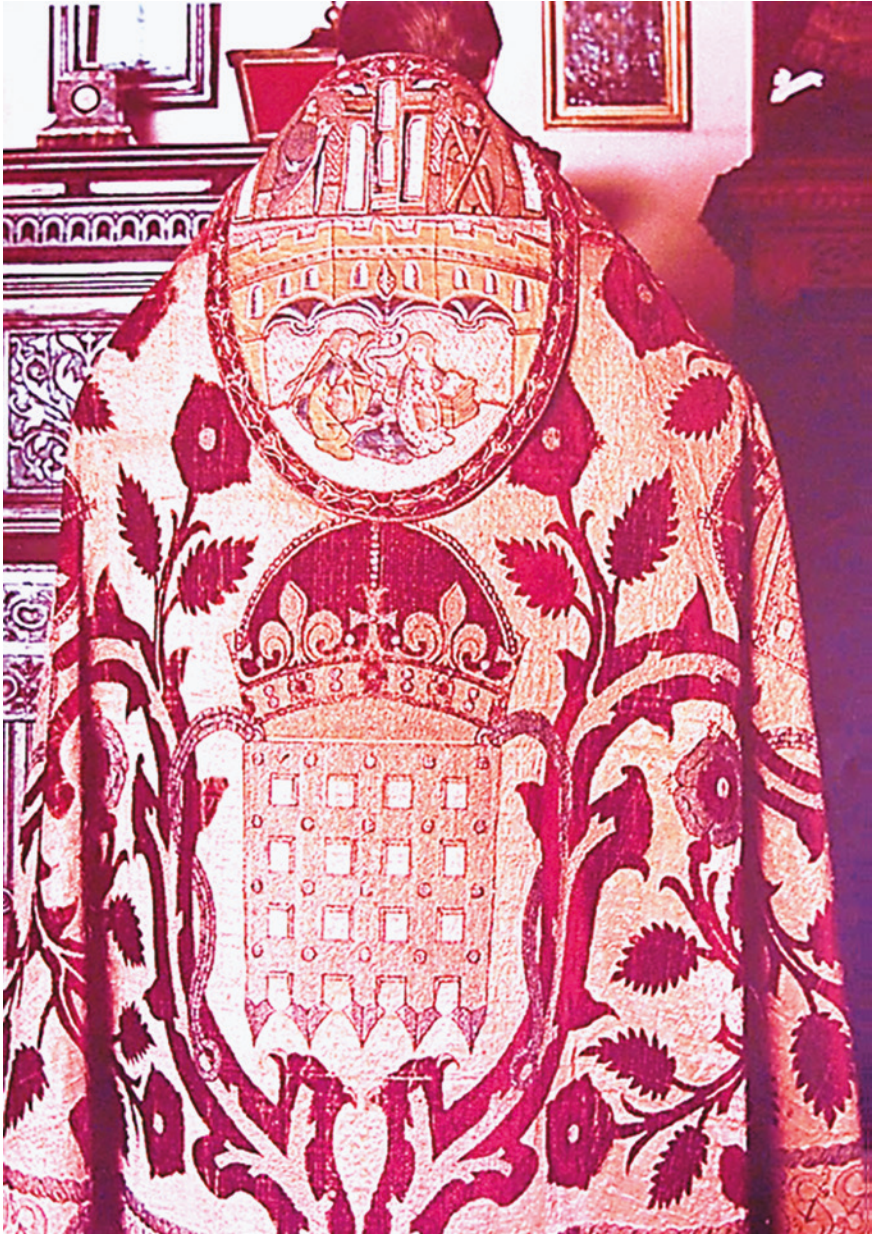


FIGURE 17.1 The Henry VII Cope, ca. 1495. Unknown makers, Florence and Lucca. Silk velvet damask, cloth of gold, silk and metal embroidery threads.

IMAGE BY PERMISSION OF THE BRITISH JESUIT PROVINCE. © PHOTOGRAPH STONYHURST COLLEGE.



FIGURE 17.2 Detail of the Henry VII Chasuble, ca. 1495. Unknown makers, Florence and Lucca. Silk velvet damask, cloth of gold, silk and metal embroidery threads.

IMAGE BY PERMISSION OF THE GOVERNORS OF STONYHURST COLLEGE.

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FIGURE 17.3 St Dunstan Chasuble, 15th and 16th centuries. Unknown makers, England and Flanders. Silk, metal and silk embroidery threads.

IMAGE BY PERMISSION OF THE BRITISH JESUIT PROVINCE. © PHOTOGRAPH STONYHURST COLLEGE.



FIGURE 17.4 The martyrdom of Thomas Becket, detail of St Dunstan Chasuble, 15th century. Unknown makers, Flanders. Silk, metal and silk embroidery threads.

IMAGE BY PERMISSION OF THE BRITISH JESUIT PROVINCE. © PHOTOGRAPH STONYHURST COLLEGE.



FIGURE 17.5 The Spangled Stuffe Chasuble, 1640–60. Maker: Helena Wintour, England. Ribbed silk, metal and silk embroidery threads, gilt spangles, metal lace.

IMAGE BY PERMISSION OF THE GOVERNORS OF STONYHURST COLLEGE.

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FIGURE 17.6 Detail of the pelican, Spangled Stuffle Chasuble, 1640–60. Maker: Helena Wintour, England. Ribbed silk, metal and silk embroidery threads, gilt spangles, metal lace. IMAGE BY PERMISSION OF THE GOVERNORS OF STONYHURST COLLEGE. © PHOTOGRAPH STONYHURST COLLEGE.



FIGURE 17.7 Detail of Helena Wintour's initials, Pentecost Chasuble, ca. 1650. Maker: Helena Wintour, England. Silk velvet, metal and silk embroidery threads, precious and semi-precious jewels, gilt enamel jewels, pearls, gold lace.

IMAGE BY PERMISSION OF THE BRITISH JESUIT PROVINCE. © PHOTOGRAPH STONYHURST COLLEGE.



FIGURE 17.8 Detail of Helena Wintour's badge, Alleluia Chasuble, 1655. Maker: Helena Wintour, England. Silk, metal and silk embroidery threads, precious and semi-precious jewels, pearls, gold lace.

IMAGE BY PERMISSION OF THE BRITISH JESUIT PROVINCE. © PHOTOGRAPH STONYHURST COLLEGE.



FIGURE 17.9 Reliquary statue of St Chad and associated relic, 1667. Maker: Henri Flemalle, Liège. Silver, silver gilt, crystal, bone relic.

IMAGE BY PERMISSION OF THE BRITISH JESUIT PROVINCE. © PHOTOGRAPH STONYHURST COLLEGE.



FIGURE 17.10 Reliquary statue of St Thomas Becket and associated relic, 1666. Maker: Henri Flemalle, Liège. Silver, silver gilt, velvet, crystal, bone relic.
IMAGE BY PERMISSION OF THE BRITISH JESUIT PROVINCE.



FIGURE 17.11 Reliquary of the Holy Thorn, ca. 1595 and 1963. Inner reliquary: unknown makers, England or Southern Spanish Netherlands. Outer reliquary maker: Louis Osman, London. Silver gilt, rock crystal, enamelled gold, seed pearls, turquoise stones, Thorn relic.

IMAGE BY PERMISSION OF THE BRITISH JESUIT PROVINCE.

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FIGURE 17.12 The Finding of the Child Jesus in the Temple, ca. 1650. Unknown maker, Southern Spanish Netherlands. Oil on copper plate.

IMAGE BY PERMISSION OF THE GOVERNORS OF STONYHURST COLLEGE.

© PHOTOGRAPH STONYHURST COLLEGE.



FIGURE 17.13 The “Stonyhurst Salt” reliquary, 1577–78, with 14th century elements. Maker: John Robinson attr, London. Gold, silver gilt, rock crystal, carbuncles, cabochon crystal and rubies, enamelled gold. IMAGE BY PERMISSION OF THE GOVERNORS OF STONYHURST COLLEGE. © PHOTOGRAPH STONYHURST COLLEGE.

Underground Devotions

The Day-to-Day Challenges of Practicing an Illegal Faith

Lisa McClain

It was not only difficult to engage in illegal Catholic ritual in the Protestant British Isles, it could be downright dangerous. In his autobiography, the Jesuit missionary William Weston described the risks accompanying an active Catholic devotional life in the late 16th century. Weston related how one layman who hosted a Mass in his home was wise to prepare for trouble by keeping his sword “ready for action.” The layman needed it after a servant imprudently opened the door to an insistent knocking. The maid shouted a warning as a group of pursuivants stormed in. Dressed in a surplice to assist the priest, the layman snatched up his weapon and drove the intruders back, eventually trapping them in the lower part of his house while he returned to help the priest to hide. Together, they stripped off the altar and their vestments and stashed the “Massing stuff” before the priest concealed himself. Only then did the man return downstairs to greet his visitors. When they asked him about the surplice they had seen him wearing, he responded with incredulity: “What, I in a surplice? Do you really think I am one of those people who go about in surplices?” The man then bribed the searchers to depart.¹

Although it was not always so dangerous to engage in Catholic ritual, the performance of Catholic pious practices always carried risk. Even when Protestant authorities turned a blind eye to Catholic worship, these were still uncertain times. The penal laws remained on the books until Emancipation, and although enforcement of the laws had often waxed and waned, Catholics understood that a new crisis or unexpected change in tolerance might spur new persecutions, as Catholics in Dublin discovered the day after Christmas in 1629. It was well known that Observant Franciscan monks had been celebrating Mass at a regular location on Cook Street for some time, yet Protestant authorities had

¹ William Weston, *William Weston: The Autobiography of an Elizabethan*, trans. Philip Caraman (London: 1955), 33–34. See also York, Borthwick Institute (hereafter B1Y), High Commission Cause Papers, ND/11; John A. Myerscough, *A Procession of Lancashire Martyrs and Confessors* (Glasgow: 1958), 72–73; McClain, *Divided Loyalties? Pushing the Boundaries of Gender and Lay Roles in the Catholic Church, 1534–1829* (New York: 2018), 16–37 and 161–62.

not shut them down. Finally, Dublin's mayor and Protestant archbishop had had enough. After the monks celebrated a well-attended and much-talked-about Mass on Christmas Day, the Protestant officials led soldiers through the building the following day, interrupting another Mass and sparking a street riot as Catholics attempted to rescue the friars. Shortly thereafter, the English-run government shut down this Mass center and other Catholic gathering spots in Dublin and throughout Ireland, forcing the religious orders deeper underground, as in England and Scotland.² There were limits to Protestant toleration. What was winked at today might be persecuted tomorrow.

This chapter explores the challenges and changes in Catholic devotional life in the British Isles between Henry VIII's break with Rome and Catholic Emancipation in 1829.³ Successive confiscations and statutes deprived Catholics of many of the traditional mainstays of their faith. Catholic churches became Protestant ones. Catholic shrines, pilgrimage sites, and images were demolished. It became illegal and punishable by death just to *be* a priest ordained after 1559 in the British Isles. Those who harbored or assisted priests were to "suffer death, loss, and forfeit as in cases of one attainted of felony."⁴ The government essentially outlawed the Mass and many other traditional pious practices.

Catholic worship continued clandestinely, however, for almost three centuries. In the frequent absence of priests, sacraments, and churches – the bulwarks of late-medieval and post-Tridentine Catholic faith – Catholics in England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales utilized whatever resources they still

2 Nicholas Archbold, *Evangelicall fruit of the Seraphical Franciscan Order*, 112–15, discussed in F.X. Martin, *Friar Nugent: A Study of Francis Lavalin Nugent (1569–1635): Agent of the Counter-Reformation* (London: 1962), 271–72.

3 For general history, see Peter Marshall, *Heretics and Believers: A History of the English Reformation* (New Haven: 2017); Michael Mullett, *Catholics in Britain and Ireland, 1558–1829* (New York: 1998); Felicity Heal, *Reformation in Britain and Ireland* (Oxford: 2003); Alexandra Walsham, *Catholic Reformation in Protestant Britain* (Burlington, VT: 2014); Jenny Wormald, *Court, Kirk, and Community: Scotland, 1470–1625* (Edinburgh: 1991); J.E.A. Dawson, *Scotland Re-Formed, 1488–1587* (Edinburgh: 2007).

4 Treasons Act, 1571, 13 Eliz. 1, c. 1, and an Act against the Bringing in and Putting into Execution of Bulls [...] from Rome, 13 Eliz. 1, c. 2, building upon the Treason Act, 1543, 35 Hen. 8, c. 2; Act against Jesuits, Seminary Priests, and Such Other Like Disobedient Persons, 27 Eliz. 1, c. 2; 29 Eliz. 1, c. 6; Popish Recusants Act, 1605, 3 Jac. 1, c. 4; 4 Jac. 1, c. 5; 7 Jac. 1, c. 6. Irish recusants were subject to some penalties, but these were generally less enforced. Catholics were also subject to a variety of other penalties, such as financial exactions, restrictions on property ownership, public service, and profession, and lost social opportunities, that influenced their level of conformity to their Protestant state church. For more on recusancy in Britain and Ireland, see chap. 12 in this volume.

possessed to work for the good of their souls.⁵ Their three biggest needs were priests, places to worship, and grace toward salvation. In other words, they needed to find new means to access and receive priests' mediation and counsel; new places in which to engage in ritual unmolested by Protestant authorities; and new ways to accrue enough salvific merit to comfort themselves that they were pleasing to God and on the path to salvation. The accommodations Catholics made to meet these needs often involved a greater degree of lay participation in sacraments and other rituals than the church typically allowed. And, largely as an unintentional byproduct, relationships between the laity and clergy evolved along with the devotional practices themselves.⁶ Yet as Catholics modified their devotional lives to meet their salvific needs in an ever-changing underground faith, it was essential that they remain orthodox. A major reason Catholics elected to remain loyal to the Roman church was their assurance it offered the only path to salvation. To risk unorthodoxy or heresy would defeat their purpose.

Investigating patterns in Catholic devotional life in England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales – areas that possess separate histories, identities, cultures, and languages – over such a long period carries its challenges. Religious and political balances varied over time and within each kingdom and region, producing different levels of persecution and devotional opportunity. Catholics' ability to engage in ritual in western Ireland in the 1590s would likely have been envied by Catholics in Edinburgh at the time, while it is unlikely Catholics in northern Wales or the Scottish Highlands would have traded places with their coreligionists living near London or Dublin at the time of anti-Catholic restrictions, persecutions, and violence during the Popish Plot in the late 1670s or the Protestant Ascendancy in Ireland in the early 1700s.

Despite such differences, Catholics in these regions were joined by many shared pressures. In contrast to earlier historiography in which scholars investigated Catholicism in only one country, i.e. Ireland or England, several recent scholars have considered the experience of Catholicism in the British Isles as a whole.⁷ Catholics lived under similar laws and faced many similar prejudices, persecutions, and uncertainties. As such, their need for a supply of priests, new

5 McClain, *Lest We Be Damned: Practical Innovation and Lived Experience among Catholics in Protestant England, 1559–1642* (New York: 2004).

6 McClain, *Divided Loyalties?*, 195–234.

7 For example, James Kelly and Susan Royal (eds), *Early Modern British Catholicism: Identity, Memory and Counter Reformation* (Leiden: 2016); Mullett, *Catholics in Britain and Ireland*; Heal, *Reformation in Britain and Ireland*; and Walsham, *Catholic Reformation in Protestant Britain*.

places to worship, and access to sacraments and rituals for saving grace was a shared one.

1 The Changing Role of the Priesthood

First and foremost, lay Catholics needed priests. Catholicism is a religion of sacraments, which are believed to deliver the divine grace required for a believer's salvation. Unlike Protestants, Catholic laypeople understood a priest to be integral to their ability to attain this grace. Priests served as Christ's representatives on earth, mediating between God and humanity to deliver God's grace to believers, particularly through their celebration of the sacraments.⁸ The reduced number of priests working undercover in the British Isles had to serve laypeople in new ways, often from a distance. They had to provide new understandings as to how laity deprived of the physical presence of a priest received mediation and grace and could work toward salvation.

Most priests on the mission served their flocks from the margins, hiding from Protestant authorities while providing spiritual comfort and the sacraments to Catholics and attempting to reconcile Protestants to the Catholic Church.⁹ This story is well known. But these missionaries served the laity differently than did priests in Catholic countries. Although the Catholic Church named cardinals and bishops as ecclesiastical leaders over the British Isles, there were no public, clearly defined Catholic parish, episcopal, or diocesan structures or administrations. There were no ecclesiastical courts to enforce discipline. There was little property or funding. The penal laws significantly hampered priests' efforts to convert and minister to Catholics and avoid detection. England, Wales, and eventually Scotland – each Roman Catholic for almost a millennium before Protestant reforms – became lands to be converted. Ireland, which never lost its Catholic majority, did not need to be reconverted so much as continuously supplied with priests to serve an underground church that was a poorly kept secret from Protestant authorities.¹⁰

8 For a fuller explanation of priests' role, see McClain, *Lest We Be Damned*, 32–34.

9 For example, see Robert E. Scully, S.J., *Into the Lion's Den: The Jesuit Mission in Elizabethan England and Wales, 1580–1603* (St Louis: 2011).

10 Mullett, *Catholics in Britain and Ireland*, 51–53 and 59–60; James Lydon, *The Making of Ireland: From Ancient Times to the Present* (London: 2012), 130–57; and James Murray, *Enforcing the Reformation in Ireland: Clerical Resistance and Political Conflict in the Diocese of Dublin, 1534–1590* (Cambridge, Eng.: 2009), 5–19 and 261–321.

Recusants and potential converts had to weigh the costs of Catholicism and of meeting with or aiding clergy. Inevitably, a number of priests and the laypeople who helped them were discovered, arrested, imprisoned, fined, and sometimes executed. Consequently, many Catholics' access to priests and the sacraments declined throughout the 16th and 17th centuries, while frustrations and fears over salvation grew, particularly in England, Scotland, and Wales. Even during periods of greater accommodation of Catholic worship in the 18th century, most Catholics kept their worship behind closed doors, careful not to arouse the notice or ire of Protestant neighbors or authorities, since the penal laws were still enforceable.

Priestly mediation and how priests accomplished it, therefore, had to change. Instead of traditional Catholic worship centered on parish churches, many priests lived in the homes of Catholic laypeople, where they conducted rituals for the family and Catholics in the surrounding area. Others traveled in disguise from region to region, providing the sacraments.

Traditional historiography critiqued these clerical efforts for focusing predominantly on wealthy, powerful Catholics. While a number of families of gentry or higher rank certainly housed missionary priests and benefitted from their immediate presence, more recent scholarship has emphasized cooperative lay and clerical efforts to minister to what are typically described as underserved populations of lower- and middle-ranking people.¹¹ For example, women who were members of Mary Ward's Institute of English Ladies – a group of laywomen who sought to aid the mission and the salvation of their neighbors – wrote of their efforts to provide the poor with access to priests, sacraments, and rituals. They recorded how they visited poor households, where they employed “some times familiar conversation, other times authority amongst the common and poore sort, [and] would first put them in doubt

11 Christopher Haigh, “The Continuity of Catholicism in the English Reformation,” *P&P* 93 (1981), 57–59, 62–63, and 67; Haigh, *English Reformations: Religion, Politics and Society under the Tudors* (Oxford: 1993), chap. 15; Haigh, “Revisionism, the Reformation and the History of English Catholicism,” *JEH* 36 (1985), 394–408; John Bossy, *The English Catholic Community, 1570–1850* (London: 1975), 206, 216, 224, 251, and 282; Bossy, “The Character of Elizabethan Catholicism,” *P&P* 21 (1962), 39–59; and J.A. Hilton, “The Cumbrian Catholics,” *Northern History* 16 (1980), 41 and 58. These characterizations began to be questioned in the 1980s and early 1990s by scholars such as Patrick McGrath, “Elizabethan Catholicism: A Reconsideration,” *JEH* 35 (1984), 420 and 422–28; A.D. Wright, “Catholic History: North and South Revisited,” *Northern History* 25 (1989), 120–34; and Walsham, *Church Papists: Catholicism, Conformity and Confessional Polemic in Early Modern England* (Woodbridge: 1993), 92.

of their owne errour, and then lay the Light before them.”¹² When potential converts “desire[d] nothing more than to save their souls, by means of the sacraments,” the women brought priests to reconcile them.¹³ Laity and clergy thus worked together in new ways to make clerical mediation possible for Catholics and potential converts from a variety of backgrounds in these uncertain times.

In addition to experimenting with such new forms of lay-clerical cooperation, priests also had to find new places to perform the sacraments and other rituals. Without churches, priests often found themselves marrying, baptizing, burying, and absolving Catholics of their sins in unusual places, such as woods, fields, and jail cells.¹⁴ The church had always been willing to bend some of its traditional rules in times of emergency, not as rejections of doctrine or policy, but as necessary, temporary, and justifiable suspensions of rules to adapt to specific situations. Such deviations from accepted practices, therefore, were not unorthodox.

Even when priests could not be physically present with the laity, their books could provide a type of counsel and mediation tailored to the difficulties of practicing Catholicism illegally within a Protestant nation. Records left by both Catholics and Protestants reveal the sheer number of Catholic titles and books available through smuggling and illegal printing operations.¹⁵ Letters, diaries, and memoirs written by Catholics attest to the importance books played in their devotional lives, from convincing them to convert to Catholicism to inspiring them to become priests or monastics. Catholic convert Catherine Holland, for example, penned her conversion story in 1664, in which she related how, as a

12 Winifred Wigmore and/or Mary Poyntz?, *The English Vita or A Briefe Relation* (1650), in Christina Kenworthy-Browne (ed.), *Mary Ward, 1585–1648: “A Briefe Relation” with Autobiographical Fragments and a Selection of Letters* (Rochester, NY: 2008), 20; Laurence Lux-Sterritt, “Mary Ward’s English Institute and Prescribed Female Roles in the Early Modern Church,” in *Gender, Catholicism, and Spirituality*, ed. Laurence Lux-Sterritt and Carmen M. Mangion (London: 2011), 83–98.

13 Sister Dorothea, [pseud.] to Frances Brookesby, 1622–23, hereafter “Narrative,” in M.C.E. Chambers, *The Life of Mary Ward, 1585–1645*, ed. Henry James Coleridge (London: 1882), 128–33. See also McClain, “On a Mission: Priests, Jesuits, and ‘Jesuitresses’ and English Catholic Missionary Efforts in Tudor-Stuart England,” *CHR* 101 (2015), 437–62.

14 London, PRO/TNA, SP Dom., 12/192/46; Sister Dorothea, “Narrative,” 2:28.

15 Nancy Pollard Brown, “Paperchase: The Dissemination of Catholic Texts in Elizabethan England,” in *English Manuscript Studies, 1100–1700*, ed. Peter Beal and Jeremy Griffiths (Oxford: 1989), 1120–43; Elizabeth Patton, “Women, Books, and the Lay Apostolate: A Catholic Literary Network in Late Sixteenth-Century England,” in *Women’s Bookscapes in Early Modern Britain: Reading, Ownership, Circulation*, ed. Leah Knight, Micheline White, and Elizabeth Sauer (Ann Arbor, MI: 2018), 117–34; Eamon Duffy, *Reformation Divided: Catholics, Protestants, and the Conversion of England* (London: 2017), chap. 7; McClain, *Lest We Be Damned*, 49–54, 117, 159–64, 195–96, and 249–51.

Protestant teenager, “my Knowledge of the Catholicke Religion did increase by means of Catholicke Books, which I grew so fond of.” When she finally worked up the courage to confess her change in conviction to her father, John Holland, she explained heatedly that she suffered from a “troubled Conscience, I being no longer able to conform to a Religion so erroneous as the Protestant Religion was, which discovery I had made by reading of Histories which had informed me on the Antiquity of the Catholic religion,” which she now intended to embrace, and nothing would change her mind.¹⁶

Clerical authors eventually targeted their texts to serve a variety of different lay populations, such as women, the unlearned, youth, and Irish and Welsh speakers. The Scottish Jesuit Alexander MacKenzie even published a guide targeted at Catholic prisoners. He collected information, prayers, and rituals into 1764’s *The Poor Prisoner’s Comforter*. In it, MacKenzie adapted many Catholic practices and understandings for a Catholic prison population and told readers that prison could be a blessing if one used the time well to focus on faith, God, and salvation.¹⁷ For example, if a priest were unavailable to celebrate Mass for prisoners, MacKenzie suggested that prior to mealtime, prisoners find any corner where they might have a little privacy and imagine they were at Mass:

There hear Mass in Spirit and ... suppose yourself in some Church or Chapel where Mass may be saying at that Time. Join your intention with the priest and devoutly say all the usual Prayers to be said at Mass, that you may partake of that great Sacrifice,

thereby sharing in the saving merits of the Mass. As MacKenzie assured prisoners, Mass was offered not only “for those who are actually present at it, but

16 Catherine Holland, “How I Came to Change My Religion,” 20 September 1664, full text in C.S. Durrant, *A Link Between Flemish Mystic and English Martyrs* (London: 1925), 277–78 and 285–86. For further examples, see Durrant, *Link*, 420–22; M.M. Merrick, *James Duckett: A Study of his Life and Times* (London: 1947), 55–56; Myerscough, *Procession*, 247; Mary Ward, “The Italian Autobiography,” in *Mary Ward, 1585–1648*, 122–24; H. Willaert, *History of an Old Catholic Mission: Cowdray, Easebourne, Midhurst* (London: 1928), 34–35.

17 Alexander MacKenzie, *The Poor Prisoner’s Comforter. In a Collection of Proper Instructions and Prayers for Christians in Prison By the Use of which a Prisoner may find Comfort and Satisfaction in his Poverty and Confinement, and wisely improve them to his eternal Salvation. To Which is Added, Instructions and devout Exercises for a Person laying under Sentence of Death. According to Mr. Gother, and other pious Authors* (London: 1764). MacKenzie drew inspiration from Benedictine and Cluniac monasticism to provide a model for Catholic communal life for prisoners in jail. See David Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England: A History of Its Development from the Times of St Dunstan to the Fourth Lateran Council, 940–1216*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, Eng.: 1966), 78, 83, 87–88, 107, 110, and 145–58.

[also] for the absent, especially for those who, like you, are absolutely hindered from being at it."¹⁸

As MacKenzie's instructions illustrate, priests increasingly emphasized to the laity how they could receive the saving merits of the sacraments without a priest's immediate presence. This in no way denied the mediative and sacramental role priests played in salvation. Laypeople should place themselves under the direction of priests and receive the sacraments whenever they were available, but they could still work toward their salvation when priests and sacraments were inaccessible. Priests encouraged Catholics to shift their focus away from their inability to receive the sacraments traditionally and toward a fulfillment of the *functions* for which the sacrament was intended. God was not so bound by his sacraments that he could not deliver his grace without them. When discussing confession, for example, the Derbyshire seminary priest John Radford recommended his readers make a full confession and receive absolution and penance at the hands of a priest. If this proved impossible, however:

Christ hath commanded that we confess our sins ... as soon as he can meet with a lawful Priest, or in due time he will confess then; that so Christ's ordinance being fulfilled by means of the Priest, they may be forgiven him. But if man be in danger of death or in such place that he cannot come possibly by any mean to confession before a Priest; then no doubt, if he have perfect contrition and sorrow for his sins, Christ, the high Priest ... giveth in such times of necessity perfect absolution from sin.¹⁹

By guiding the laity to new understandings about how God delivered salvific grace to believers, priests such as MacKenzie and Radford continued to

18 MacKenzie, *Poor Prisoner's Comforter*, 15–20 and 46–52. For similar examples, see exercises from John Gother, *Instructions and Devotions for the Afflicted and Sick With some Help for Prisoners Such as especially are to be Tried for Life* (London: 1697).

19 John Radford, *A Directorie Teaching the Way to the Truth in a Briefe and Plaine Discoverse against the heresies of this time* (n.p.: 1605), A3, 71, 104–05, and 190; See also Richard Challoner, *The Catholic Christian Instructed* (London: 1827), 194–95; Henry Garnet, *The Societie of the Rosary* (n.p.: 1596/97), 34–35; William Stanney, *A Treatise of Penance, with an explication of the Rule, and maner of living, of the brethren and sisters, of the Third Order of St. Frauncis, comonli called, of the Order of Penance, ordayned for those which desire to live holilie. and doe Penance in their owne houses*, part 1 (Douai: 1617), 65 and 298. See also MacKenzie, *Poor Prisoner's Comforter*, 119, 154–55, and 174–75, and exercises compiled from Gother and other unnamed authors in MacKenzie, *Poor Prisoner's Comforter*, 95, 97, 100–01, 109, and 112–13.

mediate between God and believers, even when they could not be physically present with the laity.²⁰

2 Barns and Basins

When the Protestant vicar of Eccles, John Jones, led 400 armed parishioners to arrest the Benedictine Ambrose Barlow, on Easter Sunday in 1641, they found him delivering a sermon in a barn to approximately 100 Catholics. Barlowe was allegedly so focused on delivering his sermon that he did not even notice the mob's approach until it was too late to flee.²¹ In contrast, a priest married Roger Widdrington and Rosamund Reavley in a field in the middle of the day near Cuthberthoope in Scotland without incident. One of Widdrington's tenants, a yeoman farmer named Edward Hall, witnessed the ceremony and later recalled how an older man he had never seen before met them in an open field, and "there the stranger took forth a book and called Mr. Widdrington and Rosamund together. Before he spoke anything, he asked [Edward] and his company if they knew any cause why these two might not be joined together, after which the stranger did marry Widdrington and Rosamund Reeveley."²² Even without clergy, lay Catholics soldiered on, engaging in familiar liturgical traditions. The Lancashire layman Peter Croncke, for example, invited neighbors to a traditional "creeping to the cross" ritual in his home during Easter week of 1604. Guests placed an ordinary basin on the floor in a room in Croncke's house, laid a broken cross on the basin, and got down upon their hands and knees and crawled around Croncke's floor.²³

As such examples testify, many Catholics were going to continue their sacraments and traditions, and their rituals are still readily recognizable as Catholic ones, although modified to restrictive circumstances. It is to these modifications we now turn. Catholics accommodated their devotions to take advantage of whatever resources they possessed, whether it be a barn or a basin.

20 For analysis, see McClain, "Troubled Consciences: New Understandings and Performances of Penance among Catholics in Protestant England," *CH* 82 (2013), 90–124, and *Lest We Be Damned*, 109–40.

21 W.E. Rhodes (ed.), *The Apostolical Life of Ambrose Barlow* (Chetham Miscellanies) n.s., 2 (Manchester: 1909), iii–iv.

22 William Hylton Dyer Longstaffe (ed.), *Acts of the High Commission Court within the Diocese of Durham* (Surtees Society) 34 (London: 1858), 68–70. For other examples, see SP Dom. 12/256/71 and 12/243/93; Merrick, *James Duckett*, 62; William Blundell, *Cavalier: Letters of William Blundell to His Friends, 1620–1698*, ed. Margaret Blundell (London: 1933), 4.

23 SP Dom. 14/8/34.

And when priests were unavailable, lay Catholics like Croncke – both men and women – often stepped in to fill the gaps, using the resources and the spaces that remained to them. Such laypeople were not trying to assume priestly roles or reject the priesthood. They were simply trying to serve God and protect their own and their neighbors' souls as best they could in trying times. As an unintended consequence of this process, however, the boundaries between lay and clerical roles shifted to include increasingly active roles for laity in Catholic devotional life of the British Isles.

Common to all these home-, barn-, or field-based devotions was an air of secrecy and deception, a new aspect of Catholic devotional life. In ages or countries where Catholicism was legal, much of devotional life was public. Laypeople went openly to church most Sundays and holy days. They processed and went on pilgrimage together, shared feasts and fasts, rang the church bells to mark major events, and advertised baptisms, burials, and marriages to one another. Now Catholics concealed many of their pious practices. Priests hid in concealed rooms and holes in Catholic homes, "in caves in the ground" or in "other secret places not possible to be found," and celebrated the sacraments "in corners," as the unnamed priest did when he celebrated Widdrington's and Reavley's marriage in a Scottish field.²⁴ Catholics hid devotional objects. They sometimes wore disguises and used secret codes to conceal their communications from watchful eyes.²⁵ Laypeople deceived Protestant family members, friends, and neighbors to engage in Catholic rituals, such as when Margaret Clitherow, a butcher's wife, snuck out at night to make frequent pilgrimages to Knavesmire, the site of recent martyrdoms of Catholic priests, situated just a half mile from her home in York, where her confessor remembered she "went barefoot to the place, and kneeling on her bare knees even under the gallows" to pray.²⁶ They disguised their rituals, such as when Catholic members of the

24 SP Dom. 12/240/138. See also SP Dom. 12/238/126ii and 12/245/131.

25 *A True and Perfect Relation of the Whole Proceedings against the late most barbarous Traitors, Garnet a Iesuite, and his Confederates [...]* (London: 1606), fols T1v-T2r; Mary Ward to companion, possibly Catherine Dawson, ca. 1639, and Mary Poyntz to Barbara Babthorpe, 24 January 1645, both in Chambers, *Life*, 2:466–67 and 496–500; see also 350–51. John Gerard, *The Hunted Priest: Autobiography of John Gerard*, trans. Philip Caraman (London: 1959), 124–35; William Blundell to Winifred Gifford, 10 July 1673, in *Cavalier*, 157; Anthony Batt, *A Short Treatise Touching the Confraternitie of the Scapular of S. Benedict's Order* (Douai: 1639), 2 and 6–7.

26 John Mush, *The Life and Death of Margaret Clitherow, the Martyr of York, Now First Published from the Original Manuscript*, ed. William Nicholson (London: 1849), 116–22; Holland, "How I Came to Change," 271–306. Pilgrims visited places associated with the new martyrs as well as with ancient Christian activity in the British Isles, such as St Winefride's Well in Wales and Lindisfarne off the English-Scots border. See London, BL,

Inns of Court in London engaged in a religious procession through the streets of London in their Inn robes in 1586, appearing to casual observers as simply a group of gentlemen out for a walk. They camouflaged their meeting places, such as when Catholics in Fernyhalgh built a chapel in 1685 “on the old site by the [Lady] well” but designed it to “look like the larger houses of the district” to avoid Protestant notice.²⁷ Even in times and places where persecutions were few, Catholics frequently practiced their faith privately and quietly as a prudent precaution, as did Catholics in Dundee in 1776, who authorities described as having a priest but “keep not open door, these having no tolleration.”²⁸

In the absence of churches, devotional life centered on the home as never before. It had, of course, been common prior to reforms for households to gather for prayer, but such devotions had *supplemented* traditional church worship led by a priest. Now home-based liturgies and prayers *stood in* for devotional life centered on the parish church. Beyond the home, Catholics like Barlowe, Widdrington, and Reavley also created devotional spaces in fields, woods, barns, and even in prisons. Some left home to go on pilgrimage. Wherever Catholics could gather in relative privacy and security for private or communal devotions, they did so.

Some Catholics reserved particular spaces in their homes or nearby for receiving priests, catechesis, or Catholic prayer and meditation. Wealthier Catholics might dedicate chapels in their homes, as Magdalen Dacre Browne, Viscountess Montagu, did at Battle.²⁹ Catholics of lesser wealth might set aside an outbuilding or a room or two within their homes, as Clitherow did, when she arranged two chambers – one in the garret of her own home and one in

Additional 39288, fol. 6; notebook of William Blundell, entry of 23 May 1664, in *Cavalier*, 313–14; SP Dom 12/216/153, 14/17/31, 14/19/35, and 16/61/13; examination of Garnet, in Foley, 4:147; David Shorney, *Protestant Non-Conformity and Roman Catholicism: A Guide to Sources in the Public Records Office* (London: 1996), 74; Gerard, *Hunted Priest*, 61–63; *Selections from the Household Books of Lord William Howard of Naworth Castle* (Surtees Society) 68 (Durham: 1878), 246; Jean Baptiste van Male to the Archdukes, 6 November 1620, Vienna, Haus Hof und Staats Archiv, PC56, fols 399r-v, in Albert Loomie (ed.), *Spain and the Jacobean Catholics*, vol. 2, 1613–1624 (CRS) 68 (London: 1978), 140; John Aston, *Journal of John Aston 1639* (Surtees Society) 118 (Durham: 1910), entry of 28 May 1639.

27 Richard L. Smith (ed.), *Lancashire Registers: Fernyhalgh, Goosnargh and Alston Lane* (CRS) 31 (London: 1932), 1–2; Myerscough, *Procession*, 247–49; also Gerard, *Hunted Priest*, 166.

28 Mullett, *Catholics in Britain and Ireland*, 179–80. See also Benjamin J. Kaplan, *Divided by Faith: Religious Conflict and the Practice of Toleration in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, Mass.: 2007), 8, 142–43, and 195–97.

29 Willaert, *History*, app. 1, 94. On the Montagu family, see Michael C. Questier, *Catholicism and Community in Early Modern England: Politics, Aristocratic Patronage and Religion, c.1550–1640* (Cambridge, Eng.: 2006); see also Gerard, *Hunted Priest*, 173.

a neighbor's house – for maintaining priests and educating Catholic youth, or as the poor-yet-pious farmer Richard Jebbe did when he secreted a small out-building amid the foliage of his fields to hide priests.³⁰

Jails also proved to be popular gathering spots for Catholic rituals and devotions. Thanks to the penal laws, the government imprisoned many Catholics together, priests and laypeople alike, and Catholics enjoyed a menu of ritual options in prisons. When he was incarcerated in London's Gatehouse Prison in the late 16th century, the jailed Augustinian missionary Laurence Vaux described the many types of Catholics by whom he was surrounded, "shut up for the ... faith": nobles, clerics, and laypersons of all types, male and female, well born and common, who frequently gathered in the prison hall, a communal space. They read the divine office, prayed, and studied.³¹ Priests celebrated Mass and preached. They heard confessions and spiritually directed laypeople. Jesuits even offered Ignatius Loyola's *Spiritual Exercises* in prisons. Catholics exchanged information, traded books, provided one another fellowship, and made contacts for the mission.³²

But these devotions were more than the importation of church ritual into different settings. Catholics' experience of the rituals needed to change as well, as MacKenzie's instructions on how to attend Mass in spirit from prison suggest. The Jesuit Robert Southwell, for example, insisted Catholics do more than engage in a regular regimen of Catholic prayers at home. They needed to change their daily lives, dedicating every daily action and thought to God. In his instructions to Catholic householders, *Short Rules of a Good Life*, Southwell insisted:

[N]ot only my faith and all mine actions ... ought to be different from the erroneous opinions, sects, and actions of infidels, but even mine ordinary actions of eating, drinking, playing, working, and such-like ought to

30 Mush, *Margaret Clitherow*, 145–46; John Morris (ed.), *The Troubles of Our Catholic Forefathers Related by Themselves* (London: 1877), 318.

31 Laurence Vaux to his former prior, 20 October 1580, quoted in Christine Kelly, *Blessed Thomas Belson: His Life and Times, 1563–1589* (Gerrards Cross, Eng.: 1987), 23. See also Alison Shell, "The writing on the wall? John Ingram's verse and the dissemination of Catholic prison writing," *BCH* 33, no. 1 (2016), 58–70; J.C.H. Aveling, "Catholic Households in Yorkshire, 1580–1603," *Northern History* 16 (1980), 89–90.

32 McClain, *Lest We Be Damned*, 41, 51–52, 62–70, 142, 144–47, 167–69, 196, and 198; John Chamberlain to Dudley Carleton, 29 February 1600, *The Letters of John Chamberlain*, vol. 1, ed. Norman Egbert McClure (American Philosophical Society) 12 (Philadelphia: 1939), letter #25; *CSP Dom.* 12/248/36, 43; *SP Dom.* 12/155/27 and 12/158/9; Gerard, *Hunted Priest*, 138; Merrick, *James Duckett*, 72.

have a mark and badge of Christianity and some difference from the like things done by heathens.³³

Southwell's "infidels" and "heathens," of course, were Catholics' Protestant neighbors. To distinguish God's true believers, Southwell instructed laypeople to undergird each action with heartfelt humility, perfect charity, and unshakable hope to transform quotidian behaviors into *Catholic* acts of devotion.³⁴ Southwell assured Catholics they would earn "great merits," daily or even hourly, to aid their salvation.³⁵

Although Southwell's basic approach was nothing new, the context in which he employed it was. As early as the 11th century, Osmund, Bishop of Salisbury, and Richard Poore suggested many religious practices to help lay Christians go beyond the expected piety of ordinary lay life in their popular *Salisbury Primer*.³⁶ Such guides to daily Christian living were also common in post-Tridentine Continental Europe, where many authors wrote extensive treatises instructing lay Catholics on the methods to live a good life and die well in the arms of the Roman church.³⁷ What was distinctive for Southwell and similar authors was that these lay devotions were clearly more than an "extra" added on to a regular cycle of religious rites led by a priest. Of necessity, they became the crux of underground, home-based observances.

Although devotions like Southwell's or MacKenzie's required little more than space, many Catholics supplemented their worship with other resources. These were typically objects that were small, portable, and easily concealed. Protestant records attest to the number and variety of Catholic "trumpery" laypeople kept in their homes, on their persons, and in jails to aid their devotions: holy water, holy oil, blessed candles, rosaries, chalices, consecrated and unconsecrated Eucharistic bread, relics, crucifixes, agni dei, images,

33 Robert Southwell, *Short Rules of a Good Life*, in *Two Letters and Short Rules of a Good Life*, ed. Nancy Pollard Brown (Charlottesville, VA: 1973), chap. 2, lines 92–96. Although Southwell was a member of the Society of Jesus, his advice wove together threads of earlier monastic traditions, such as those of the Cluniacs and Cistercians, out of which Jesuit mores later emerged. See Martin Heale, *Monasticism in Late Medieval England, c.1300–1535* (Manchester: 2009), 77 and 146.

34 Southwell, *Short Rules*, chap. 10, lines 3, 17, 25–29, 60–63, 96–97, 100–03, 125–26, and 162–64; chap. 11, lines 85, 108–22, 145–48, 150, and 348–56. MacKenzie suggested a similar approach to prisoners in *Poor Prisoner's Comforter*, iv–v and 18–21.

35 Southwell, *Short Rules*, chap. 2, lines 104–06.

36 The Westminster printing house of Wynken de Worde reprinted both these works in 1494 and five more times before Henry VIII's reforms. Heale, *Monasticism*, 57–64.

37 Brown, introduction to *Two Letters*, xxvii–xxviii; McClain, *Lest We Be Damned*, 103–04 and 115–16.

books including Latin and English prayer books, and even clerical vestments for when a priest might arrive.³⁸ For example, after former seminary priest Richard Hitchmough turned Protestant informer sometime around 1709, he led searchers back to homes in which he had celebrated Mass in Lancashire, Staffordshire, and Flintshire. Authorities recovered candlesticks, crucifixes, chalices, patens, books, “rich copes, vestments,” and other church linens.³⁹ Of course, Catholics had kept such items prior to Protestant reforms, but again, in a supplemental capacity to a church-centered faith. If this is what the authorities found, we can only wonder at what remained hidden.

As Hitchmough’s mention of vestments suggests, women’s needlework assumed increasing importance as part of Catholic women’s home-based devotions. Missionary priest John Gerard described how, when he first arrived in England in the 1580s, he had to take everything he needed for Mass around with him, placing himself in danger. While priests in Catholic countries kept their own personal sets of vestments, Protestant authorities searched people’s belongings for such incriminating items.⁴⁰ A priest risked arrest, imprisonment, and even execution by carrying them. Gerard wrote how women thus began to sew vestments to be worn by any priest who came to celebrate the sacraments in their homes. After a few years, almost every house had vestments ready for him.⁴¹

By creating vestments, needlework became a part of women’s shared tradition of religious fellowship and worship. Girls and women of all social classes did needlework. Just as Southwell instructed laypeople to sacralize everyday tasks by dedicating them to God, girls and women who sewed or embroidered were instructed to “wish each stitch might produce an act of

38 For examples, see SP Dom. 12/32/15, 12/164/48, 12/167/47, 12/198/12, and 12/248/99; London, BL, Lansdowne 153, fols 30–31; Chester, Cheshire PRO, Proceedings of the Royal Commissioners, EDA 12/2/81v, 12/2/132r; *Selections from the Household Books*, lxix–lxxi; York, York Minster Library, Additional 151, fol. 51r.

39 Edgar E. Estcourt and John Orlebar Payne, *The English Catholic Nonjurors of 1715: Being a Summary of the Register of Their Estates, with Genealogical and Other Notes, and an Appendix of Unpublished Documents in the Public Record Office* (London: 1885), 347–49 and 357–58. See also SP Dom. 12/198/12i and 14/14/52; CSP Dom. 12/243/71; Thomas Chamberlain to Thomas Egerton, 16 August 1612, in Anthony G. Petti (ed.), *Recusant Documents from the Ellesmere Manuscripts* (CRS) 60 (St Albans: 1968), 208–10.

40 Challoner, vol. 1 (London: 1924), 35–39; SP Dom. 12/184/33, 33ii, 14/16/34, and 16/12/58; George Oliver, *Collections Illustrating the History of the Catholic Religion in the Counties of Cornwall, Devon, Dorset, Somerset, Wiltshire, and Gloucester, in Two Parts, Historical and Biographical. With Notices of the Dominican, Benedictine, and Franciscan Orders in England* (London: 1857), 9.

41 Gerard, *Hunted Priest*, 57. See also 43, 67, 105, 173, 187, and 193.

love, which may render your work as meritorious as prayer.”⁴² Because of the fragile nature of textiles, few sets survive. There is even evidence of Catholics sewing new sets of vestments out of older, presumably deteriorating ones.⁴³ But enough garments remain, and there are enough mentions of homemade vestments found by Protestant searchers, to establish a pattern of religious needlework as a key part of many Catholic women’s devotional lives, even in poorer households.⁴⁴

Through the inclusion of personally important religious symbolism and requests for intercession in their embroidery, Catholic women made clerical garments into devotional items to praise God, serve the priests on mission, and aid their own quest for salvation. As Susan Frye has observed, a woman’s needlework products reveal her self-perceived place within the religious community and her engagement with religious issues “encoded within shared patterns of meaning.”⁴⁵ Several beautiful vestments kept today at Stonyhurst College in Lancashire corroborate Frye’s conclusion.⁴⁶ One set, known as the St Ignatius vestments, were likely created by Mary Bodenham, who decorated the vestments with coral, pearls, and gold. She stitched upon the outer, visible side of the vestments, the figure of St Winefride, along with a supplication for the virgin saint to pray for her, allegedly as a memorial for having received a miraculous cure after a pilgrimage to St Winefride’s Well in Wales. Bodenham also embroidered representations of Ignatius Loyola and Francis Xavier on the

42 Tobie Matthew, *The Life of Lady Lucy Knatchbull* (London: 1931), 119; A. Hewitson, *Stonyhurst College, Present and Past: Its History, Discipline, Treasures, and Curiosities*, 2nd ed. (Preston, Eng.: 1878), 130–32; *A Daily Exercise, and Devotions for Young Ladies and Gentlewomen Pensioners at the Monastery of the English Canonesses Regulars of the Holy Order of S. Augustin, at Bruges. Collected from Many Good Authors* (Douai: 1712), 21; SP Dom. 12/164/48 and 12/247/3.

43 *Catalogue of Catholic Exhibition of Art and Antiquities Illustrating Catholic Life in England During Penal Times (1529–1829), 13 Apr to 5 May, 1929*, 2nd ed. (Liverpool: 1929), items 364 and 376. See also items 361, 362, 371, 376, 384–88, 395, 404, 406–10, and 624; Neil MacGregor, “A Pedlar’s Trunk,” Shakespeare’s Restless World, accessed 19 January 2015, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/articles/ZVdDDvbcZCNYTFQpP4ZZI/transcript-shakespeares-restless-world-programme-14>; CSP Dom. 12/240/138 and 12/245/131.

44 For examples, see SP Dom. 14/7/89; York Minster Library, Additional 151, fol. 64r.

45 Susan Frye, *Pens and Needles: Women’s Textualities in Early Modern England* (Philadelphia: 2010), 3–9, 121, 127–28, and 133.

46 Sophie Holroyd analyzed the symbolism of the Wintour vestments in depth in “‘Rich Embroidered Churchstufte’: The Vestments of Helena Wintour,” in *Catholic Culture in Early Modern England*, ed. Ronald Corthell et al. (Notre Dame, IN: 2007), 73–116.

vestments, likely indicating her reverence and possible preference for Jesuit priests serving the mission.⁴⁷

3 More Active Lay Roles in Ritual

As the need for vestments suggests, lay Catholics engaged in an increasing number of rituals and sacraments in their homes, as Weston's sword-wielding layman did when he hosted Mass. Priests who customarily baptized children or heard confessions in churches also now frequently did so in a home setting.⁴⁸ The absence of a priest, however, was no deterrent to such rites, even for the sacraments. The Catholic Church, for example, had long allowed laypeople to baptize in emergency situations, such as when a child's life was in danger and there was little hope of bringing a priest in time. Anthony Browne, 2nd Viscount Montagu, therefore, felt justified in performing a lay baptism of his child in the home of his Protestant father-in-law in what he called a "case of necessity." He scooped water out of a small box he hid under his hat and recited a simple phrase, "I baptize thee, Mary, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." He expressed confidence based on what he had read in Catholic books and learned in discussions with other Catholic laypeople that this was as legitimate a baptism as if a priest had performed it in a church.⁴⁹

Laypeople began to participate in other rituals, such as burials, in new ways, too, to gain the spiritual grace they believed would usher them to heaven. A traditional Catholic burial service consisted of carrying the body to the church; prayers, Mass, and absolution in a church; and burial in hallowed ground. A priest was traditionally present throughout. In the absence of churches, Catholic burial grounds, and priests, laypeople struggled to fulfill the functions of the rites by performing modified versions of them. In 1604, for example, Protestant church authorities cited Elena Bid of Wigan parish for "cast[ing] holy water round about the chamber at the death of Katherine Bolton."⁵⁰

47 Hewitson, *Stonyhurst College*, 132. For more on Catholic material culture, see esp. chaps. 10 and 17 in this volume; and, on the crucial role of lay women and men, see chaps. 5, 6, and 7.

48 "Examination of Imprisoned Recusants," in *Ellesmere Manuscripts*, 44 and 47–48; B1Y, High Commission Cause Papers, 1624/18.

49 "The Examination of the Lord Viscount Montague before the Lord of Canterbury and the Lord Keeper taken this 22 May 1594," BL, Harleian 6998, fol. 141; Willaert, *History*, 30–35.

50 Chester, Cheshire PRO, Visitation Correction Books, 1604, EDV 1/13, fol. 102v.

Ordinarily, a priest would have asperged Bolton's body while praying a psalm, prior to conveying her corpse to the church for prayer and Mass. Because a priest was not available, this laywoman performed a form of the ritual to aid her friend's soul.

The Blundell family of Little Crosby cared for the souls of many dead Catholics for over a century. Because Protestants often refused to bury Catholics in Protestant hallowed ground, William Blundell dedicated a burial ground on his own land in 1611. For well over a century, he and his heirs kept a burial register and recorded the names of every decedent interred in their plot, noting that each person had been denied burial by Protestant clerics. They recorded 131 Catholic burials.⁵¹ At the time of interment, members of the household most likely read the office of the dead, the prayers that are part of burial services, for the deceased when a priest was not available. In a 1665 letter, Blundell's grandson, also named William, disclosed that among his religious books, he owned one containing the office of the dead that he used. "I have already performed [for] your deceased friend," he told his correspondent, "the very best Office that my Book can show me."⁵² Although laypeople may recite these prayers at will for a specific deceased person, Blundell's ownership of the office of the dead combined with the burial site on his land leads to the reasonable speculation that Blundell read the office at actual burials if a priest was not available.

As such examples suggest, the relationship between Catholics with different religious roles – lay and clerical – and with the church was changing. Laypeople like Blundell and Montagu were confronted with a desperate need. They had to make choices: perform a role themselves or leave it undone, hold rituals in non-customary places and ways or leave them undone. The consequences of leaving something undone could be disastrous: the loss of a soul. But the reality of an almost 300-year dearth of sacred spaces, traditional Catholic devotions,

51 William Blundell to Thomas Blundell, 29 December 1686, and William Blundell to James Scarisbrick, undated, both in *Cavalier*, 244–46; Thomas Ellison Gibson (ed.), *Crosby Records: A Chapter of Lancashire Recusancy* (Chetham Society) n.s., 12 (Manchester: 1887), xv and xviii–xx; F.O. Blundell, *Old Catholic Lancashire* (London: 1925), 32–37.

52 William Blundell to an unnamed friend, 1665, in *Cavalier*, 109. See also John Gage, *The Christian Sodality, or, Catholick Hive of Bees Sucking Hony of the Churches Prayers from the Blossomes of the Word of God blowne out of the Epistles and Gospels of the Divine Service Throughout the year. Collected by the Pury Bee of all the Hive, not worthy to be named otherwise than by these Elements of his Name: F. P.* (Paris: 1652), A4r–A6r, in which Gage advocated laypeople use what he called a "Trinity of Prayers" made up of three traditional prayers offered at Mass, some of them "the very same the priest then says."

and clerical counsel and aid meant that accommodations had to be made to comfort and serve believers, and Catholics in the British Isles made them.

As the number of priests and lay Catholics grew slowly but steadily in many areas in the 1700s, devotional opportunities became more abundant, particularly for Catholics living in urban or industrialized areas. By the 1770s, some Catholics, such as the London draper William Mawhood, enjoyed rich devotional lives filled with opportunities to hear Mass, confess, visit with priests, celebrate holidays, and play Catholic liturgical music.⁵³ They certainly possessed more opportunities than the majority of Catholics had in the previous two centuries.⁵⁴ Throughout the 18th century, some vicars apostolic, such as Richard Challoner in England, and the many Continentally educated bishops in Ireland, such as Lawrence Nihell, began to implement Tridentine reforms. Worship became a mix of the old and the new, a combination of Tridentine prescriptions and the devotional practices Catholics had been working with for the last three centuries, from traditional Irish burial practices to the continued popularity of pilgrimages to St Winefride's Well.⁵⁵

Although such developments might give the appearance that Catholics could practice their faith without difficulty, Protestant toleration of Catholic practices had its limits. Penal laws remained on the books, and Catholics still could not practice their faith without fear. On one hand, Catholics in the mid-to late-18th century had enough confidence in their government and neighbors' general forbearance that they invested in the construction of chapels that were not public churches but were still semi-permanent locations in which to conduct liturgy and ritual. On the other hand, if Catholics became too visible, Protestant clergy typically demanded an investigation, resulting in arrests and convictions under the penal laws. For example, as a 1776 Protestant report out of Dundee, Scotland, explained, the authorities knew about "a congregation of papists or those of the Church of Rome who have a priest," worshipping in their city. Such a situation, of course, was not tolerated, the report's authors insisted, yet instead of the authorities sending in pursuivants to arrest the law-breakers as would likely have happened in William Weston's time, the report noted that since these Catholics practiced their illegal faith behind closed

53 William Mawhood, *The Mawhood Diary: Selections from the Diary Note-Books of William Mawhood, Woolen-Draper of London, for the Years 1764–1790*, ed. E.E. Reynolds (Newport, Wales: 1956), 56–61, 64–66, 68, 70–72, 75, 134–38 160–61, 164, 169, 171, 210, 213, 215–16, 218, 230, 231, 252, 258, 260, 271–72, and 276–80.

54 However, Catholics in many rural areas, such as the Scottish Highlands and rural Wales, saw Catholicism stagnate during this time.

55 Mullett, *Catholics in Britain and Ireland*, 159–61, 165, and 182–85.

doors, “they are winked at.” Although few Catholics in 1776 likely kept a sword at the ready, as Weston’s layman did in the 1580s, or rioted in the streets, as Dublin worshippers did at Christmas in the 17th century, the penal laws were still in force. Just because neighbors winked at Catholics’ illegal worship one day did not mean Catholics could count on them doing so in the future. New crises and unexpected changes in public or governmental tolerance did sometimes spawn new persecutions, from the Popish Plot of the 1670s to the Gordon Riots of 1780. Even this toleration of a less-than-secret community of Catholics worshipping in Dundee was threatened three years later when an upswing in anti-Catholic public attitudes provoked fears of rioting.⁵⁶ This is why Catholics fought for full emancipation and the formal repeal of all penal laws, a goal achieved by 1829.

Yet after 1829, what then? Catholic devotional life in the British Isles could no more return to late-medieval religious customs than it could suddenly mimic 19th-century Catholic norms of worship. Too much had happened. The long-term consequences of almost three centuries of modifications to traditional Catholic practices was that, over time, Catholics in the British Isles understood their relationships to clergy, the sacraments, the Catholic Church, and even to God in new ways. By the early 18th century, the discussion had broadened to include not only *whether* the laity would participate in fulfilling traditional clerical roles but also in defining *how* they participated.⁵⁷ They often exercised greater autonomy in their interactions with the clergy, took on more roles in ritual, and gradually gained confidence in their ability to work toward their own salvation in greater partnership with clergy and church. Again, these Catholics were not trying overtly to renegotiate doctrine or replace priestly mediation, but through their underground devotions – as ritual moved outside of churches and out of the physical presence of priests – laypeople became more active partners in the economy of salvation and shifted the boundaries between lay and clerical roles and responsibilities.

It is unclear to what extent the clergy consciously shared in this process of transformation. Paradoxically, as in most mission fields, the Catholic Church

56 Mullett, *Catholics in Britain and Ireland*, 179–80. See also Gabriel Glickman, “The Politics of Coexistence: Dissenters, Catholics, and Jacobites 1714–45,” in *Negotiating Toleration: Dissent and the Hanoverian Succession, 1714–1760*, ed. Nigel Aston and Benjamin Bankhurst (Oxford: 2019).

57 For examples, see Thomas Lawson, *The Devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus, with other pious practices, devout prayers, and instructions for the use and convenience of Christians in general* (Bruges: 1765); Lucy Herbert, *Several Excellent Methods of Hearing Mass* (Bruges: 1722).

needed to court laypeople's loyalty at the same time it emphasized its God-given authority over them. Just as priests were important for the salvation of souls, laypeople were indispensable for the salvation of Catholicism in the British Isles. Clergy and laity thus worked together to meet Catholic needs for priests, churches, and sacraments as best they could, using the resources still available, and it would be difficult to turn back the clock on these changes.

The Catholic Enlightenment in Britain and Ireland

Jonathan Wright

1 Historiographical Context

In recent scholarship, the concept of a unitary Enlightenment movement, with clearly defined aspirations and easily charted consequences, has come under siege. It is in this context that the burgeoning study of Catholic Enlightenment must be located. The degree to which the concept of Enlightenment ought to be fragmented is, of course, a matter of strenuous debate. In his expansive and painstaking work, Jonathan Israel has argued for a division between a numerically small but hugely influential “radical” Enlightenment, whose leading figures derived greatest inspiration from the musings of Baruch Spinoza, and more “moderate” enlighteners.¹ Simon Grote has recently provided efficient definitions of Israel’s two groups. Israel sees those in the radical camp pursuing “a monistic metaphysics that ruled out teleology, miracles, providence, revelation, and the immortality of the soul; a denial that moral principles have divine origins; a rejection of ecclesiastical authority; a denial that social hierarchy, noble privilege, and monarchical power are ordained by God; and robust support for freedom of thought and for political egalitarianism.” The moderates, “reformers in their own ways,” responded “to what they perceived as the danger of Spinozistic radicalism by attempting – and ultimately failing, because of the comparative incoherence of their more conservative ideology – to restore stable and enduring structures of authority, legitimacy, knowledge, and faith.”²

For all its extraordinary depth of scholarship and ground-breaking impact, Israel’s dichotomy has provoked important reservations. The alleged coherency of the disciples of Spinoza is sometimes difficult to sustain and, more fundamentally, there is perhaps something teleological about Israel’s overall

1 Jonathan Israel, *Radical Enlightenment: Philosophy and the Making of Modernity, 1650–1750* (Oxford: 2001); Israel, *Enlightenment Contested: Philosophy, Modernity and the Emancipation of Man, 1670–1752* (Oxford: 2006); Israel, *A Revolution of the Mind: Radical Enlightenment and the Intellectual Origins of Modern Democracy* (Princeton: 2009); Israel, *Democratic Enlightenment: Philosophy, Revolution and Human Rights, 1750–1790* (Oxford: 2011).

2 Simon Grote, “Review Essay: Religion and Enlightenment,” *Journal of the History of Ideas* 75 (2014), 137–60.

analysis: a sense of a march forwards to modernity. The notion of an epochal break with the past at some point in the late 17th century, that incorporates both variants of Enlightenment, limits the obvious role of earlier trends in creating the 18th-century cultural and intellectual landscape. Furthermore, and as has recently been suggested, it can seem as if “anyone who failed to either embrace or accommodate the philosophical radicalism of 1650–1680 is excluded” from discussion, and that anyone not in thrall to Spinoza was a “sheepish moderate.”³

Greater fragmentation of the notion of Enlightenment is perhaps required, although this raises difficult questions about the continuing viability of the very category of Enlightenment itself. Stressing geographical diversity has been one fecund strategy,⁴ though this clearly makes it harder to define a coherent understanding of Enlightenment that is operative across so many national contexts. Efforts have, therefore, been made to demonstrate similarities between theatres of Enlightenment which, on the face of things, might not be expected to have a great deal in common. A sense of coherency is therefore shored up, at least to an extent.⁵

The thematic diversity of the century of lights has also been a rich vein of recent enquiry, with many scholars moving beyond conventional philosophical and political narratives. New methods of communication and discourse, the contours of scholarly and public debate, the emergence of new or expanded media and cultural venues (from newspapers to coffee shops), trends of sociability, and the growth of the public sphere have all been positioned as dynamic elements of Enlightenment culture.⁶

3 William J. Bulman, “Introduction: Enlightenment for the Culture Wars,” in Bulman and Robert C. Ingram (eds), *God in the Enlightenment* (Oxford: 2016), 12. For commentary on Israel’s thesis, see, for example, Anthony J. La Vopa, “A New Intellectual History? Jonathan Israel’s Enlightenment,” *Historical Journal* 52 (2009), 717–38; Darrin McMahon, “What Are Enlightenments?,” *Modern Intellectual History* 4 (2007), 601–16; Siep Stuurman, “Pathways to the Enlightenment: From Paul Hazard to Jonathan Israel,” *History Workshop Journal* 54 (2002), 227–35.

4 For example, Roy Porter and Mikulas Teich (eds), *The Enlightenment in National Context* (Cambridge, Eng.: 2001); Richard Butterwick et al. (eds), *Peripheries of the Enlightenment* (Oxford: 2008).

5 John Robertson, *The Case for the Enlightenment: Scotland and Naples, 1680–1760* (Cambridge, Eng.: 2005).

6 For example, James Van Horn Melton, *The Rise of the Public in Enlightenment Europe* (Cambridge, Eng.: 2001); Daniel Gordon, *Citizens without Sovereignty: Equality and Sociability in French Thought, 1670–1789* (Princeton: 1994); Ann Bermingham and John Brewer (eds), *The Consumption of Culture, 1600–1800: Image, Object, Text* (London: 1995); Philip Carter, *Men and the Emergence of Polite Society: Britain, 1660–1800* (London: 2001); Peter Clark, *British Clubs and Societies, 1580–1800: The Origins of an Associational World* (Oxford: 2000).

An open question is whether, with such a multiplicity of venues and developments, it is sufficient to talk of an ever-expanding range of different Enlightenments which share some family resemblances.⁷ The alternative, to abandon the concept of Enlightenment entirely, would doubtless be a historiographical step too far. No historical construct or terminology is ever perfect, and Dale Van Kley has wisely suggested thinking in terms of a spectral model of Enlightenment which allows for a wide-ranging typology of forms but sustains a meaningful central conception of what the Enlightenment represented.⁸

Religious variants of Enlightenment (including Catholic ones) would certainly have to be included in such a model, and indeed, they have greatly added to a more inclusive and sophisticated appreciation of 18th-century history over the past several decades. Far from being limited to florescences in late-17th- and 18th-century England, under the aegis of Locke, Newton, and natural theology,⁹ religious Enlightenment has come to be seen as a continent-straddling phenomenon that challenges many abiding assumptions about the era: not least notions of an inexorable rise of secularism, an inevitable conflict between faith and reason, or the concept of religion gradually being shunted to the cultural sidelines.¹⁰ It has also allowed us to trace the roots of 18th-century and subsequent intellectual and cultural history further back than the alleged climacterics of the late 17th century.

A distinctively Catholic Enlightenment is a significant aspect of this story.¹¹ The scholarship has deep roots in the German academy but the most notable

7 J.G.A. Pocock, "The Re-Description of Enlightenment," *Proceedings of the British Academy* 125 (2006), 101–17; Pocock, *Barbarism and Religion* (Cambridge, Eng.: 1999).

8 Dale Van Kley, "The Varieties of Enlightened Experience," in Bulman and Ingram, *God in the Enlightenment*, 278–316.

9 Brian Young, *Religion and Enlightenment in Eighteenth Century England: Theological Debate from Locke to Burke* (Oxford: 1998); John Marshall, *John Locke, Toleration and Early Enlightenment Culture* (Cambridge, Eng.: 2006).

10 David Sorkin, *The Religious Enlightenment: Protestants, Jews, and Catholics from London to Vienna* (Princeton: 2008); Helena Rosenblatt, "The Christian Enlightenment," in Stewart J. Brown and Timothy Hackett (eds), *Enlightenment, Reawakening and Revolution, 1660–1815* (Cambridge, Eng.: 2006), 283–301; Charly Coleman, "Resacralizing the World: The Fate of Secularization in Enlightenment Historiography," *Journal of Modern History* 82 (2010), 368–95; Jeremy Gregory, "Introduction: Transforming 'the Age of Reason' into 'an Age of Faiths': Or, Putting Religions and Beliefs (Back) into the Eighteenth Century," *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 32 (2009), 287–305; Jonathan Sheehan, "Enlightenment, Religion, and the Enigma of Secularization: A Review Essay," *AHR* 108 (2003), 1061–80; S.J. Barnett, *The Enlightenment and Religion: The Myths of Modernity* (Manchester: 2003); James E. Bradley and Dale K. Van Kley (eds), *Religion and Politics in Enlightenment Europe* (Notre Dame, IN: 2001).

11 Key volumes and collections include Jeffrey D. Burson and Ulrich Lehner (eds), *Enlightenment and Catholicism in Europe: A Transnational History* (Notre Dame, IN: 2014);

harbinger in more recent times was the French historian Bernard Plongeron, whose conceptualization of Catholic Enlightenment has been neatly summarized by Van Kley as “a ‘new religious anthropology’ that vindicated the rights of reason within the bounds of revelation and faith, endorsed the century’s rehabilitations of human nature within the bounds of the doctrine of original sin, and held out the prospect of temporal progress within the bounds of divine providence and revelatory tradition.”¹²

More than four decades on from Plongeron, a wealth of scholarship has revealed a landscape in which, as Ulrich Lehner puts it, “only a small fraction of Enlighteners were anti-religious” and in which “the overwhelming majority was interested in finding a balanced relationship between reason and faith.”¹³ Agendas differed widely, of course, but it now seems reasonable to conclude that, as one recent overview pithily puts it, “God was all over the Enlightenment.”¹⁴ Admittedly, attempts are still made to rescue the concept of a monistic Enlightenment that was broadly hostile to religious belief. Anthony Pagden’s recent survey insists that the Enlightenment was “indeed a project,” that “marginalizing theology” was one of its chief concerns, and that it “is undeniably true that the Enlightenment was profoundly anti-religious.”¹⁵ Such a position seems increasingly untenable.

Defining the precise nature of a Catholic Enlightenment remains problematic, however. It would clearly be misleading to regard it as nothing more than an appendage of a secular Enlightenment: this would suggest a lack of autonomy, ignore distinctive origins, and reduce the phenomenon to little more than accommodation with broader cultural trends. This is part of the reason why some scholars prefer the term “Catholic Reform,” which carries the added advantage of stressing continuities with a reformist movement dating back to

Harm Kleuting, Norbert Hinke, and Karl Hengst, *Katholische Aufklärung: Aufklärung in Katholischen Deutschland* (Hamburg: 1993); Ulrich Lehner and Michael Printy (eds), *A Companion to the Catholic Enlightenment in Europe* (Leiden: 2010).

- 12 Van Kley, “The Varieties of Enlightened Experience,” 290; Bernard Plongeron, “Recherches sur l’Aufklärung catholique en Europe occidentale (1770–1830),” *Revue d’histoire moderne et contemporaine* 16 (1969), 555–605. On the longer-term scholarly origins and development of the concept of Catholic Enlightenment, see Jeffrey Burson, “Introduction,” in Burson and Lehner, *Enlightenment and Catholicism*, 1–9.
- 13 Ulrich Lehner, *The Catholic Enlightenment: The Forgotten History of a Global Movement* (Oxford: 2016), 2.
- 14 Bulman and Ingram, *God in the Enlightenment*, 27.
- 15 Anthony Pagden, *The Enlightenment and Why it Still Matters* (New York: 2013), 26, xi, and xiv. See also Margaret C. Jacob, “The Enlightenment Critique of Christianity,” in *The Cambridge History of Christianity*, vol. 7, *Enlightenment, Reawakening and Revolution, 1660–1815*, ed. Stewart J. Brown and Timothy Tackett (Cambridge, Eng.: 2006), 265–82.

the Council of Trent. At the same time, however, it would be erroneous to ghettoize the Catholic Enlightenment or set it adrift from the era's other intellectual developments.

Checklists of attributes are inherently perilous when it comes to conceptualizing so diverse a phenomenon, but they are perhaps necessary. Jeffrey Burson has recently offered a roster of "common characteristics of Enlightenment Catholicism."¹⁶ This includes belief in the possibility of humanity's improvement both morally and intellectually, and concomitant to that, a commitment to social betterment. We also find, here, a stress on the freedom of will in moral action, particularly within Jesuit ranks. A blossoming interest in historicized theology is also identified, along with the embrace, to varying degrees and in different combinations, of significant thinkers such as Newton, Wolff, Locke, Leibniz, and Descartes. A figure such as Aquinas is seen as moving to the margins. In terms of praxis, there is a quest to purify Baroque Catholicism, seek a quieter kind of piety, look askance at excessive superstition, and limit the role of some expressions of popular devotion. Lehner pushes this theme to the extent of discerning a "shared disgust for enthusiasm, superstition and prejudice."¹⁷ In the realm of Church governance, we can expect Catholic enlighteners to sustain commitment to the papacy's role in spiritual leadership, but to champion the influence of local and national bishops and/or secular rulers in ecclesiological business, perhaps even with a conciliarist edge. Lehner also adds an openness to communicating ideas more widely and more clearly, including an embrace of alternative literary styles and the vernacular to his raft of characteristics.¹⁸

Specific aspects of this summary might be challenged: antagonism towards the supernatural was clearly not shared by a large number of Catholic enlighteners and there was considerable divergence when it came to ecclesiology.¹⁹ As a route map, however, Burson's enumeration of widespread themes provides an excellent point of departure.

However defined, it is entirely reasonable that the majority of work on the Catholic Enlightenment has focused on areas where Catholicism was officially established. In places like France, Spain, Portugal, and Italy, Catholic

16 Jeffrey Burson, "Introduction: Catholicism and Enlightenment, Past, Present and Future," in Burson and Lehner, *Enlightenment and Catholicism*, 16–17.

17 Lehner, *Catholic Enlightenment*, 9.

18 Lehner, *Catholic Enlightenment*, 8–9.

19 Paul K. Monod, *Solomon's Secret Arts: The Occult in the Age of the Enlightenment* (New Haven: 2013); Jane Shaw, *Miracles in Enlightenment England* (New Haven: 2006).

Enlightenment was able to come to fullest fruition.²⁰ In Britain, the situation was palpably different, though this hardly means that Catholic Enlightenment did not have a profound effect. There is much work remaining to be done in this area. For example, the numerical weakness of Catholicism in Wales (perhaps less than a thousand souls by the middle of the 18th century) makes the quest for a specifically Welsh Catholic Enlightenment somewhat ambitious. Simple survival was the goal in most areas, even those such as Monmouthshire, the Herefordshire borders, and isolated parishes such as Holywell and Llansa in Flintshire with a significant Catholic population.²¹

Scotland is more promising. It has been several decades since Mark Goldie's seminal article on a Scottish Catholic Enlightenment.²² Broader study of the Enlightenment in Scotland has gone from strength to strength during that time, with wonderful scholarship on the different streams of enlightened activity (literary, scientific, philosophical), the relationship to a broader "Atlantic" Enlightenment milieu, and analysis of themes including the public sphere and the concept of sociability. Catholicism still struggles to penetrate broader surveys, however, often making fleeting appearances at best.²³

20 T.C.W. Blanning, "The Enlightenment in Catholic Germany," in Porter and Teich, *Enlightenment in National Context*, 118–26; Jeffrey Burson, "The Catholic Enlightenment in France," in Lehner and Printy, *Companion*, 63–125; Vincenzo Ferrone, *The Intellectual Roots of the Italian Enlightenment* (Atlantic Highlands, NJ: 1995); Girolamo Imbruglia, "Enlightenment in Eighteenth-Century Naples," in *Naples in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Imbruglia (Cambridge, Eng.: 2000), 70–94; Harm Kleuting, "The Catholic Enlightenment in Austria and the Habsburg Lands," in Lehner and Printy, *Companion*, 127–64; Charles Noel, "Clerics and Crown in Bourbon Spain, 1700–1808," in Bradley and Van Kley, *Religion and Politics*, 119–53; Samuel Miller, *Portugal and Rome, c.1748–1830: An Aspect of Catholic Enlightenment* (Rome: 1978); Catherine Northeast, *The Parisian Jesuits and the Enlightenment* (Oxford: 1991); Gabriel Paquette, *Enlightenment, Governance and Reform in Spain and its Empire, 1759–1808* (Basingstoke: 2008); Paquette (ed.), *Enlightened Reform in Southern Europe* (Farnham: 2009); Paquette, "Luces por la Fe: The Cause of Catholic Enlightenment in Eighteenth-Century Spain," in Lehner and Printy, *Companion*, 403–52; Printy, *Enlightenment and the Creation of German Catholicism* (Cambridge, Eng.: 2009); Mario Rosa, *Cattolicesimo e lumi nel Settecento italiano* (Rome: 1981); Everton Souza, "The Catholic Enlightenment in Portugal," in Lehner and Printy, *Companion*, 359–492; Ernst Wangermann, "Reform Catholicism and Political Radicalism in the Austrian Enlightenment," in Porter and Teich, *Enlightenment in National Context*, 127–40.

21 Philip Jenkins, *A History of Modern Wales, 1536–1990* (Abington: 1992), 117; Jenkins, "A Welsh Lancashire? Monmouthshire Catholics in the Eighteenth Century," *British Catholic Studies* 15 (1979), 176–88. For more on Welsh Catholicism, see chap. 11 in this volume.

22 Mark Goldie, "The Scottish Catholic Enlightenment," *JBS* 30 (1991), 20–62.

23 Paul Wood (ed.), *The Scottish Enlightenment: Essays in Reinterpretation* (Rochester: 2000); Alexander Broadie (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to the Scottish Enlightenment* (Cambridge: 2003); Richard B. Sher (ed.), *The Enlightenment and the Book: Scottish*

As regards England, meanwhile, while strides have been made in re-evaluating the 18th-century Catholic community, many *desiderata* remain, and it is sobering to recall that more than 40 years have passed since Philip Chinnici used the phrase “The English Catholic Enlightenment” in the title of a groundbreaking study.²⁴ The signs are bright for progress, however, and it is to Britain and its encounter with Catholic Enlightenment that we now turn.

2 Catholic Enlightenment in Britain

In 1852, John Henry Newman offered a depressing assessment of how Catholicism had appeared at the beginning of the 19th century:

... one and all of us can bear witness to the fact of the utter contempt into which Catholicism had fallen by the time that we were born. ... No longer the Catholic Church in the country; nay, no longer, I may say, a Catholic community – but a few adherents of the Old Religion, moving silently and sorrowfully about, as memorials of what had been. ... Here a set of poor Irishmen, coming and going at harvest time, or a colony of them lodged in a miserable quarter of the vast metropolis. There, perhaps an elderly person, seen walking in the streets, grave and solitary, and strange, though noble in bearing, and said to be of good family, and a “Roman Catholic.” An old-fashioned house of gloomy appearance, closed in with high walls, with an iron gate, and yews, and the report attaching to it that “Roman Catholics” lived there; but who they were, or what they did, or what was meant by calling them Roman Catholics, no one could tell. ... Such were Catholics in England, found in corners, and alleys, and cellars, and the housetops, or in the recesses of the country; cut off from the populous world around them, and dimly seen, as if through a mist or in twilight, as ghosts flitting to and fro, by the high Protestants, the lords of the earth. At length so feeble did they become, so utterly contemptible,

Authors and Their Publishers in Eighteenth-Century Britain, Ireland, and America (Chicago: 2010); Susan Manning and Francis D. Cogliano (eds), *The Atlantic Enlightenment* (Farnham: 2008); Thomas Ahnert and Susan Manning (eds), *Character, Self, and Sociability in the Scottish Enlightenment* (New York: 2011); Mark R.M. Towsey, *Reading the Scottish Enlightenment: Books and Their Readers in Provincial Scotland, 1750–1820* (Leiden: 2010). For more on Scottish Catholicism, see chaps. 9 and 10 in this volume.

24 Joseph P. Chinnici, *The English Catholic Enlightenment: John Lingard and the Cisalpine Movement, 1780–1850* (Shepherdstown, WV: 1980).

that contempt gave birth to pity; and the more generous of their tyrants actually began to wish to bestow on them some favour, under the notion that their opinions were simply too absurd ever to spread again.²⁵

Until quite recently, this image would have resonated with historians of British Catholicism in the century-and-a-half before Newman. A disgruntled, disheartened, and even ghettoized community took center stage in most narratives. Perspectives have changed, and a more positive assessment of that community has emerged: this has important consequences for how we trace the reception of Catholic Enlightenment ideas in Britain.

It is true, of course, that penal legislation remained on the statute book and that Catholics were excluded from public life and office in many ways. The Relief Acts of 1778 and 1791 would be transformative, but as of 1772, this was still a country where, during the famous Fenwick case, Protestant relations could attempt to deprive Catholic heirs of inheritances and where, in 1767, John Baptist Maloney could be sentenced to lifetime imprisonment for being a priest: though Maloney would be pardoned in 1771 by George III and dispatched into exile instead.²⁶

The specter of anti-Catholicism also raised its head in both England and Scotland with alarming frequency during the 18th century, often in violent ways, and tropes of Catholic disloyalty (especially drawn from association with the Jacobite cause) were commonplace.²⁷ It might even be argued that anti-Catholic sentiment was one of the more significant constituents of the British Protestant mentality during the period.²⁸ And if shifts in attitude were visible, they were most conspicuous in society's upper echelons. The Catholic priest and ardent campaigner for Catholic Relief, Joseph Berington, would comment in 1780 on how "the higher classes in life affected to think lightly of religion in general: to them every species of persecution was an absurdity, odious and contemptible ... they had dined with cardinals, and perhaps conversed with

25 John Henry Newman, *The Second Spring: A Sermon Preached in the Synod of Oscot* (London: 1852), 18.

26 Serenhedd James, *George Errington and Roman Catholic Identity in Nineteenth-Century England* (Oxford: 2016), 9.

27 Colin Haydon, *Anti-Catholicism in Eighteenth-Century England, c.1714–80* (Manchester: 1993); Clotilde Prunier, *Anti-Catholic Strategies in Eighteenth-Century Scotland* (Frankfurt: 2004).

28 Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707–1837*, 2nd ed. (New Haven: 2005); Raymond Tumbleson, *Catholicism in the English Protestant Imagination: Nationalism, Religion, and Literature, 1660–1745* (Cambridge, Eng.: 1998). For more on anti-Catholicism, see chap. 13 in this volume.

the pope, and had found him to be a good-tempered old man without either horns or cloven feet.”²⁹

It was, to be sure, a sign of a more irenical time when the Protestant Anne Rushout visited Wardour Castle and, not offended by the Catholic fittings, admired the “handsomest private chapel I have seen, the altar and communion table very richly ornamented.”³⁰ Popular attitudes were more resilient, and Berington recognized this, too. “A person but little acquainted with the general sentiments of Englishmen, in the business of religion, will be necessitated to draw the same conclusion,” that “there still remains in the mind of almost every Protestant” a “rooted prejudice against the name of Catholic, which no time, I fear, or the efforts of philosophy, will ever erase.” But there had been improvement, Berington added, especially since the arrival of a series of king Georges on the throne. Catholics had become more sociable and “began to taste those sweets of life, which liberty and open intercourse with the world can supply.” Berington felt sure that “had not the late rebellion of 1745 unfortunately intervened, before this day, probably, the name of popery would have been an unheeded sound, and all execution of the penal statutes utterly suspended.” At the time of writing, that had not yet happened, and Berington knew how easily popular anti-Catholicism could overflow. The Gordon Riots in London during June 1780, which transmuted from the delivery of a petition aimed against recent moves towards Catholic Relief into days and nights of violence, the worst civil disturbance in modern British history, were clear proof of that. Still, there was promise of better times to come.³¹

This all chimes with the reassessment of 18th-century Catholicism undertaken by historians such as Gabriel Glickman. Focusing on the first half of the century, before Berington’s time, Glickman portrays a Catholic community of increasing self-confidence which sought to engage with broader society. Some areas of life, notably marriage within the faith,³² were guarded carefully, but friendships with Anglican neighbors and extensive, inclusive social networks were becoming increasingly commonplace. Commitment to Catholic doctrine was not in jeopardy. Great efforts were made at self-assertion through,

29 Cited in James, *George Errington*, 10.

30 Nigel Aston, *Art and Religion in Eighteenth-Century Europe* (London: 2009), 172.

31 Joseph Berington, *The State and Behaviour of English Catholics* (London: 1780), 6 and 93. On Berington, see Eamon Duffy, “Joseph Berington and the English Catholic Cisalpine Movement, 1772–1803” (PhD thesis, University of Cambridge, 1973); J. Derek Holmes, “Joseph Berington: Prophet of Ecumenism?,” *New Blackfriars* 53 (1972), 227–33.

32 Geoffrey Scott, “The Throckmortons at Home and Abroad, 1680–1800,” in *Catholic Gentry in English Society: The Throckmortons of Coughton from Reformation to Emancipation*, ed. Peter Marshall and Geoffrey Scott (Farnham: 2009), 178–79 and 201–04.

for example, lavish building projects, and there was ample scope to contribute meaningfully to a host of political and cultural debates. Crucially, and especially as commitment to the Jacobite cause began to wane, much energy was expended on demonstrating that Catholics were loyal subjects of the Crown: what Glickman describes as irenic patriotism was among the strongest currents of Catholic thought during the period.³³

A major component of this revitalized Catholic community was keen awareness of, and links to, events overseas. Here, the trends of Catholic Enlightenment took on particular importance. Continental chaplains, many well-versed in Catholic Enlightenment ideas, routinely tended to recusant families; the libraries of those families began to acquire books relating modish ideas; and the existence of an extensive Catholic diaspora enhanced connections with Europe. The latter may have been born of unfortunate circumstances – the move into exile following the 1688 revolution – but it bore positive fruit throughout the 18th century. As Glickman writes, “no accurate picture of the community can be formed without considering the expatriate zone of English Catholicism: the diaspora that stretched from France and the Low Countries, across Italy and the Iberian Peninsula.”³⁴

Educational links were also key. Recusant daughters attended convents (a topic which, together with confessional mobility, including exile, has begun to receive extensive scholarly attention in recent years, including, in particular, chapters 4, 5, 7, 8, and 9 in this volume), while recusant sons had access to an impressive range of educational institutions, notably those run by Jesuits and Benedictines, in France and the Low Countries. This educational interaction also had far-reaching consequences in the Catholic enclaves of the British colonies, notably in Maryland. Between 1650 and 1775, more than half the sons of Maryland’s Catholic families attended the colleges at St Omers or Bruges, and between 1759 and 1773, no less than 82 sons followed this educational path.³⁵

Members of the religious orders who often ran such institutions developed deliberate strategies to bring news of intellectual innovation home to Britain, witnessed, for example, in the activities of the Society of St Edmund established in Paris in 1745 on a model replicating that of the Royal Society.³⁶ Similar

33 Gabriel Glickman, *The English Catholic Community, 1688–1745: Politics, Culture and Ideology* (Woodbridge: 2009), *passim*.

34 Glickman, *Catholic Community*, 9; Edward Corp, *A Court in Exile: The Stuarts in France, 1689–1718* (Cambridge, Eng.: 2004).

35 Robert Emmett Curran, *Papist Devils: Catholics in British America, 1574–1783* (Washington DC: 2014), 171–86.

36 Geoffrey Scott, *Gothic Rage Undone: English Monks and the Enlightenment* (Bath: 1992), 155–59; Lehner, *Catholic Enlightenment*, 16; Glickman, *Catholic Community*, 237.

factors were at work in Scotland, fostered by the crucial missionary networks that linked that country and the Continent. At the Scots colleges in Douai, Paris, Madrid, and Rome, and in the Benedictine *Schottenkloster* in Regensburg, Erfurt, and Würzburg, there are clear indications of Enlightenment ideas being instilled.³⁷

More formal links with Europe also played a part. Numerous young Catholic gentlemen from England and Scotland pursued private studies or embarked on the Grand Tour and, if they were fortunate, they might encounter as emblematic a figure of the British Catholic Enlightenment as John Turberville Needham. Needham's contribution to 18th-century science was momentous, if somewhat controversial in some circles. Studying the question of generation, or reproduction, he helped to overturn the dominant theory of preformation. This had been made popular by, among others, Nicolas Malebranche and was part of a reaction to Cartesian ideas that conceived of all natural phenomena as explicable through reference to matter and motion. Preformation argued for the existence of pre-arranged matter from which all organisms would develop. Such building blocks of life had, in a sense, existed since the Creation, and God could therefore be seen as directly involved in every instance of life's emergence. Needham, along with the Comte de Buffon, with whom Needham performed experiments, championed the rival theory of epigenesis. Here, each act of generation involved the formation of an organism out of un-organized matter.

Such suggestions garnered Needham much criticism, notably from Voltaire, because they were seen as promoting a mechanistic view of nature, removing God from an interventionist role, and even tending towards atheism. The charge was, in fact, preposterous. Needham's findings were recruited by philosophers of mechanistic proclivities, notably Diderot and d'Holbach, but Needham had no desire to undermine established religion. Indeed, he had been motivated by the fear that preformation ideas would collapse under the mounting evidence, and that a stronger theory, which could be used to shore up religious faith, was required.

37 Thomas McNally, "Missionaries or Soldiers for the Jacobite Cause? The Conflict of Loyalties for Scottish Catholic Clergy," in *Jacobitism, Enlightenment and Empire, 1680–1820*, ed. Douglas Hamilton and Allan MacInnes (London: 2014); Thomas McNally, *The Sixth Scottish University: The Scots Colleges Abroad, 1575 to 1799* (Leiden: 2012); R. McCluskey (ed.), *The Scots College, Rome, 1600–2000* (Edinburgh: 2000); Brian Halloran, *The Scots College Paris, 1603–1792* (Edinburgh: 1997); Maurice Taylor, *The Scots College in Spain* (Valladolid: 1971); Mark Dilworth, *The Scots in Franconia* (Edinburgh: 1974).

Needham was in many ways an exemplar of the Catholic Enlightenment's attempt to combine faith and reason. His scientific passion was clear, and this won him many plaudits: he would be the first Roman Catholic priest to be elected to the Royal Society in 1747, and director of the *Académie Impériale et Royale des Sciences et Belles-Lettres* in Brussels between 1772 and 1780. Faith remained central to his worldview, however. To Voltaire's annoyance, Needham was perfectly happy to allow for the existence of miracles: an omnipotent God was well able to suspend the laws of nature when he so chose. Between 1751 and 1767 Needham served as tutor or guide to an impressive roster of Catholic visitors to the Continent, including the 7th Earl of Fingall, Philip Howard of Corby, and the avid collector of antiquities and sculpture, Charles Townley, who was tutored by Needham in 1753.³⁸

Such young men can have been left in little doubt as to the dynamism of modern ideas within the Catholic intellectual world, and all told, the channels between Britain and the currents of Catholic Enlightenment were secure. Quite how this process of interaction and dialogue manifested itself is, however, rather complex. Here we encounter the thorny issue of plotting Catholic Enlightenment trajectories in Britain. One narrative is dominant. It leads from some of the central ideals, assumptions, and aspirations of Enlightenment in its Catholic variant to those sectors of the British Catholic community, both in Scotland and England, who campaigned for relief from the penal laws, queried various established ecclesiological orthodoxies, looked skeptically at supposed manifestations of the supernatural, and emerged, towards the end of the 18th century, as supporters of the Cisalpine movement. It is worth exploring in some detail. As a point of departure, let us utilize David Sorkin's schema of religious Enlightenment. In the quest for typical hallmarks, he identifies *inter alia*, an openness to religious toleration; engagement with the emerging public sphere; "reasonableness" (in the sense of opposition to radical freethinking

38 Renato G. Mazzolini and Shirley A. Roe (eds), *Science Against the Unbelievers: The Correspondence of Bonnet and Needham, 1760–1780* (Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century) 243 (Oxford: 1986); Shirley A. Roe, "John Turberville Needham and the Generation of Living Organisms," *Isis* 74 (1983), 59–84; Roe, "Buffon and Needham: Diverging Views on Life and Matter," in *Buffon 88: Actes du Colloque International*, ed. Jean Gayon (Paris: 1992), 439–50; Hal Hellman, *Great Feuds in Science* (New York: 1999), 63–79. Details of Needham's experiments with Buffon are detailed in George Luis Leclerc, Comte de Buffon, *Natural History: General and Particular*, part 2 (Edinburgh: 1780–85). On the influence of the Grand Tour, see Alexander Lock, *Catholicism, Identity and Politics in the Age of Enlightenment: The Life and Career of Sir Thomas Gascoigne, 1745–1810* (Woodbridge: 2016), which demonstrates that exposure to Continental Catholic life did not always produce enthusiasm among British Catholic tourists.

and religious enthusiasm); and a belief that reason and revelation could operate in tandem. All of these factors can sensibly be applied, with varying degrees of accuracy, to various British figures who pursued the cause of Catholic Relief as can, in some cases, another of Sorkin's themes: a reduced stress on dogmatic specifics in the realm of cross-confessional encounter.³⁹

Even more salient is Sorkin's concept of religious enlighteners recognizing constituted authority and seeking change from, as it were, within the system. This could almost serve as a definition of the Cisalpine movement. Those who pursued Catholic Relief rarely missed an opportunity to stress the loyalty of Britain's Catholic community, distancing themselves from the memory of the Jacobite cause, and attempting to produce a narrative of British history which portrayed the nation's Catholics in a more favorable light.⁴⁰ Berington was adamant that progress made by Catholics by 1780, including the passage of the First Relief Act in 1778, had resulted from "the uniform tenor of their conduct." "In circumstances of real trial," they "had convinced their greatest enemies, that now at least they deserved the indulgence of government." George III knew that the "Catholics of England were good subjects" and that "the attachment they had to the Stuarts, was now universally transferred to the house of Hanover."⁴¹ Such a perception, if edging towards the overly optimistic, would be cultivated through to the Second Relief Act, and beyond, though George III would resolutely oppose the arrival of Catholic emancipation at the time of the Act of Union in 1801.

Similarly, Catholics worked hard to achieve their goals through the exercise of sociability, civility, and *politesse*: also, on some accounts, Enlightenment traits. Mary Blount, Duchess of Norfolk, made no secret of her Catholicism at court, but as she once informed the queen, "though she and the duke were of a different religion, they had as much duty and regard for the king as any of his subjects, and should be glad of every occasion that gave 'em an opportunity to show it." This is a reminder of the role played by women, which also extended to print media, to the cause of Catholic Relief.⁴² In Scotland, John Geddes, coadjutor vicar apostolic of the Lowland District, could scarcely be defined as

39 Sorkin, *Religious Enlightenment*, introduction.

40 Gabriel Glickman, "Gothic History and Catholic Enlightenment in the Works of Charles Dodd, 1672–1743," *Historical Journal* 54 (2010), 347–69.

41 Berington, *State and Behaviour*, 96.

42 Anna Battigelli and Laura M. Stevens, "Eighteenth-Century Women and English Catholicism," *Tulsa Studies in Women's Literature* 31 (2012), 7–32, at 16; Michael Tomko, *British Romanticism and the Catholic Question: Religion, History and National Identity, 1778–1829* (New York: 2011), 4.

a Cisalpine, but his commitment to the cause of Catholic Relief was boundless. He furthered that agenda through collegial relations with the Scottish elite: keeping on good terms with Episcopalians, attending the “learned suppers” of Lord Monboddo, and becoming a fixture in Edinburgh’s cultural life.⁴³

It came down to how change might be achieved. Sometimes it was simpler to shrug off discrimination as an inconvenience. When Charles Butler appeared as the 4th Earl of Sandwich’s counsel at a parliamentary inquiry in 1779, he sidestepped the question of whether he had taken the oaths required of legal professionals by the Test Act: it was, he quipped, “a question which this House will have the humanity not to ask of me, because it leads to an explanation rather inconvenient to myself.”⁴⁴ Genuine frustration lay behind this facade, however, and some Catholics saw apostasy as the obvious route to gaining access to the corridors of power. In June 1780, for example, Sir Thomas Gascoigne and Charles Howard, Earl of Surrey, publicly renounced their faith in order to secure seats in Parliament.⁴⁵

Others, like Butler, saw a need to mobilize and seek lasting redress: a campaign that would result in the activities of the revived Catholic Committee, founded in July 1782, and its successor the Cisalpine Club, founded in April 1792.⁴⁶ It is impossible to ignore how many of the attributes typically associated with the Catholic Enlightenment were exhibited by those who pressed hardest for Catholic Relief. The overlap was also evident in the specifics of their campaign: a deft combination of assertion and a willingness to compromise. From the late 1780s, one of the most divisive issues concerned the nature of a new oath of loyalty that Catholics would be able to take in good conscience. Those of a Cisalpine stamp showed few qualms about jettisoning the pope’s deposing or dispensing powers, which was symptomatic of their willingness to curtail the papacy’s influence in the temporal and secular realms. A reimagined British ecclesiological order was also suggested, with the vicars apostolic (appointed directly by Rome) to be replaced by bishops elected with lay involvement. The phrase would be abandoned, but there was even a willingness to be termed

43 W.J. Anderson, “The Autobiographical Notes of Bishop John Geddes,” *IR* 18 (1967), 36–57.

44 N.J. Abercrombie, “The Early Life of Charles Butler,” *RH* 14 (1977–78), 286.

45 Alexander Lock, “Catholicism, Apostasy and Politics in Late-eighteenth-century England: The Case of Sir Thomas Gascoigne and Charles Howard, Earl of Surrey,” *RH* 30 (2010), 275–98.

46 Eamon Duffy, “Ecclesiastical Democracy Detected,” (three parts) *RH* 10 (1969–70), 193–209, 309–31, and *RH* 13 (1975–76), 123–48; Michael Mullett, *English Catholicism, 1680–1830*, 6 vols (London: 2006), 3:229–60. On the Committee’s use of print media, another hallmark of Catholic Enlightenment, see Paul A. Richardson, “Serial Struggles: English Catholics and Their Periodicals, 1648–1844” (PhD thesis, University of Durham, 2003).

“Protesting Catholic Dissenters” rather than *Roman* Catholics for the purposes of oaths and legislation.

In all of this, it is tempting to discern the influence of Gallican, Febronian, and Jansenist ideas and the quest for local independence or semi-autonomy, which is routinely positioned as a leading characteristic of Catholic Enlightenment thought. Many instances of almost strident assertiveness can certainly be located in the declarations of the movement’s leaders. In February 1791, for instance, the Committee, angered by the opposition of the vicars apostolic, opted to “solemnly protest, and call upon God to witness our protest against your lordships’ encyclical letters ... as imprudent, arbitrary, and unjust ... as encroaching on our natural, civil and religious rights, inculcating principles hostile to society and government and the constitutions and laws of the British empire.”⁴⁷ It might be added that another supposed indicator of Catholic Enlightenment sympathy – skepticism concerning supernatural interventions – was shared by leading Cisalpines including Berington and the Benedictine Cuthbert Wilks.⁴⁸

If one were searching for a case study of how Catholic Enlightenment interacted with an organized attempt to ameliorate the lot of British Catholics, one could hardly do better than Sir John Courtenay Throckmorton, a leading member of both the Catholic Committee and the Cisalpine Club. Throckmorton came from one of England’s wealthiest Catholic families, whose members had long enjoyed fruitful links with the Continent. The family had abandoned the Jacobite cause relatively early. It partook of what Michael Mullet has described as “social ecumenism” and exhibited, in Geoffrey Scott’s phrase, a “striking comingling of recusancy and reform.”⁴⁹ Benedictine chaplains exerted a significant influence on the family throughout the 18th century, including Bernard Wythie, Gregory Greenwood (chaplain at Coughton for 40 years), Benedict Simpson, and Gregory Gregson, who was at Weston from 1769 to 1800.⁵⁰

John Courtenay Throckmorton was educated by the Benedictines of St Gregory’s, Douai; enjoyed early trips to the Continent (including a spell in Italy

47 Ambrose Macaulay, *The Catholic Church and the Campaign for Emancipation in Ireland and England* (Dublin: 2016), 89.

48 Lehner, *Catholic Enlightenment*, 129; Francis Young, *English Catholics and the Supernatural, 1553–1829* (Farnham: 2013); Chinnici, *English Catholic Enlightenment*, 137–39. One source of antagonism between Berington and his long-term adversary John Milner would be differing views on the credibility of supposed miraculous events in Italy during 1796 following the invasion of Napoleonic troops.

49 Michael Mullett, “An English Catholic Traveller: Sir John Courtenay Throckmorton and the Continent, 1792–1793,” in Marshall and Scott, *Catholic Gentry in English Society*, 214; Scott, “Throckmortons at Home and Abroad,” 171.

50 Scott, “Throckmortons at Home and Abroad,” 182–83.

under the tutelage of the Benedictine Augustine Walker); and travelled widely throughout his life. Tellingly, he emerged as one of the most outspoken advocates of limiting papal influence on the British church, and engaged in a lengthy and heated pamphlet war with John Milner on the issue of whether elected bishops should replace the vicars apostolic who, for Throckmorton, were a relatively modern invention. This came to a head in 1791 with the publication of Throckmorton's *A Second Letter Addressed to the Catholic Clergy of England* and Milner's *The Divine Right of Episcopacy*.⁵¹ Throckmorton's attraction to Gallican and Jansenist ideas played a dramatic role in his thought, though Jansenism by this stage, and in Throckmorton's case, is better understood as an ecclesiological position which sought to limit the level of papal interference in national churches, than the moral theological position of the 17th century. In any event, Jansenist and Jansenist-influenced books routinely made their way onto the shelves of the Throckmortons' extensive libraries.⁵² John Courtenay also promoted the idea of a lay Catholic school, another source of tension with the hierarchy, and offered support and protection to that other champion of Cisalpinism, Joseph Berington, who moved to the Throckmortons' estate at Buckland, Berkshire, as chaplain in 1793.



This trajectory from Catholic Enlightenment sympathies to passionate, even radical support for organized, lay-dominated opposition to the penal laws is highly convincing, but we should not imagine that it was the only option available to 18th-century British Catholics. When considering the impact of the Catholic Enlightenment, there is a tendency to privilege those figures whose positions fit a model of, for want of better words, progressivism or radicalism. In the Scottish context, for example, it can be glimpsed in the concentration on figures such as Andrew Michael Ramsay and Alexander Geddes.

Ramsay fits the mold perfectly. A devotee of Newtonian science, he consistently argued that faith was conformable to reason and exhibited "avant-garde spiritual and intellectual impulses" that were frowned upon by his superiors. His passion for Catholic liberty had some influence on both Throckmorton and Berington.⁵³ Geddes, meanwhile, has been described as "arguably the most

51 Peter Marshall and Geoffrey Scott, "Introduction: The Catholic Gentry in English Society," in Marshall and Scott, *Catholic Gentry in English Society*, 20–21.

52 Scott, "Throckmortons at Home and Abroad," 181–82.

53 Gabriel Glickman, "Andrew Michael Ramsay (1686–1743)," in Burson and Lehner, *Enlightenment and Catholicism*, 397 and 408; Doohwan Ahn, "From Greece to Babylon: The Political Thought of Andrew Michael Ramsay (1686–1743)," *History of European Ideas* 37

wayward, unorthodox, iconoclastic and intellectually daring priest to emerge from the British Catholic community of his time,” and someone who “pressed the Catholic Enlightenment to its limits, and beyond.” His radical exegesis pursued moral rather than literal biblical truth, for which troubles he would be censured and eventually suspended from the priesthood. Geddes, too, was a “leading voice of the Cisalpine movement” and “savaged the papacy and leveled the episcopate.”⁵⁴

On an institutional level, a large, perhaps sometimes disproportionate, amount of scholarly attention has been paid to the role of the Benedictine order in fostering Catholic Enlightenment ideas in Britain. It is certainly true that an impressive proportion of those involved in the campaign for Catholic Relief received Benedictine educations, many at St Gregory’s in Douai. One of the most outspoken Cisalpines, Cuthbert Wilks, was a Benedictine, as was his great friend, Bede Brewer, who evinced Gallican sympathies: we will later encounter the Irish priest and philosopher, Luke Joseph Hooke, and when Brewer produced a second edition of Hooke’s *Principia religionis naturalis et revelatae* in 1774 he added provocative chapters on the papal primacy, conciliarism, and episcopal power.⁵⁵

In his study of the Benedictines in Germany, Lehner sees the order as particularly receptive to Catholic Enlightenment because of its openness to new trends in theology and scholarship, and its relatively decentralized organization (in contrast to the structure of, for example, the Jesuits).⁵⁶ Such qualities doubtless applied elsewhere, and a number of British-born Benedictines can be positioned as ardent Catholic enlighteners. The Scot, Andrew Gordon, who carved out an innovative career in Germany, is a good example. As well as pursuing interests in the philosophy of Christian Wolff, Gordon won fame through his publications and experiments in the field of electricity.⁵⁷ John Mannock, meanwhile, made an early attempt to produce a pared down understanding of

(2011), 421–37; Glickman, “Andrew Michael Ramsay (1686–1743), the Jacobite Court and the English Catholic Enlightenment,” *Eighteenth Century Thought* 3 (2007), 293–329.

54 Mark Goldie, “Alexander Geddes (1737–1802): Biblical Criticism, Ecclesiastical Democracy, and Jacobinism,” in Burson and Lehner, *Enlightenment and Catholicism*, 411–49; Goldie, “Alexander Geddes at the Limits of the Catholic Enlightenment,” *Historical Journal* 53 (2010), 61–86; William Johnstone, *The Bible and the Enlightenment: A Case Study: Dr Alexander Geddes* (London: 2004).

55 Geoffrey Scott, “Dom Joseph Cuthbert Wilks (1748–1829) and English Benedictine Involvement in the Cisalpine Stirs,” *RH* 23 (1997), 318–40.

56 Ulrich Lehner, *Enlightened Monks: The German Benedictines, 1740–1803* (Oxford: 2011).

57 Tom McNally, *The Sixth Scottish University: The Scots Colleges Abroad, 1575–1799* (Leiden: 2011), 176–78; Lehner, *Enlightened Monks*, 126 and 264–66.

Catholic doctrine in his *The Poor Man's Controversy* (published, posthumously, in 1769): the book, which attempted to explain controversial or divisive doctrines, has been seen as an effort to engage constructively with an English Protestant audience.⁵⁸

There is a measure of risk in focusing too heavily on specific groups and categories of individuals, however. The British encounter with Catholic Enlightenment came in various guises. The Jesuits, for example, cannot be dismissed as ultramontane obscurantists. As Maurice Whitehead has recently shown, the Society's colleges in the Low Countries, which educated the sons of many 18th-century British families, frequently exhibited scholarly and pedagogical dynamism.⁵⁹ The college at Liège had a particularly strong reputation for science, typified by Thomas Hildeyard, who, in 1720, produced what was probably the first working steam engine built on the Continent, following Thomas Newcomen's design, and a celebrated wonder clock in 1724. He would later serve as chaplain to the Bodenham family near Hereford. Liège has been aptly described as a vital "European intellectual crossroads,"⁶⁰ and it is not difficult to locate other British-born Jesuits who sustained the Society's long-established reputation across the scientific disciplines. Christopher Maire, who taught at Liège, St Omer, and the English College in Rome, and embarked on scientific adventures with his fellow Jesuit, Roger Boscovich, was as expert in astronomy as he was in Trinitarian theology.⁶¹

This all relates to a broader debate on the role of the Society of Jesus in the Catholic Enlightenment. For some, Jesuits were inherently inimical to its trends; for others, they were at the heart of the Catholic Enlightenment project. It can certainly be suggested that the Society, given the hinterland of its moral

58 Scott, *Gothic Rage*, 141.

59 Maurice Whitehead, *English Jesuit Education: Expulsion, Suppression, Survival and Restoration, 1762–1803* (Farnham: 2013).

60 Mary Hilton and Jill Shefrin, *Educating the Child in Enlightenment Britain* (Farnham: 2009), 139; Pierre Guérin, "Espionage industriel chez les Jésuites anglais de Liège en 1720," *Bulletin du Cercle Historique de Fléron* (1988), 84–88.

61 G. Holt, "An Able Mathematician: Christopher Maire," *RH* 21 (1992–93), 497–502; Jonathan Wright, "Ruggiero Boscovich (1711–1787): Jesuit Science in an Enlightenment Context," in Burson and Lehner, *Enlightenment and Catholicism*, 353–69. On the Jesuit scientific tradition in general, see Mordechai Feingold, *Jesuit Science and the Republic of Letters* (Cambridge, Mass.: 2003); Marcus Hellyer, *Catholic Physics: Jesuit Natural Philosophy in Early Modern Germany* (Notre Dame, IN: 2005); Louis Caruana, "The Legacies of Suppression: Jesuit Culture and Science," in Jeffrey Burson and Jonathan Wright (eds), *The Jesuit Suppression in Global Context* (Cambridge, Eng.: 2015), 262–77; Sheila Rabin, "Early Modern Jesuit Science: A Historiographical Essay," *JJS* 1 (2014), 88–104.

theology, was a more natural ally than Jansenism when it came to embracing a positive understanding of human nature.⁶²

Returning to the British context, it is surely worth bearing in mind that one did not have to be a card-carrying member of the Catholic Committee in order to be a passionate advocate of Catholic rights: this crusade had been under way for a very long time, after all.⁶³ Nor did distance from the Committee's actions automatically indicate that someone was not susceptible to the trends of the Catholic Enlightenment. Many of the postures of men such as John Courtenay Throckmorton were controversial, and one did not have to be an extreme ultramontanist to raise an eyebrow. It was hardly unreasonable for a Roman Catholic to object to the suggestion of using a phrase like "Protesting Catholic Dissenters," nor was it absurd for clerical leaders to resent being sidelined or having their authority questioned by the laity. The issue of making concessions to secular government was sensitive, and crucially, it was perfectly possible to participate in the Catholic Enlightenment while retaining great deference and respect for Rome.

It would, of course, be difficult to position some of the critics of the Committee as progressive. John Milner, vicar apostolic of the Midland District, was as eager to secure Catholic freedoms as anyone, but he was fiercely orthodox and no obvious ally of Enlightenment.⁶⁴ His actions and comments were sometimes intemperate, and there was clear exaggeration in suggesting that the activities of the Cisalpines might lead to schism (though his opponents were every bit as caustic in their rebuttals). It probably helped no-one to describe the opinions of men like Throckmorton as "false, erroneous, scandalous, injurious to the head of the Church, and to a general Council, subversive

62 For a reassessment of the Jesuit role in Catholic Enlightenment, see Jeffrey D. Burson, *The Rise and Fall of Theological Enlightenment: Jean-Martin de Prades and Ideological Polarization in Eighteenth-Century France* (Notre Dame, IN: 2010). For more negative views, see Darrin M. McMahon, *Enemies of the Enlightenment: The French Counter-Enlightenment and the Making of Modernity* (Oxford: 2001); Michael Printy, *Enlightenment and the Creation of German Catholicism* (Cambridge, Eng.: 2009); and Ulrich L. Lehner, "The Many Faces of Catholic Enlightenment," in Lehner and Printy, *Companion to the Catholic Enlightenment*, 1–61.

63 Eamon Duffy, "‘Englishmen in vaine’: Roman Catholic Allegiance to George I," *Studies in Church History* 18 (1982), 345–65; G.O. Gürtler, "Thomas J.F. Strickland of Sizergh," *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society* 90 (1990), 217–34.

64 Grayson M. Ditchfield, "English Catholics and Unitarians in the Age of Milner," *RH* 25 (2000), 52–73; P.B. Nockles, "‘The Difficulties of Protestantism’: Bishop Milner, John Fletcher, and Catholic Apologetic against the Church of England," *RH* 24 (1998–99), 193–236.

of ecclesiastical discipline, tending to schism, favouring heresy, inducing to schism and heresy, schismatical, contrary to a formal definition of a general council, and to the faith of the Church.”⁶⁵

With other figures, however, analysis is more complex. Charles Walmesley, vicar apostolic of the Western District, came to be seen as the *bête noire* of the Cisalpines. Like Milner, Walmesley sometimes lapsed into splenetic outbursts. Speaking of the Catholic Committee, he suggested that “such ways of proceeding have been employed by heretics and schismatics in all the ages of the Church and like them the committee go on with more and more obstinacy.”⁶⁶ Walmesley, while as eager to see Catholic Relief as anyone, was the most ardent opponent of some of the Committee’s initiatives, and his decision to suspend Cuthbert Wilks from his priestly functions because of Wilks’s leading role in the Cisalpine movement was widely regarded as excessive. Walmesley can also be accused of vacillation or at least inconsistency. He approved, albeit reluctantly, the “Protestation” or statement of Catholic beliefs produced in November 1788, and then objected to the proposed oath of allegiance that, save a few changes in language, embodied the same principles and commitments.

What Walmesley most certainly was not, however, was an obscurantist enemy of the Catholic Enlightenment. A Newtonian to the core, he would pursue an early and rather illustrious career in the sciences. As well as using Newton’s mathematics to calculate the motion of the moon’s apse, he would delve into any number of complex contemporary debates: about the theory of fluxions, the precession of equinoxes, and celestial mechanics. While in Paris between 1749 and 1753 he would help to found the aforementioned Society of St Edmunds, supposedly a beacon of Catholic Enlightenment goals, and deliver lectures there on electricity, astronomy, and mathematics. He also devised a new curriculum of studies which insisted on familiarity with Newton.

Walmesley became a fellow of the Royal Society in 1750, was consulted by the British government on calendar reform, produced influential and well-regarded publications, and corresponded with many of the leading scientists of the day. He was awarded prizes by Frederick II of Prussia and, in 1750, became a fellow of the Royal Society of Berlin, highly recommended by, of all people, d’Alembert.

It is true that, upon his return to England, Walmesley found less time for his scientific ventures. There is a popular notion that he turned away from his studies out of guilt. One day, it is reported, he found himself “unconsciously

65 B. Ward, *The Dawn of the Catholic Revival in England, 1781–1803*, 2 vols (1909), 2:404.

66 Macaulay, *The Catholic Church*, 88.

describing geometrical diagrams with the paten on the corporal during mass," but in fact, he never saw any conflict between academic and priestly duty, kept up his scientific correspondence and, while based in Bath, struck up a firm friendship with William Herschel. In later years, his mind took a more pessimistic turn, as witnessed by his apocalyptic writings, and he came to be regarded as "the rising hope of stern unbending English Catholic conservatism." None of this dents his earlier embrace of the 18th-century's intellectual maelstrom.⁶⁷

Walmesley provides a useful reminder that few figures meet every supposed requirement of the ideal Catholic enlightener. This is not to suggest that a dominant trajectory, encapsulated by men such as Throckmorton or Berington, did not emerge from the encounter between the Enlightenment and the British Catholic community. Perhaps, though, it gained such prominence because it was remembered and carried forward by people who had been involved in earlier skirmishes: John Kirk, for example, who had joined Berington in his conflict with Walmesley and would work with Berington later on; and John Lingard, who would continue to champion the ideals underlying the Cisalpine cause and remain sympathetic to Gallican notions down to his death in 1851.⁶⁸

Sometimes, it can seem relatively easy to pigeonhole individuals involved in the British Catholic Enlightenment, but sometimes it is not. That is assuredly the case with Walmesley, and what of George Hay, the vicar apostolic of the Lowland District, close ally of John Geddes, and champion of Catholic rights? Here was a cleric who sought to mollify Protestant sensibilities by reducing the sensuousness of Catholic worship, but who was the strictest disciplinarian imaginable and, on many issues, irreproachably orthodox. This was the man who engaged with the thought of Scotland's common-sense philosophers but found time to write passionately in defense of the reality of miracles.⁶⁹ The

67 Geoffrey Scott, "The Early Career of Bishop Charles Walmesley," *Downside Review* 115 (1997), 249–70; Scott, "The times are fast approaching: Bishop Charles Walmesley OSB (1722–1797) as Prophet," *JEH* 36 (1985), 590–604; Gary Lee Nelson, "Charles Walmesley and the Episcopal Opposition to English Catholic Cisalpinism, 1782–1797" (PhD Diss., Tulane University, 1977).

68 Chinnici, *English Catholic Enlightenment*, passim; D.F. Shea, *The English Ranke: John Lingard* (New York: 1969); S. Gilley, "John Lingard and the Catholic Revival," in *Renaissance and Renewal in Christian History*, ed. D. Baker (Studies in Church History) 14 (1977), 313–27.

69 Mark Goldie, "Common Sense Philosophers and Catholic Theology in the Scottish Enlightenment," in *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century*, 302 (Oxford: 1992), 281–320.

Catholic Enlightenment could come in many shapes and forms, and if this was true in Britain, it also applied to Ireland.

3 Catholic Enlightenment in Ireland

Traditionally, 18th-century Ireland has usually been seen as a locus of Counter-Enlightenment sentiment and activity.⁷⁰ More recently, however, it has emerged as a good example of the regional diversity of Enlightenment on the European periphery: as Sean Moore describes it, “not just a consumer of Continental ideas, but a producer of its own brand of Enlightenment.”⁷¹ How does the Catholic variant of Enlightenment fit into this model? Circumstances were patently very different from those which pertained to England or Scotland. Rather than representing roughly 1 per cent of the population, as in England, Catholics in Ireland, some 3 million of them, represented three-quarters of the citizenry. While British Catholics were entering, to some degree, a period of hope and widening horizons, Irish Catholics endured an unusually difficult start to the 18th century. In the wake of the events of 1688–91, which replaced James II with the Protestant William III and Mary II as co-rulers of Britain and Ireland, a mood of defeatism prevailed, and repressive measures aimed at Irish Catholicism entered a period of escalation. Between 1695 and 1715 at least one penal measure was passed in every session of the Irish Parliament, capped by the particularly debilitating extremes of the 1704 “Act to Prevent the Further Growth of Popery,” which was expanded and amended in 1709.⁷²

In his recent study, Michael Brown describes a rich and multivalent Irish Enlightenment, but he discerns a less than enthusiastic response from the Irish Catholic community during these difficult decades. Brown writes of an “explicitly Irish Enlightenment” developing in a nation “not trapped by the sectarian politics of the seventeenth century” and far from being “in a moribund catatonic state in the eighteenth century.” Rather, Ireland was “a vigorous and controversial participant in the transcontinental experiment of creating a modern world.”⁷³ With a familiar notion of the forward march to modernity, Brown sees

70 David Berman, “The Irish Counter-Enlightenment,” in *The Irish Mind: Exploring Intellectual Traditions*, ed. Richard Kearney (Dublin: 1985), 119–40.

71 Sean Moore, “Introduction: Ireland and the Enlightenment,” *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 45 (2012), 347.

72 John Bergin et al. (eds), *New Perspectives on the Penal Laws, Eighteenth-Century Ireland* (Special Issue) 1 (2011).

73 Michael Brown, *The Irish Enlightenment* (Cambridge, Mass.: 2016), 7.

the Irish Enlightenment as “defined by the reimagining of the universe based on the premise that man, not God, was the starting point of understanding.” He is eager to stress, however, that this did not exclude people of faith. The model allowed “for the possibility that the Enlightenment methods might provide a satisfactory proof of God’s existence, and hence it is not inherently antagonistic to religious belief.” But while Anglican and Presbyterian groups embraced these opportunities, Brown believes that Irish Catholicism, traumatized by recent political events, fell back on tradition and dreams of restoring what had been lost. At least during the first half of the 18th century, Irish Catholics “retained a deep commitment to Scholastic methods and remained largely suspicious of Enlightenment novelty.”⁷⁴

Poets wrote of restoration, priests stressed fidelity to papal authority, and there was little sympathy for the trends of Gallicanism or Jansenism.⁷⁵ More progressive ideas were, Brown suggests, “attractive to only a few thinkers who reimagined the Catholic condition by using empirical methods to seek an accommodation with their Anglican rulers,” and “speculative freethinking was deeply unusual.”⁷⁶ A figure such as the educationalist Michael Moore, who fought the good fight against Cartesianism and worried endlessly about the spread of irreligion is seen as typical of the mainstream.⁷⁷ The rest are portrayed as mavericks. Their ranks included Matthew Barnewall, who landed himself in repeated trouble for his embrace of Jansenism and rationalism, and perhaps Bernard Connor. Born in County Kerry in 1666, he spent his medical career rejecting Aristotelianism and advocating intellectual independence: “experience and reason are our only guides,” he once wrote.⁷⁸ Connor, originally known as O’Connor, would convert to Anglicanism in 1695. A little later came Luke Joseph Hooke, a passionate disciple of Newton and Locke.

74 Brown, *Irish Enlightenment*, 7 and 12.

75 Priscilla O’Connor, “Irish Students in the Paris Faculty of Theology: Aspects of Doctrinal Controversy in the Ancien Regime,” *Archivum Hibernicum* 52 (2003), 85–97; Liam Chambers, “Irish Catholics and Aristotelian Scholastic Philosophy in Early Modern France, c.1600–c.1750,” in James McEvoy and Michael Dunne (eds), *The Irish Contribution to European Scholastic Thought* (Dublin: 2009), 212–30.

76 Brown, *Irish Enlightenment*, 106–07.

77 Liam Chambers, “Defying Descartes: Michael Moore (1639–1726) and Aristotelian Philosophy in Ireland and France,” in Michael Brown and Stephen Harrison (eds), *The Medieval World and the Modern Mind* (Dublin: 2000), 11–26; Chambers, *Michael Moore, c.1639–1726: Provost of Trinity, Rector of Paris* (Dublin: 2005).

78 Brown, *Irish Enlightenment*, 147–55; Liam Chambers, “Medicine and Miracle in the Late Seventeenth Century: Bernard Connor’s *Evangelium Medici*,” in James Kelly and Fiona Clark (eds), *Ireland and Medicine in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Farnham: 2010), 53–72.

Hooke forged close links with the English Benedictines in Paris, including the above-mentioned Bede Brewer, and was even admired by Diderot, who utilized Hooke's work in his "Plan for a University."⁷⁹

For the mainstream, however, it was not entirely a story of isolation and reaction. As the century progressed, it is possible to spot positive trends such as the limited "cross-confessional sociability" provided by clubs and associations. The Dublin Society did not grant Catholics full membership, but sons of Rome were regular recipients of the Society's prizes and commendations. Freemason lodges appear to have been particularly open-minded. Between 1758 and 1797, 40 per cent of the membership of Dublin lodges was Catholic.⁸⁰ Anglican interest in Gaelic songs and literature also allowed Catholics routes of entrance into cultural debate, while that tell-tale Enlightenment obsession with civility and sociability also helped the cause.⁸¹ Finally, some Catholics were quick to exploit the era's obsession with expanding and popularizing modes of communication. Catholic-owned or managed newspapers emerged, including *Finn's Leinster Journal* in Kilkenny, from 1766, and *The Corke Journal*, from 1753.⁸²

One area of obvious similarity between Ireland and Britain was the campaign to remove or attenuate penal legislation against Roman Catholics, though in Ireland the gentry and nobility played a less domineering role. The urgency of this question was not lost on Ireland's Protestant rulers. Hopes of agricultural improvement and the maintenance of social stability were clearly affected by the fate of such a large swathe of the population, and moves towards relief, faulting as they were, could be regarded as a question of political strategy. It is hardly coincidental that the pace of change accelerated at a time when Britain faced dangers and turmoil as a result of its American colonists' rebellion, and when loyalty and support at home was of paramount importance.⁸³

Events on both sides of the Irish Sea were clearly linked: indeed, John Courtenay Throckmorton and other leading Cisalpines would lend their voices to the campaigns of their Irish counterparts. We can also identify similar divisions within Catholic ranks over the degree of compromise and

79 Thomas O'Connor, *An Irish Theologian in Enlightenment France: Luke Joseph Hooke, 1714–96* (Dublin: 1995); O'Connor, "Luke Joseph Hooke (1714–1796): Theological Tolerance in an Apologetic Mould," in Burson and Lehner, *Enlightenment and Catholicism*, 371–87.

80 Brown, *Irish Enlightenment*, 13, 271, and 259.

81 James Livesey, *Civil Society and Empire: Ireland and Scotland in the Eighteenth-Century Atlantic World* (New Haven: 2009).

82 Brown, *Irish Enlightenment*, 233.

83 Robert K. Donovan, "The Military Origins of the Roman Catholic Relief Programme of 1778," *Historical Journal* 28 (1985), 79–102.

accommodation that was advisable, and over the roles of the clergy and the laity in the process. If debates about the nature of an oath of loyalty were heated in England, they became tortuously complicated in Ireland.⁸⁴ Again, however, the Enlightenment talent for achieving ends through sociability played a significant role in Ireland. The lawyer, Daniel MacNamara, despite exhibiting pronounced Jacobite sympathies earlier in life, played a starring role in sustaining cordial relations with the Hanoverian regime. From the 1760s, he was retained as the London agent of the Irish Catholic Committee, and his villa at Streatham in Surrey was regularly visited by the cream of English society, from the prince of Wales, down.⁸⁵ A little later, and after some measure of Catholic Relief had been achieved, Cardinal Charles Erskine, papal envoy to England from 1793, continued this mission of tact and gentle persuasion.

Throughout the process, figures who can be associated with at least some concerns of the Catholic Enlightenment played important roles. The Dublin priest Cornelius Nary was, according to Brown, grounded in Scholastic traditions but “by temperament he was an empiricist.” He sought to maintain good relations with Anglicans and argued the case for Catholic Relief on the grounds of both legality and utility: a more liberated Catholic populace, he suggested, could only be a boon to the nation. From as early as the 1720s, he was proposing an oath of allegiance that rejected the papal deposing power and distanced Irish Catholics from the Jacobite cause.⁸⁶

By 1756, Ireland had established its own Catholic Association, soon afterwards renamed the Catholic Committee, and two of its leading lights were the Dublin physician John Curry and the gentleman farmer and antiquarian Charles O’Conor from County Roscommon. An initial burst of dynamism during the 1760s fizzled out, but Curry and O’Conor sustained their campaign for decades, grounding their arguments, again, in common sense and legal necessity. In the *Observations on the Popery Laws* of 1771, they insisted that “the reason of every law should be tried by its utility,” and if the goal of penal legislation had been to eradicate Catholicism, then this clearly had not worked.

84 For detail on this lengthy process, see Ambrose, *Catholic Church*, 30–71; Thomas Bartlett, *The Fall and Rise of the Irish Nation: The Catholic Question, 1690–1830* (Dublin: 1992); Patrick Fagan, *Divided Loyalties: The Question of an Oath for the Catholics in the Eighteenth Century* (Dublin: 1997); Thomas Bartlett, “The Origins and Progress of the Catholic Question, 1690–1800,” in *Endurance and Emergence: Catholics in Eighteenth-Century Ireland*, ed. T. Power and K. Whelan (Dublin, 1990).

85 John Bergin, “The Irish Catholic Interest at the London Inns of Court, 1674–1800,” *Eighteenth-Century Ireland* 24 (2009), 36–61.

86 Brown, *Irish Enlightenment*, 128–32; Patrick Fagan, *Dublin’s Turbulent Priest: Cornelius Nary, 1658–1738* (Dublin: 1991).

Moreover, the social and economic consequences had been disastrous: "cut off from the principal benefits of its free constitution, [Catholics] necessarily become a disease within its bowels." O'Connor would draw up the proposed oath of allegiance of 1774, and the pair would continue their fight through the 1780s, when hopes of further relief had begun to fade.⁸⁷

By this stage, indeed some time before, the cause of Catholic Relief in Ireland had been influenced by more adventurous arguments rooted in abstract ideals of toleration that transcended parochial or denominational boundaries. The Cork-born David Henegan, a leading figure at the Irish Collège des Lombards, had two related objectives: firstly, to convince his Continental colleagues that Ireland was not a scholastic backwater, but an engine room of progress in disciplines from science to theology to history; secondly, to advance a theory of toleration that struck against bigotry. Henegan found an exemplum in the Dutch Republic and, significantly, conceded a state's right to exclude those of certain faiths from public office, but not its ability to prevent the free practice of religion. Thomas O'Connor has called this a "practical version of Enlightenment."⁸⁸

More remarkable still was Arthur O'Leary. He was perfectly capable of responding to assaults on Christianity, as witnessed by his spirited riposte to Patrick Blair's 1775 tract, *Thoughts on Nature and Religion*, which questioned matters as fundamental as Christ's divinity. O'Leary answered with his *A Defence of the Divinity of Christ and the Immortality of the Soul* in 1776. At root, however, O'Leary was of irenic temperament and more interested in championing core Christian ideas than Catholic specificities. He was entirely happy with the language of the 1774 oath of allegiance, as witnessed in his *Loyalty Asserted, or, The New Test Oath Vindicated*, and won broad approval with his "An Address to the Common People of the Roman Catholic Religion," which urged Irish Catholics to support the Crown in the face of rumored invasions.

His most momentous work, however, was the 1780 *Essay on Toleration, or, Plea for Liberty of Conscience*, which sought to expose religious persecution as a baleful constant in history and an insult to Christian virtues like peace and charity. O'Leary's musings did not impress everyone, but the Irish Catholic Committee was willing to contribute 40 pounds to help defray the cost of publishing some of O'Leary's works in 1781, while the English Catholic Committee distributed copies of his works. O'Leary's reputation is sometimes queried owing to his supposed involvement with the British government as a supplier of information, but his appeals to social contract theory and a nuanced

87 Brown, *Irish Enlightenment*, 316–20; R.E. Ward, J.F. Wrynn, and C.C. Ward (eds), *Letters of Charles O'Connor of Belanagare* (Washington, DC: 1988).

88 O'Connor, "Luke Joseph Hooke," 384.

conception of toleration were ground breaking. Faith, he explained in his 1780 essay, was “a gift of God ... which is not in the power of the state either to give or to take away.” If Ireland grasped the opportunity to put this idea into practice, then “the kingdom would soon flourish, and the brilliant example, set to such places as have not yet thrown open the gates of toleration would rescue mankind from the heavy yoke which misconstrued religion has laid on their necks.”⁸⁹ If it has sometimes been difficult in this chapter to determine where individuals should be placed on the spectrum of beliefs, it would be fair to conclude that these words of O’Learys were enlightened by any reasonable 18th-century metric.

4 Conclusion

If one were to construct a trajectory that led to Catholic Emancipation in 1829, the legacy of ideas curated by many figures of the 18th-century British and Irish Catholic Enlightenments would play a pivotal role. For all the other forces that surged during the early 19th century (the gradual, albeit partial, retreat of popular anti-Catholic attitudes, political happenstance, and the activism that crossed the Irish Sea), 18th-century texts and ambitions remained potent. Frequently, campaigners in the 1810s and 1820s identified themselves as direct intellectual heirs of their forebears in the Enlightenment era: indeed, many regarded themselves as part of an enlightened continuum.

More was in play, however. The whole purpose of fragmenting the concept of Enlightenment is to allow all the competing voices of 18th-century intellectual life to be heard. Much like the Reformation before it, the Enlightenment has now been pluralized within the academy: we speak and write of Enlightenments. Recent work on the religious variants of Enlightenment, not least those of a Catholic complexion, has contributed significantly to revisionism. And yet, there seems to be a tendency to codify and constrain what we mean by Catholic Enlightenment in ways that may exclude some of the participants. To be truly authentic, a figure has to fit the historian’s criteria of progressiveness or even radicalism. It can sometimes feel as if old nostrums about the Enlightenment marking the birth of the modern world, setting European culture aright, and leading us to new freedoms and horizons remain deeply embedded. Truth be told, the Catholic Enlightenment was about more than

89 James Kelly, “A Wild Capuchin of Cork: Arthur O’Leary, 1729–1802,” in *Radical Irish Priests, 1660–1970*, ed. G. Moran (Dublin: 1998), 37–59. See also Brown, *Irish Enlightenment*, 18–19; James Kelly, “Arthur O’Leary,” *ODNB* online, accessed 17 September 2016.

that: indeed, it was not even principally concerned with such *telos*-driven narratives.

Catholic Enlightenment came in many forms. It was accessible to Catholics who adored the papacy and those who looked askance at the papacy's meddling. It was available to those who believed in miracles and those who regarded miracles as superstitious nonsense. Crucially, and more often than not, it sought to combine not just faith and reason but also the deposit of tradition and an openness to some degree of intellectual novelty. As Geoffrey Scott reminds us, the libraries of the most forward-thinking Catholic gentry could contain not only the latest Continental literature but also cherished manuscripts from the Middle Ages: a sure sign of enduring "recusant medieval nostalgia."⁹⁰ Faith was always, but always, in flux, and the Catholic Enlightenment was obliged to abide by that cardinal rule. In that broad context, Enlightenment ideas, along with Catholic demands emanating especially from Ireland, led to the eventual triumph of Catholic Emancipation in Britain and Ireland (the United Kingdom) in 1829.

90 Scott, "Throckmortons at Home and Abroad," 175.

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